

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

### *Free Translation*

The ones who became white-lipped peccaries were always playing, with no women among them. The women were cooking food, but the men weren't eating the food they prepared. They were always playing in the forest. They were playing, and they wouldn't come back to the women. The women were cooking food and were eating. The men weren't eating and their voices could always be heard. Their voices could be heard, because there weren't white-lipped peccaries yet. Our people became the white-lipped peccaries.

There is still a lot. It's long.

They cut trees down and burned them. They heard their future voices in the sound of the burning trees. They didn't plant the garden. They burned the garden but they didn't plant it. Their voices could be heard. "Ooo, ooo, teo, teo, hooo."

Oh man, it's a long story.

When the flames died down, they just played all the time, without bathing. They were playing. His wives were cooking food. He hadn't had sex with his wives. His wives were pregnant. Their wives were pregnant, because of the giant otters.

"I haven't had sex with you, yet you are pregnant. Who did that to you?"

She didn't say anything. Her daughter didn't tell about her, either. All of them were there washing off *nakafira* taro tubers.

"Ask for some fish for us [that is, ask for the river otter to catch some fish for us]."

The river otter liked to have sex with the women. A white-lipped peccary was coming quickly with a *sako fana* fish in his hand, and he spoke. "Wait, no one has seen them having sex, and yet they are pregnant."

He went with a switch in his hand. He went to the other peccaries, who were going to bathe. The women's voices could be heard as they were coming. They came and stood at the stream's edge. They ordered their daughters.

"Hit with the reeds on the water's surface, so we will have *aba* fish. They don't kill anything for us to eat, they can always be heard [as they play]," they said, as they made the starch to eat with fish.

Their daughters were hitting the water with reeds. As they were hitting the water, the giant otter appeared, holding some *aba* fish in his hands.

"Have you eaten something like this that he killed?" asked the giant otter [i.e., is your husband providing meat or fish for you?].

"I haven't eaten anything he killed, because of the others."

"Are you eating what he killed?"

Then the river otter came.

"Are you eating what he killed?"

The river otter threw a *sako fana* fish on the ground. Then they had sex with them, as payment for the fish. The peccary was lying on top of a log. As he lay there, his wives were having sex. He jumped off the log. He jumped off, and beat the giant otter with the switch. "Kowiyiyiyi, kowiyiyiyi," went the giant otter. He beat them with the switch. He beat the river otter, too. The

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river otter cried out.

"That's why they are pregnant," said the peccary.

He grabbed his wife. He twisted her neck. There was a hollow log there on the ground. He stuffed his wife [dead] into the log.

"You are going to be the paca." [ Pacas live in hollow logs.]

After he turned them into animals, he went away. His two daughters escaped. His daughters were hitting the water with reeds. They escaped, running away. They stood in the forest, listening. They hid in the forest. He looked for them and found them. He came back.

"That's why they got pregnant, they have been having sex with them. I beat them, and they went away."

He came back. They came back. His other daughter, who was married, was lying in her hammock.

"Daughter, give me some *biha* vine root." He wanted to chew the *biha* root.

"The owner of the *biha* vine is still out in the forest. The owner of the *biha* went hunting. I don't want to give away his *biha*. He will be angry with me."

"Give me some. I'm going to have some of it."

He wouldn't stop talking, he was going to turn into an animal. She gave him one *biha* root, and he chewed it. They were all there. He gave each one a piece of *biha*. They took snuff. They started themselves up.

"Hifotare, oooo." [These are sounds of white-lipped peccaries.]

They went after the woman's husband. the collared peccary. His son, a small child, was with them. He was a young white-lipped peccary. His father came back. Their voices could be heard as they went.

"They heard what I said," the collared peccary said.

The collared peccary came back.

"Look, there are signs of them there."

He came back carrying game. He brought back the game to his wife.

"Where is my son?"

"The boy is with them."

"Did she make my son join them?"

He went carrying his pack of darts slung on his shoulder. He was making heads on the darts, twisting them in his mouth, as he went along. He went making heads on the darts. He made their scent glands by hitting them with the darts. He made scent glands for all of them with the darts, and they yelled out. They yelled out as they went away. They disappeared into the forest. He got his son and brought his son back. He turned his son back into a person. He made his son stay with them. They went away and didn't come back.

"What should we become? Where is my *biha*?"

"I gave away most of the *biha*. There is a little in the pot."

"I want my stuff, didn't you hear me?" he said. "I want my stuff, you heard me." They ate. He looked at where the sun was. He quickly finished eating. His wife was pregnant.

"Come on, chew some *biha*," he said to his wife. "Let's go. I don't want them to leave us behind. Let's go."

He was ready. The collared peccary took out a dart and pierced himself to make his scent gland. He pierced repeatedly. "Ho, ho, ho." [That's the sound collared peccaries make.] They turned into animals. He also pierced his wife to make her scent gland. He also pierced his son to make his scent gland. [Both species of peccaries have scent glands.] They went. He made the sound of a collared peccary, it was his sound. They went. They disappeared into the forest.

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It was the kinkajou. That was his only name. He was ready. The son of the kinkajou died.

There was a ceramic pot. The pot was full of snakes to the brim. The boy's grandmother went out to get food for the snakes, and she took a long time. She was killing *korakaka* toads. She was coming back. The boy was eating.

"Father, I'm thirsty."

He was thirsty, but there wasn't any water.

"I think there is water in your grandmother's pot. There is water in your grandmother's pot there. Drink some of your grandmother's water. The pot is there with its lid on."

Because he didn't say, "I will go get water," he grieved afterwards. The boy got up quickly and went. He took off the lid of the pot. When he was bending over to drink water, the snakes bit him on the face.

"Aya ya ya, my face, my face." He cried out as the snakes bit him on the face.

His father ran to him.

"She has been raising them, and her things bit my son," he said.

He destroyed the pot with the snakes. He killed them, but one escaped and went running away. The others all died. The snakes died. The boy died quickly because of the snakes. His father grieved.

His grandmother came back, the one who was raising the snakes. She came back, and arrived.

"Who destroyed my pot?"

"Mother, the snakes bit your grandson on the face, and his father is holding him."

"Were you raising them?"

"Didn't he see them in the pot? Why didn't he go get water for the boy at the stream? He should have gone after water, and eaten with him."

The boy's father sucked on him to cure him, but it was no use. The boy died. If he had gotten well, people could come back from the dead. The kinkajou's son died. He held him. He took his son away.

"I'm going to bury the boy."

So he buried him. He came back. He hung up some bananas for him. There was also a gourd cup, and some water in a container on the grave. There was water in a container for the boy to drink. He made a place for his food, so he could find it when he came back, if he woke up and came back.

His mother said something bad.

"Mother."

"What?"

"Mother, let's sweep around my son's grave."

"Don't go there. Don't look at my son's grave. Don't go there. Did you hear me? Don't look at my son's grave. I'm going out into the forest."

He went out and killed animals with his blowgun, and brought the animals back. He came back carrying the animals. As he was coming back, they ate and went out. The boy's blood was all over the ground. His mother had cut off his head with a knife.

"She heard what I said. I'm going to meet my son on the way back."

He went. He spoke right away [when he got home, after having seen the boy's grave on the way]. "Did you do that?"

"I did that. I was sweeping around the boy's grave, and I cut off his head as I was sweeping."

He was planning to turn them into animals. He killed his mother-in-law, and killed his wife,

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too. When he killed his wife, it was a bad situation, because he killed his wife. She was pregnant when he killed her.

After he killed her, he went to his parents. He went and arrived. He went crying. They heard him crying. He stopped crying. He appeared.

His mother asked him. "Where are my grandchildren?"

"I don't have any children. I am coming, and I don't have any children. The others are living there. I stayed there a long time, and I am coming."

He came and stayed there. He stayed there a long time.

A different boy died, and his father buried him. His son turned into a harpy eagle, a young harpy eagle. He found the harpy eagle on his way back from fishing and brought the harpy eagle back. He raised the harpy eagle. It was his own son. He raised his own son in a basket. He was in the basket hanging up high. He grew hanging in it up high. He was growing. His own father had hung him up, and he fed him. [No one else saw the eagle, it was hidden.] He killed food for him with his blowgun. He gave him animals at night. As he ate, he grew. He didn't have a blowgun.

"Haa, I'm going to go hunting. Oof, I'm going hunting."

He untied him and slung him over his shoulder, in a basket. He took him. He had a knife. When he went out, he ate what his own son killed. He killed a lot of animals. He killed a lot of animals. He carried his animals. He put him back in the basket and brought him, slung over his shoulder. He also carried his animals.

He arrived with him. His brother-in-law, who was going to do something bad, was there. There were some titi monkeys that started chattering. The titis were chattering. "Soso, soso."

"Here, there are titis chattering nearby. Where is a blowgun? The blowgun, where is my brother-in-law's blowgun?"

"There is no blowgun."

"Where is my brother-in-law's *moho* cotton? Is that the *moho* there?"

"Don't touch that. Just let that thing hang there," his older sister said, but he didn't listen to her.

He should have listened to her and left it go.

He untied the mouth of the basket. He freed the eagle that was inside. He should have run away, but he freed it.<sup>107</sup> He opened its eyes, and it saw his eyes. It jumped out. It grabbed his throat.

"Aya, aya ya ya." He cried out because of the eagle.

"He didn't listen to me, and now he is crying out. He should have just complained [about not having *moho* cotton, without going poking around]."

His cries could be heard, as it went carrying him. It took him to where they were cutting trees down. The sound of them could be heard as they cut down trees.

He took his mother's brother. He carried him. His father was standing out there, and he was going to be upset.

"They are really bad. They never listen to me. My thing was in there."

"Kill it with your blowguns," they said. "It killed someone. Kill it with your blowguns."

They shot it with their blowguns. It was sitting on a branch. It opened its wings and fended off the darts.

He was upset as he cut down the trees.

"They do bad things."

He finished eating one side of his uncle's rear end, and then he threw the other side down.

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<sup>107</sup> In the English translation, I use 'it' to refer to the eagle when it is seen as a bird, and I use 'him' when it is seen as a human being. There is no difference in Jarawara (or Portuguese, either).

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"Father, Father, fiio, fiio. Here is some food for you. I ate him."

He threw down his uncle's leg.

His father was upset.

They shot blowgun darts. They shot at it, but they couldn't hit it. It was fending off the darts. He stood there shooting at the eagle. He yanked a blowgun from one of them. He yanked the blowgun away. He pulled out a dart. He twirled the dart head in his mouth. Then he shot his son, and after that he grieved. He was going to grieve, and he shot his son.

"You people never listen."

He shot his son. His father shot him, and he tottered. He came after him, and landed near him. The poison affected him more strongly, and he fell, "Wahaa beo," because his stomach was full after he ate his uncle.

"You people never listen. I had warned them. I told them to leave it hanging there, but it was no use. Did the bird kill him?"

He was scolding. "Did you (pl) undo it because you thought it was yours? I was carrying a blowgun when I went out and you thought I was carrying animals that I had hunted. You caused misfortune to the one who killed animals for me to eat. You eat him. I killed him with my blowgun." He told them to eat it, but they didn't want to eat it. "I killed him with a blowgun because he killed someone. I killed him with a blowgun because he killed my brother-in-law. He thought he saw me carrying blowgun darts when I went out, so he opened the thing looking for darts," he said.

His mother cried. His mother cried again. The kinkajou came back.

The others turned into animals. He wanted to get his daughters so they could marry, but his daughters frustrated him. His daughters went running away. He went after them. He didn't find them when he looked for them. He looked for them. When it was starting to get dark, they came and appeared.

They turned into animals the next morning. They turned into animals in the morning.

He called to his daughter for some *biha*, his other daughter who was married. "Daughter, give me some *biha*. I want to turn into an animal."

He got ready. He wouldn't stop asking, so she gave him some *biha*. They went. They blew snuff into each other's noses, so they would turn into animals. When they blew snuff into each other's noses, they turned into animals. They ate *biha*. They all yelled. They went into the forest. "Oooooo," they went, grunting as white-lipped peccaries do. They began grunting like peccaries. They went into the forest yelling. Their voices could be heard. They went after the one who had gone into the forest. His son was with them. They had taken him along. They went after him.

He came back. As he came back, he came upon their trail. The underbrush was all messed up. The stream was all messed up, too.

"They heard what I said. She gave out my *biha*. That's why they turned into animals," he said.

He came back. He arrived back, and threw down the animals.

"Did you give away my *biha*?"

"My father really wanted the *biha*, so I gave it."

"Didn't you hear what I said? I wanted us all to turn into animals together," he said.

He turned into an animal, too. He wanted to change himself. He wanted to turn into a collared peccary. His son-in-law turned into an animal. When he went he carried blowgun darts slung on his shoulder. He went twirling the heads of darts in his mouth. He made their scent glands by shooting them with darts. He came upon them and made their scent glands by shooting them with darts. He took his son back and brought his son home. He turned his son back into a boy. He

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came back and arrived back.

"Where are they?"

"They went out there."

"I made their scent glands by shooting them with darts. I shot them and they went away."

The white-lipped peccaries went away. They went, and ate. They slept.

"You gave away my *biha*. We were all going to turn into animals."

"There is one left in the basket, and I will take it out and give it to you."

She took out the piece of *biha*. "Here."

"Come on, give it to me."

He quickly got some snuff and took the snuff. He cleaned the tube out with a feather. He was high. He wanted to change himself. He changed his wife first. He grabbed his wife. He put his wife's snout on. He put her snout on. He also broke her arms. He also broke her legs. She went running off. He grunted like a collared peccary, "Hwo hwo hwo." Her husband went behind her, "Hwo hwo hwo." He wasn't a collared peccary yet. He wasn't a peccary. Then he turned himself into a peccary. We eat them. The two of them went off.

His son, the one who was with the white-lipped peccaries...yes, is he the one?

He was going to turn himself into an animal and he got ready. He was with his son. They slept.

"They all turned into animals. They aren't living here anymore. They are said to have turned into animals. Come on. Let's find a place to live," he said, the first arapaima fish.

The arapaima started out to look for a place to live. He started out. His wife went ahead. They all went. The boy was only this big. They went with the boy. They went...it was a canoe. They were in the boat. He wanted to change his son. He broke his son's neck. His son's nose was like a curasow's beak. He stood his son. He left.

He told his son to fly, "Fofofifo." He landed on the branch of an *iro* tree. "Fayo," he said, calling like the bird he was turning into. He began the call of the bird he was turning into. He called while perched. But his father wanted to change into an animal, along with his wife. They were rocking back and forth in the canoe. They were going to change into tambaqui fish, and they were rocking back and forth, "Asiooo," went the sound of the water coming into the boat. He made a wave a little later, "Bofoo," as he became an arapaima fish. Then the sound of the tambaqui fins started, "Bofoo, tao." They turned into animals. The tambaqui didn't come back.

The others didn't come back. They turned into animals. The others, when they were going to turn into animals, yelled like white-lipped peccaries. They were brown capuchin monkeys, howler monkeys, squirrel monkeys, titis, sakis, and white-fronted capuchins. They were always playing, shooting arrows at a disk that rolled on the ground. They were shooting at the disk in order to turn themselves into animals. They went to bathe. They went and bathed and came back and played again. They went again and bathed again. They played.

The one who became an anaconda spoke. The howler monkey wanted to marry the anaconda, but the anaconda didn't like the howler. She didn't like the howler. They played. The howler went to the water. He washed his face. He made an *aba* fish with the sweat from his face. It wasn't really a fish, it was a magic object. It was his magic object. He turned it into an *aba* fish. He strung it on a line, and took it away. He took it and hung it up.

The anaconda was in her hammock and spoke. The anaconda was toasting manioc mash. She was in her hammock eating manioc mash.

"Sister, sister."

"Huh?"

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"Sister, get the *aba* fish that is hanging there for me. I want to eat the *aba* fish." "Let the howler's *aba* fish hang there."

"I want to eat the *aba* fish."

"The howler will be mad at me," she said, her younger sister.

"He won't be mad at you. Get up. I want to eat the *aba* fish."

So she went. Her older sister was pestering her, so she went and removed the *aba* fish and brought it. She fanned the fire and roasted the *aba* fish on the coals. The fish was sizzling, its fat. It was dripping with fat. She licked her fingers.

"Lick your fingers."

She licked her fingers. The *aba* fish was dripping with fat. She licked her fingers. She turned the *aba* fish over. After she turned it over, she took a little manioc mash with her fingers. She was licking her other hand, it was greasy. She took the manioc mash and put it in her mouth. She didn't want her younger sister to have any of the *aba* fish. She ate the *aba* fish. She finished the manioc mash. She ate the fat of the *aba* fish. After she ate the *aba* fish, she drank a little water. She washed her hands. Then she lay in her hammock. As she lay in the hammock, she got thirsty.

"Sister, I want some water."

"Go drink some water at the stream. You already drank all the water, and the empty water pot is there."

"There wasn't much water in it. Go quickly [to get water for me]."

She ordered her younger sister, and her sister went to get water. She went and came back.

"Here, drink all of it."

Her mother was sitting there, and she spoke. "Why is she complaining all the time? She ate the *aba* fish that the howler brought, she got thirsty, she ordered you during the day, she doesn't like the howler."

She sucked up the water. She was still thirsty. She pestered her sister, and her mother scolded her.

"Take a bath. Drink lots of water. Go. You don't like the howler, but you ate the howler's fish, so now you are thirsty."

Then she left. She left and went to the water. Her mother scolded her, so she went to the water. She squatted in the water and drank lots of water. She floated.

The others went there to bathe and play. They went there and jumped in the water, "Ooo".

"Tiotiotio," the squirrel monkey dove down deep. Some of them came back. They were bathing, all of them, "Teo teo teo." They were crying out like monkeys, as they changed into animals. As they were bathing, the squirrel monkey dove down deep, and he saw something. The squirrel monkey saw something, and when he came to the surface, he spoke, "Seo seo."

"Did you see something?"

"There is a creature lying on the bottom. There is a creature lying right where we are bathing."

"There has never been anything here."

"It is lying there. It's looking this way, but not at me. It's looking that way."

It was the anaconda, hiding from them. She was waiting for the brown capuchin.

They jumped in the water on the other bank. They were wading. They saw her.

"Did you see it?"

"Yes, we saw it. There is something lying there. It is lying there."

"Is it a log?"

"It's not a log."

They all went in the water.

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"Wait, let's look at it, all of us."

"Kofai, oooo," they went, jumping into the water and swimming. They went down. She grasped the brown capuchin. She coiled herself around the capuchin. They all came back up. They went.

"Something caught the brown capuchin. The brown capuchin isn't going to come back."

She swallowed the brown capuchin, but the capuchin wouldn't go down her throat. The capuchin was sitting on her nose. The capuchin was sitting there. The anaconda was in the water.

"Something caught the brown capuchin," they said, as they went back.

She had decided to marry the brown capuchin. She caught the brown capuchin. He was inside her, and she was lying in the water with him.

"I'm going to take a bath," her mother said. "You go on ahead. Take along a basket. Take a small basket. She wants to turn into an animal, and she doesn't want to marry. She doesn't like the howler monkey. She turned into an animal, and made the brown capuchin go away," she said.

Her mother went to the water. She was lying there. She was lying on the beach and her brown capuchin was sitting on the bridge of her nose, crying. The capuchin was crying, as he sat on the bridge of her nose.

"You get out of here," her mother said.

She attacked her mother.

"Did I say, 'Attack me'? Is that why you are attacking me?"

She jumped away.

Her younger daughter said, "Why are you after my mother?"

She had breasts, she was big. The two of them were going to bathe.

"Mother, Mother," said the anaconda. She was in the water. Her head was on the beach.

"Mother, there is a voice coming out of my nose, hit a little bit on it."

She found a stick for her. "Here, hit on my nose."

She knew her daughter was going to marry the capuchin. She tipped the basket. She tipped the basket, and hit lightly on her nose.

"Hit harder."

She hit on her nose, and the capuchin jumped into the basket. She held the mouth of the basket shut, shutting the capuchin inside. She held the capuchin in, and tied the mouth of the basket.

Her mother scolded her. "Go. Go everywhere."

Her mother threw her back into the water. Her mother threw her in the water, and she went down.

"You will go to the waters everywhere."

So she went down to the bottom. When she went down, the one who was going to be the wife of the brown capuchin [i.e., the younger sister] was holding him. She stayed with him.

The two of them bathed and came back. She came back with her mother. She came back holding onto the brown capuchin.

Then she raised the capuchin. He got somewhat better, and then got up.

"The anaconda swallowed him whole, but finally he got up."

"The anaconda bit me. I got up now."

He played once again. They played again. They shot arrows at the disk. They fought over the disk. One of them took the disk and threw it at someone. He put a hole in the disk. He twisted the disk off the arrow and threw it. Someone else hit the disk with an arrow. They fought with each other. The brown capuchin ran, planning against the howler monkey. He ran and grabbed the disk. He grabbed the disk and broke the howler's neck, and shoved the disk on him. It was his disk, that stays in his throat [i.e., his voice box]. He shoved it on his throat. Then he broke his legs [so that he



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would not walk on the ground, only staying in the trees]. He broke his feet and his hands, and threw him up high. He went along saying, "Kirikirikirikirikiri."

"Look at him [i.e., see how smart the brown capuchin is]."

So that he could turn them into animals, the anaconda swallowed him. He turned them into animals, the brown capuchin. The squirrel monkey also cried out. He grabbed the squirrel monkey and broke him. He threw the squirrel monkey up high. The squirrel monkey began hissing right away. He also turned the others into brown capuchins. He turned them into female saki monkeys, and white-fronted capuchins, too. He turned them into animals. They all went up into the trees.

There had been lots of voices before, but now there was silence. The giant anteater was with his wife, the tambaqui fish.

"What shall we do?" said the anteater. "Look at the difficult thing they are doing [i.e., I don't know how to turn into an animal]. We will stay here [i.e., we won't turn into animals]. It's hard [to turn into an animal]. Let's stay."

"No, let's not stay. There is no food to eat."

"We will eat fruits," he said.

They got ready and called each other to go. They went around the edge of the lake.

"Anteater, you stay here. I'm going."

"What are you going to do?"

"I'm going. I'm going to stay in the water. I don't want you to cause me to starve. I'm going to the water."

She was going to go into the water.

"I guess I will live alone," he said, the anteater. She left. She went to the water and waded in.

"It's nice. I'm going to take a look. Anteater, you stay there."

"Don't go there."

"Wait, I want to take a look at the nice place."

"Tebo," went the sound of her going into the water. She disappeared. She made a wave. She made a wave as she went. She went and turned back. She made a noise, "Tooo," as she came to the surface and her tail hit the surface. She came back and came to the surface. The anteater sat there crying. She called him to go, but he didn't listen to her. She came to the surface.

"Anteater, it's really nice. It's nice."

"You will cause me to drown."

"You won't drown, it's just like the land. I am coming back on something just like the land. I'm going back. You sit there."

"I'm crying because I miss you."

She didn't stay. She went. "Tebo." She was gone.

"I'm not coming back," she said.

So she went, and disappeared. The anteater cried.

"Whew, I'm really hungry. I'm going to go along the edge of the lake."

He went along the edge of the lake, the whole lake. Then he turned into an anteater. He licked up the termites that were on the tree. They were his food now.

"I'm really hungry. The tambaqui doesn't like me."

He went along the edge of the lake, and turned into an anteater. He stayed there. They turned into animals. The village was silent, because they had turned into animals. Others turned into animals later. They became the woolly monkeys.

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### Interlinear Presentation

1 <b>Hiyama</b> hiyama white-lipped peccary nm	,	<b>hiyama</b> hiyama white-lipped peccary nm  <b>meteba</b> me -tee -ba 3PL HAB FUT pron  <b>me</b> me 3PL pron  <b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron  <b>siswa</b> si- siwa DUP play vi  <b>fanawiri</b> fanawi -ri woman PN pn
<b>hiyama</b> hiyama white-lipped peccary nm  <b>toemetemone</b> to- ha -hemete -mone CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F aux  <b>ya</b> ya ADJU prt  <b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron  <b>tabara</b> taba be together vi	,	<b>amake</b> ama -ke SEC DECL+F sec  <b>ahi</b> ahi then dem  <b>me</b> me 3PL pron  <b>me</b> me 3PL.POSS pron  <b>mati</b> -ra+F NEG 3PL.S pron

'The ones who became white-lipped peccaries were always playing, with no women among them.'

2 <b>Me</b> me 3PL.POSS pron	,	<b>fanawiri</b> fanawi -ri woman PN pn  <b>awa</b> awa tree nf  <b>yamata</b> yamata food nf  <b>wasia</b> wasi+F cook vt  <b>me</b> me 3PL.POSS pron  <b>tafe</b> tafe food+F pn  <b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron
<b>kabarawara</b> kaba -rawa -ra+F eat F.PL NEG vt  <b>ya</b> ya ADJU prt	,	<b>ahi</b> ahi then dem  <b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron  <b>siswa</b> si- siwa DUP play vi  <b>toemetemone</b> to- ha -hemete -mone CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F aux  <b>yama</b> yama forest nf

'The women were cooking food, but they weren't eating the food they prepared. They were always playing in the forest.'

3 <b>Me</b> me 3PL.S pron	,	<b>siwa</b> siwa play vi  <b>na</b> na+F AUX aux  <b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron  <b>kamarihi</b> ka -ma -rihi go/come back NEG.LIST vi  <b>me fanawi</b> me fanawi women nf  <b>ni ya</b> ni ya to ADJU prt prt
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**ahi**  
ahi  
there  
dem

'They were playing, and they wouldn't come back to the women.'

4 <b>Me fanawi</b> me fanawi women nf	,	<b>yamata</b> yamata food nf  <b>wasia</b> wasi+F cook vt  <b>tafabisa</b> tafa -bisa+F eat also vi  <b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron  <b>tafara</b> tafa -ra+F eat NEG vi  <b>me</b> me 3PL.POSS pron
<b>ati</b> ati voice pn  <b>sasai</b> sa- sai DUP be heard vi  <b>toha</b> to- ha+F CH AUX aux  <b>me</b> me 3PL.POSS pron  <b>me</b> me 3PL.POSS pron  <b>ati</b> ati voice pn  <b>sasai</b> sa- sai DUP be heard vi	,	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron  <b>me</b> me 3PL.POSS pron  <b>ati</b> ati voice pn  <b>sasai</b> sa- sai DUP be heard vi



## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

### *nemetemoneke*

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

'They burned the garden but they didn't plant it.'

10 *Me ati saihemetemone*  
 me ati sai -hemete -mone  
 3PL.POSS voice be heard FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pn vi

*ooo* , *ooo* ,  
 ooo , ooo ,  
 (grunting of white-lipped peccary) (grunting of white-lipped peccary)  
 sound sound

*ooo* , *ooo* ,  
 ooo , ooo ,  
 (grunting of white-lipped peccary) (grunting of white-lipped peccary)  
 sound sound

*teo* , *teo* , *teo* ,  
 teo , teo , teo ,  
 (sound of popping) (sound of popping) (sound of popping)  
 sound sound sound

*hoooo*  
 hoooo  
 (sound of herd of white-lipped peccaries)  
 sound

'Their voices could be heard. "Ooo, ooo, teo, teo, hooo."'

11 *Hika yama yabo*  
 hika yama yabo -ke  
 wow! thing be long DECL+F  
 interj nf vi

'Oh man, it's a long story.'

12 *Faya me , awa hiri ni ahabi ya , me*  
 faya me , awa hiri ni ahabi ya , me  
 so 3PL tree catch fire na.NFIN ahaba.NOM+F ya , me  
 conj 3PL nf vi aux end ADJU 3PL.S

*afi me afi ra mati me afi ra me* ,  
 afi me afi na -ra+F mati me afi na -ra+F me ,  
 bathe 3PL.S bathe AUX NEG 3PL.S 3PL.S bathe AUX NEG 3PL.S  
 vi pron vi aux pron pron vi aux pron

*hine ya me sisiwa toemetemone ahi*  
 hine ya me si- siwa to- ha -hemete -mone ahi  
 only ADJU 3PL.S DUP play CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 pron prt pron vi aux dem

'When the flames died down, they just played all the time, without bathing.'

13 *Me siwa na me me siwa ni ya ahi* ,  
 me siwa na+F me me siwa na.NOM+F ya ahi ,  
 3PL.S play AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S play AUX ADJU then  
 pron vi aux pron pron vi aux prt dem

*fati yamata wasirawa , fati yamata wasirawa*  
 fati yamata wasi -rawa+F , fati yamata wasi -rawa+F  
 3SG.POSS.wife food cook F.PL 3SG.POSS.wife food cook F.PL  
 nf nf vt nf nf vt

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

<b>fati</b> fati 3SG.POSS.wife nf	<b>yor</b> yori have sex with vt	<b>re</b> na -ra+M AUX NEG aux	<b>fati</b> fati 3SG.POSS.wife nf	<b>nabati</b> nabati stomach pn	<b>weyeri</b> weye -ri carry DISTR vt	<b>na</b> na+F AUX aux	<b>me</b> me 3PL.POSS pron	,
<b>me</b> me 3PL pron	<b>ka</b> ka POSS prt	<b>yibote</b> yibote wife nf	<b>me</b> me 3PL.POSS pron	<b>nabati</b> nabati stomach pn	<b>weyeri</b> weye -ri carry DISTR vt	<b>na</b> na+F AUX aux	<b>me</b> me 3PL.POSS pron	,
<b>sabo</b> sabo giant nm	<b>me</b> me 3PL.POSS pron	<b>ih</b> ihi because of+F post	,	<b>faya</b> faya so conj	<b>fati</b> fati 3SG.POSS.wife nf	<b>nabati</b> nabati stomach pn		
<b>weyeri</b> weye -ri carry DISTR vt	<b>narawa</b> na -rawa+F AUX F.PL aux	,	<b>Tiwa</b> tiwa 2SG.O pron	<b>yoyori</b> yo- yori DUP have sex with vt				
<b>onofara</b> o- 1SG.S prt	na nofa AUX recently NEG	-ra+F NEG	<b>naba</b> naba pregnant vi	<b>tihine</b> ti- 2SG.S CH aux	to- ha -ne AUX CONT+F	<b>tike</b> ti- 2SG.S DECL+F prt	ke	.

"They were playing. His wives were cooking food. He hadn't had sex with his wives. His wives were pregnant. Their wives were pregnant, because of the giant otters. His wives were pregnant. "I haven't had sex with you, yet you are pregnant."

14 <b>Hibeke</b> hibeke who+M nm	<b>ehene</b> ehene result of+M pn	<b>ama</b> ama be vc	<b>tiri</b> ti- ri 2SG.S CQ+F prt	?
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"Who did that to you?"

15 <b>Ati</b> ati voice pn	<b>wataremetemoneke</b> wata -ra -hemete -mone -ke exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi
-------------------------------------	--

'She didn't say anything.'

16 <b>Bite</b> bite 3SG.POSS.daughter nf	<b>hikaminarihi</b> hi- kamina -rihi OC tell NEG.LIST vt
---	---

'Her daughter didn't tell about her, either.'

17 <b>Me</b> me 3PL.POSS pron	<b>nafi</b> nafi all pn	,	<b>nakafira</b> nakafira taro sp nf	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>soko</b> soko wash vt	<b>na</b> na+F AUX aux	<b>me</b> me 3PL.S pron	<b>nahometemone</b> naho -hemete -mone stand FP.N+F REP+F vi
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'All of them were there washing off *nakafira* taro tubers.'

18 <b>E</b> ee 1IN pron	<b>ka</b> ka POSS prt	<b>aba</b> aba fish nm	<b>meba</b> me -ba 3PL FUT pron	<b>me</b> me 3PL.O pron	<b>te</b> tee 2PL.S pron	<b>haha</b> ha- haa DUP call vt	<b>nahi</b> na -hi AUX IMP+F aux
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"Ask for some fish for us."

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

19 *Kekerewe*                     *na*    *toematamona*   *sabira*  
ke- kerewe.LIST     na    to- ha -himata -mona     sabira  
DUP be slow             AUX   CH   AUX   FP.N+M   REP+M   river otter  
vi                             aux   aux   nm

'The river otter liked to have sex with the women.'

20 *Sako*                     *fana*                     *tamatama*                     *kawaha*   *kanibote*  
sako                     fana                     tama- tama                     ka-    na   -waha                     ka-    na   -bote  
fish sp   female     DUP   be many     COMIT   AUX   change                     COMIT   AUX   quickly  
nf                     nf                     vi   aux   aux

*kane*                     ,    *faya*                     *hiyama*   *ati*                     *yana*                     *tone*   ,    *Hiba*  
na -kane                     ,    faya                     hiyama   ati                     yana                     to-   na+M                     ,    hiba  
AUX ?+M                     so                     white-lipped peccary     voice     start     away   AUX                     wait  
aux                     conj   nm   pn                     vi                     aux   interj

,    *me*                     *awara*                     *me*   *nabati*                     *weyeri*   *nofa*   *me*  
me                     awa -ra+F     me   nabati                     weye -ri                     na   nofa+F                     me  
3PL.S   see NEG     3PL.POSS   stomach     carry   DISTR     AUX   recently     3PL.POSS  
pron   result     pron                     pn                     vt   prt   pron

*amake*

ama -ke  
SEC DECL+F  
sec

'A white-lipped peccary was coming quickly with a *sako fana* fish in his hand, and he spoke. "Wait, no one has seen them having sex, and yet they are pregnant."'

21 *Kokosi*                     *kokosi*                     *tama*   *ne*   ,    *tokome*   ,    *me*  
ko- kosi     ko- kosi     tama   na+M   ,    to- ka   -   ma+M   ,    me  
DUP flail   DUP flail     hold onto     AUX   away go/come back     3PL.S  
nf                     nf                     vt   aux   vi   pron

*afi*                     *nabone*   *me*   ,    *me*   *afi*                     *nabone*   *me*   *yana*  
afi                     na -habone     me   ,    me   afi                     na -habone     me                     yana  
bathe   AUX INT+F     3PL                     3PL.S     bathe   AUX INT+F     3PL.S                     start  
vi                     aux   pron                     pron     vi                     aux   pron     vi

*tonabone*   *me*                     *ni*                     *ya*   ,    *tokomematamonaka*  
to- na -habone     me                     ni                     ya   ,    to- ka   -   ma   -himata -mona -ka  
CH   AUX INT+F     3PL   to   ADJU   away go/come back   FP.N+M   REP+M   DECL+M  
aux   pron   prt   prt   vi

'He went with a switch in his hand. He went to the other peccaries, who were going to bathe.'

22 *Tokome*   ,    *me*   *ati*   *kamakia*   *me*  
to- ka   -   ma+M   ,    me   ati                     ka   -   makI+F   me  
away go/come back     3PL.POSS     voice     go/come following     3PL.S  
vi   pron   pn                     vi   pron

*kamakietemoneke*

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

'The women's voices could be heard as they were coming.'

23 *Me*   *kamakia*   ,    *me*   ,    *fa*   *witi*   *ya*   *bere*  
me                     ka   -   makI+F   me   ,    faha   witi   ya   bere  
3PL.S   go/come following     3PL.S   water     edge     ADJU     be across  
pron   vi   pron   nf                     pn                     prt     vi

*nabasarawa*   ,    *bite*   ,    *bite*   *warabi*  
na -basa -rawa+F   ,    bite   ,    bite   warabi  
AUX edge   F.PL   3SG.POSS.daughter   3SG.POSS.daughter   ear+F  
aux   nf   nf   pn

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

<b>nima</b>		<b>na</b>	,	<b>E</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>aba</b>	<b>meba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>te</b>	<b>ee</b>
nima		na+F		ee	ka	aba	me -ba	me	tee	ee
communicate to		AUX		1IN	POSS	fish sp	3PL FUT	3PL.O	2PL.S	(pause)
vt		aux		pron	prt	nm	pron	pron	pron	interj

<b>fa</b>	<b>te</b>	<b>kokoho</b>	<b>nahi</b>	
faha	tee	ko- koho	na -hi	
water	2PL.S	DUP hit	AUX IMP+F	
nf	pron	vt	aux	

"They came and stood at the stream's edge. They ordered their daughters. "Hit with the reeds on the water's surface, so we will have *aba* fish."

24 <b>Fa</b>	<b>te</b>	<b>kokoho</b>	<b>nahi</b>	
faha	tee	ko- koho	na -hi	
water	2PL.S	DUP hit	AUX IMP+F	
nf	pron	vt	aux	

"Hit with the reeds on the water."

25 <b>Me</b>	<b>ihi</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>kabi</b>	<b>nofa</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ati</b>
me	ihi		me	kaba	nofa+F	me	ati
3PL.POSS	victim of+F		3PL.S	eat	recently	3PL.POSS	voice
pron	pn		pron	vt	prt	pron	pn

<b>sasai</b>	<b>tohineni</b>	
sa- sai	to- ha -ne -ni	
DUP be heard	CH AUX CONT+F BKG+F	
vi	v	

(This sentence is a mistake, the correct sentence is the next one.)

26 <b>Me</b>	<b>ihi</b>		<b>e</b>	<b>kabi</b>	<b>nofara</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>ati</b>
me	ihi		ee	kaba	nofa	-ra+F	me	ati
3PL.POSS	victim of+F		1IN.S	eat	recently	NEG	3PL.POSS	voice
pron	pn		pron	vt	prt		pron	pn

<b>sasai</b>	<b>toineni</b>		<b>me</b>	,	<b>me</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>yama</b>
sa- sai	to- ha -ne -ni		me		me	ka	yama
DUP be heard	CH AUX CONT+F BKG+F		3PL		3PL	POSS	thing
vi	aux		pron		pron	prt	nf

<b>kakawiba</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>wasi</b>	<b>nofa</b>	<b>mati</b>
ka- kawi		-ba me	wasi	nofa+F	mati
DUP eat with something		FUT	3PL.S	cook	recently
pn		pron	vt	prt	pron

"They don't kill anything for us to eat, they can always be heard [as they play]," they said, as they made the starch to eat with fish.'

27 <b>Faya</b>	<b>faha</b>	<b>bite</b>		<b>koho</b>	<b>narawa</b>	<b>fa</b>	<b>koho</b>
faya	faha	bite		koho	na -rawa+F	faha	koho
so	water	3SG.POSS	daughter	hit	AUX F.PL	water	hit
conj	nf	nf		vt	aux	nf	vt

<b>narawa</b>	<b>fa</b>	<b>koho</b>	<b>narawemetemone</b>
na -rawa+F	faha	koho	na -rawa -hemete -mone
AUX F.PL	water	hit	AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F
aux	nf	vt	aux

'Their daughters were hitting the water with reeds.'

28 <b>Fa</b>	<b>koho</b>	<b>ni</b>		<b>ya</b>	,	<b>sabo</b>	<b>tasi</b>
faha	koho	na.NOM+F		ya		sabo	tasi
water	hit	AUX		ADJU		giant otter	emerge
nf	vt	aux		prt		nm	vi

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

<b>nakematamonaka</b>		<b>aba</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>tama</b>	<b>kanari</b>
na -kI -himata -mona -ka	aba	me	tama	ka- na -haari	
AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	fish sp	3PL.O	hold onto	COMIT AUX IP.E+M	
aux	nm	pron	vt	aux	

**ahi**

ahi  
then  
dem

'As they were hitting the water, the giant otter appeared, holding some *aba* fish in his hands.'

29 <b>Ehene</b>	<b>e</b>	<b>ne</b>	<b>kakaba</b>	<b>tihini</b>		?
ehene	ee	na+M	ka- kaba	ti- to- ha -ni		
victim of+M	be similar	AUX	DUP eat	2SG.S CH AUX BKG+F		
pn	vi	aux	vt	aux		

""Have you eaten something like this that he killed?""

30 <b>Ehene</b>	<b>okobi</b>	<b>onofarene</b>				
ehene	o- kaba	o- nofa	-ra -ne			<b>me</b>
victim of+M	1SG.S eat	1SG.S recently	NEG BKG+M			3PL.POSS
pn	vt	prt				pron

**ihi**

ihi  
because of+F  
post

""I haven't eaten anything he killed, because of the others.""

31 <b>Ehene</b>	<b>kakaba</b>	<b>tihini</b>			?
ehene	ka- kaba	ti- to- ha -ni			
victim of+M	DUP eat	2SG.S CH AUX BKG+F			
pn	vt	aux			

""Are you eating what he killed?""

32 <b>Ee</b>	<b>sabira</b>	<b>kamakibisematamonaka</b>				
ee	sabira	ka -makI	-bisa -himata -mona -ka			
(pause)	river otter	go/come following	also FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M			
interj	nm	vi				

**ahi**

ahi  
then  
dem

'Then the river otter came.'

33 <b>Ehene</b>	<b>kakaba</b>	<b>tiwini</b>			?
ehene	ka- kaba	ti- to- ha -ni			
victim of+M	DUP eat	2SG.POSS CH AUX BKG+F			
pn	vt	aux			

""Are you eating what he killed?""

34 <b>Sabira</b>	<b>sako</b>	<b>fana</b>	<b>koro</b>	<b>nakekane</b>		<b>ahi</b>
sabira	sako	fana	koro	na -kI -kane		ahi
river otter	fish sp	female	throw	AUX coming ?+M		then
nm	nf	nf	vt	aux		dem

'The river otter threw a *sako fana* fish on the ground.'



## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

35 *Faya me me* , *faya me yori* *nemetemoneke*  
 faya me me , faya me yori na -hemete -mone -ke  
 so 3PL 3PL so 3PL.O have sex with AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 conj pron pron conj pron vt aux

*ahi aba me manakone* .  
 ahi aba me manakone  
 then fish 3PL.POSS price  
 dem nm pron pn

'Then they had sex with them, as payment for the fish.'

36 *Aba me manakone me yori na me*  
 aba me manakone me yori na+F me  
 fish 3PL.POSS price 3PL.S have sex with AUX 3PL.S  
 nm pron pn pron result aux pron

*forehimatamonaka* *awa bari ya ahi* .  
 forI -himata -mona -ka awa bari ya ahi  
 lie on top FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M tree back ADJU then  
 vi nf pn prt dem

'They had sex with them as payment for the fish. The peccary was lying on top of a log.'

37 *Fore ni ya , fati kahiwarawa*  
 forI ni ya , fati ka- hiwa -rawa+F ,  
 lie on top to ADJU 3SG.POSS.wife COMIT have children F.PL  
 vi prt prt nf vi

*fati kahiwarawemetemoneke* .  
 fati ka- hiwa -rawa -hemete -mone -ke  
 3SG.POSS.wife COMIT have children F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nf vi

'As he lay there, his wives were having sex.'

38 *Fati kahiwarawa na , yora*  
 fati ka- hiwa -rawa+F na , yora  
 3SG.POSS.wife COMIT have children F.PL AUX jump  
 nf vi aux vi

*nisematamonaka ahi* .  
 na -risa -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem

'His wives were having sex. He jumped off the log.'<sup>108</sup>

39 *Yora nise ni ya , sabo kosi*  
 yora na -risa+M ni ya , sabo kosi  
 jump AUX down to ADJU giant otter flail  
 vi aux prt prt nm vt

*narematamonaka Kowiyiyiyi*  
 na -rI -himata -mona -ka kowiyiyiyi  
 AUX raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (call of giant otter)  
 aux sound

*kowiyiyiyi* .  
 kowiyiyiyi  
 (call of giant otter)  
 sound

'He jumped off, and beat the giant otter with the switch. "Kowiyiyiyi, kowiyiyiyi."'

108 The auxiliary *na* is a mistake.

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

40 *Mera kosi nematamonaka ahi*  
 mera kosi na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 3PL.O flail AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 pron vt aux dem  
 'He beat them with the switch.'

41 *Sabira sabira kosi nare*  
 sabira sabira kosi na -rI.LIST  
 river otter river otter flail AUX raised surface  
 nm nm vt aux

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

'He beat the river otter, too.'

42 *Sabira , kiya kanematamonaka ahi*  
 sabira , kiya ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 river otter yell COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 nm vi aux dem

'The river otter cried out.'

43 *E me nimakoni naba me totoha*  
 ee me na -makoni naba me to- to- ha  
 like this 3PL.S AUX for this reason+F pregnant 3PL.S DUP CH AUX  
 dem pron aux vi pron aux

*tohine ninihi*  
 to- ha -ne na.NOM+F -ni -hi  
 CH AUX CONT+F AUX IP.N+F DUP  
 aux aux

""That's why they are pregnant.""

44 *Fati , fati watematamonaka*  
 fati , fati wata -himata -mona -ka  
 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife catch FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nf nf vt

'He grabbed his wife.'

45 *Fati wate , fati wate fati namiti*  
 fati wata+M , fati wata+M fati namiti  
 3SG.POSS.wife catch 3SG.POSS.wife catch 3SG.POSS.wife neck  
 nf vt nf vt nf pn  
*wari nawahe , awa hoti homemetemoneke ahi*  
 wari na -waha+M , awa hoti homa -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 turn AUX change tree hole lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F there  
 vt aux nf nf vi dem

'He grabbed his wife. He twisted her neck. There was a hollow log there on the ground.'

46 *Awa hoti homa ya fati yoko*  
 awa hoti homa+F ya fati yoko  
 tree hole lie on ground ADJU 3SG.POSS.wife push  
 nf nf vi prt nf vt

*toniyomematamonaka ahi*  
 to- na -yoma -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 CH AUX through FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

'He stuffed his wife into the log.'

47 *Wakowa tihateba ama ti*  
 wakowa ti- to- ha -tee -haba ama ti-  
 paca 2SG.S CH AUX HAB FUT+F SEC 2SG.S  
 nm vc sec prt

"You are going to be the paca."

48 *Faya , faya mera tonahiye*  
 faya faya mera to- na- hiya+M  
 so so 3PL.O CH CAUS be different  
 conj conj pron vt

*tokomematamonaka ahi*  
 to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vi dem

'After he turned them into animals, he went away.'

49 *Bite hasi karawemetemoneke*  
 bite hasi ka- na -rawa -hemete -mone -ke  
 3SG.POSS.daughter escape COMMIT AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nf vi aux

'His two daughters escaped.'

50 *Bite fa koho narawa hasi karawa*  
 bite faha koho na -rawa+F hasi ka- na -rawa+F  
 3SG.POSS.daughter water hit AUX F.PL escape COMMIT AUX F.PL  
 nf vt aux vi aux

*kana ni kana ni towakarawa yoro narawa*  
 kana na.NFIN kana na.NFIN to- ka- ka -rawa+F yoro na -rawa+F  
 run AUX run AUX away COMMIT go/come F.PL stand AUX F.PL  
 vi aux vi aux vi vi aux

*ahi*  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem

'His daughters were hitting the water with reeds. They escaped, running away. They stood in the forest.'

51 *Me yoro towitiani me , me siba hina*  
 me yoro to- na -witI -hani me , me siba hi- na+F  
 3PL.S stand away AUX out IP.N+F 3PL.S 3PL.O look for OC AUX  
 pron vi aux pron pron vt aux

*me me me hiwasimetemone*  
 me me me hi- wasi -hemete -mone  
 3PL.O 3PL 3PL.O OC find FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pron pron vt

'They hid in the forest. He looked for them and found them.'

52 *Faya , kame tokome E me na me*  
 faya ka -ma+M to- ka -ma+M ee me na+F me  
 so go/come back away go/come back be similar 3PL.S AUX 3PL.S  
 conj vi vi vi pron aux pron  
 , *e me na me , naba me totoa*  
 ee me na+F me , naba me to- to- ha  
 be similar 3PL.S AUX 3PL.S pregnant 3PL.S DUP CH be  
 vi pron aux pron vi pron vc

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

<i>tohanike</i>			<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>yor</i>		<i>hina</i>	<i>mati</i>
to- ha -hani -ke	me me		3PL.O	3PL.S	have sex with		hi- na+F	mati
CH AUX IP.N+F DECL+F							OC AUX	3PL.O
aux			pron	pron	vt		aux	pron

'He came back. "That's why they got pregnant, they have been having sex with them."'

53 <i>Me</i>	<i>kosi</i>	<i>ona</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>towakami</i>			<i>me</i>
me	kosi	o- na+F		me	to- ka- ka		-ma.NOM+F	me
3PL.O	flail	1SG.S AUX		3PL.S	away COMIT	go/come	back	3PL.S
pron	vt	aux		pron	vi			pron

<i>tokomi</i>			<i>ahi</i>
to- ka	-ma.NOM+F		ahi
away go/come	back		then
vi			dem

"I beat them, and they went away."

54 <i>Faya</i>	<i>kamematamonaka</i>			<i>ahi</i>
faya	ka	-ma	-himata -mona -ka	ahi
so	go/come	back	FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	then
conj	vi			dem

'He came back.'

55 <i>Me</i>	<i>kama</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>bite</i>		<i>fanabisaha</i>
me	ka	-ma+F	me	bite		fana -bisa+F
3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S	3SG.POSS.daughter		be married also
pron	vi		pron	nf		vi

<i>bite</i>	<i>fanabisa</i>		<i>winaha</i>		<i>ee</i>
bite	fana	-bisa+F	wina+F		ee
3SG.POSS.daughter	be married	also	lie in hammock		(pause)
nf	vi		vi		interj

<i>Okoto</i>	<i>oka</i>		<i>biaba</i>	<i>bia</i>	<i>bia</i>	<i>wai</i>
okoto	o- ka		biha -ba	biha	biha	wai
my daughter	1SG.POSS	POSS	plant sp	FUT	plant sp	bite
nf	prt		nm	nm	nm	vt

<i>nawahebonaha</i>			
na -waha -hibona -ha			
AUX change INT+M		DUP	
aux			

"They came back. His other daughter, who was married, was lying in her hammock. "Daughter, give me some *biha* vine [root]." He wanted to chew the *biha* [root]."

56 <i>Biha</i>	<i>hiti</i>	<i>tokasa</i>		<i>narene</i>
biha	hiti	to- ka	-saa	na -hare -ne
plant sp	owner	away go/come	still	AUX IP.E+M BKG+M
nm	nm	vi		aux

"The owner of the *biha* vine is still out in the forest."

57 <i>Biha</i>	<i>hiti</i>	<i>tokarene</i>		<i>ahi</i>	<i>yama</i>	<i>yete</i>
biha	hiti	to- ka	-hare -ne	ahi	yama	yete
plant sp	owner	away go/come	IP.E+M BKG+M	there	forest	hunt
nm	nm	vi		dem	nf	vt

<i>nebonaha</i>			
na -hibona -ha			
AUX INT+M		DUP	
aux			

"The owner of the *biha* went hunting."

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

58 *Yama hinaka bia ta onaho*  
 yama hinaka biha taa o- na -ho  
 thing 3SG.POSS plant sp give 1SG.S AUX IMP+M  
 nf pron nm vt aux

"I don't want to give his *biha*."

59 *Owa kakobaya*  
 owa kaako -ba -ya  
 1SG.O be angry with IMMED+M now  
 pron vt

"He will be angry with me."

60 *Ta tinaho owa*  
 taa ti- na -ho owa  
 give 2SG.S AUX IMP+M other+M  
 vt aux adj

"Give me some."

61 *Owa owa , ohehibanaka*  
 owa owa o- iha -hibana -ka  
 other+M other+M 1SG.S have FUT+M DECL+M  
 adj adj vt

"I'm going to have some of it."

62 *Ati yoko namarematamonane toiyebana*  
 ati yoko na -ma -ra -himata -mona -ne to- hiya -hibana  
 voice stop AUX back NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M CH be different FUT+M  
 pn vi aux vi

'He wouldn't stop talking, he was going to turn into an animal.'

63 *Biha ohari bite ta hine bia wai*  
 biha ohari+M bite taa hi- na+M biha wai  
 plant sp be one 3SG.POSS.daughter give OC AUX plant sp bite  
 nm vi nf vt aux nm vt

*nawahe fara me nima ahi*  
 na -waha+M fara me nima ahi  
 AUX change same+F 3PL like there  
 aux dem pron prt dem

'She gave him one *biha* [root], and he chewed it. They were all there.'

64 *Bia ebe nematamonaka ahi*  
 biha ebe na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 plant sp divide up AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 nm vt aux dem

'He gave each one a piece of *biha*.'

65 *Sina me hisi nemetemoneke ahi*  
 sina me hisi na -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 nf pron vt aux dem

'They took snuff.'

66 *Sina me hisi na me hine me tonahiya me*  
 sina me hisi na+F me hine me to- na- hiya+F me  
 snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX 3PL.S 3.REFL 3PL.S CH CAUS be bad 3PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux pron pron pron vt pron

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

<b>me</b>	<b>yaro</b>	<b>kanemetemone</b>		<b>ahi</b>	<b>Hifotare</b>
me	yaro	ka- na -hemete -mone		ahi	hifotare
3PL.S	start	COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F		then	(grunt of white-lipped peccary)
pron	vt	aux		dem	sound

<b>ooo</b>	<b>ooo</b>
ooo	ooo
(grunting of white-lipped peccary)	(grunting of white-lipped peccary)
sound	sound

"They took snuff. They started themselves up." <sup>109</sup>Hifotare, oooo."

<b>67 Fare</b>	<b>toke</b>		<b>nowati</b>	<b>ka</b>	<b>ya</b>	<b>me</b>	
fare	to-	ka+M	nowati	ka	ya	me	,
same+M	away	go/come	behind	LOC	ADJU	3PL.S	
dem	vi		pn	prt	prt	pron	

<b>tokomaketemoneke</b>						<b>ahi</b>
to-	ka	-makI	-hemete	-mone	-ke	ahi
away	go/come	following	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then
vi						dem

"They went after him."

<b>68 Biti</b>		<b>iisi</b>		<b>kabote</b>		<b>ne</b>	<b>inamate</b>	<b>nafire</b>	
biti		i- isi		na -kabote		na+M	inamate	nafi -ra+M	,
3SG.POSS.son		DUP be small		AUX quickly		AUX	child	be big NEG	
nm		vi		aux		aux	nm	vi	

<b>inamate</b>	<b>nafire</b>		<b>inamate</b>	<b>iisi</b>		<b>kabote</b>	<b>ne</b>
inamate	nafi -ra+M	,	inamate	i- isi		na -kabote	na+M
child	be big NEG		child	DUP be small		AUX quickly	AUX
nm	vi		nm	vi		aux	aux

<b>sawihi</b>		<b>hiyama</b>		<b>biti</b>	<b>toahi</b>
sawi+M		hiyama		biti	to- ha+M
be present		white-lipped peccary		small+M	CH be
vi		nm		adj	aux

<b>hiyama</b>		<b>biti</b>	<b>toe</b>	<b>bati</b>		<b>kame</b>
hiyama		biti	to- ha+M	bati		ka -ma+M
white-lipped peccary		small+M	CH be	3SG.POSS.father		go/come back
nm		adj	vc	nm		vi

<b>me</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>tokomake</b>		<b>me</b>
me	ati	to- ka	-makI	me
3PL.POSS	voice	away go/come	following	3PL.S
pron	pn	vi		pron

<b>tokomaketemoneke</b>					<b>ahi</b>
to-	ka	-makI	-hemete	-mone	-ke
away	go/come	following	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F
vi					then
					dem

'His son, a small child, was with them. He was a young white-lipped peccary. His father came back. Their voices could be heard as they went.'

<b>69 Owati</b>		<b>me</b>	<b>mitarake</b>		<b>kobaya</b>	<b>ati</b>
o-	ati	me	mita -hara -ke		kobaya	ati
1SG.POSS	voice	3PL.S	hear IP.E+F DECL+F		collared peccary	say
pn		pron	vt		nm	vt

<b>nematamona</b>		<b>kobaya</b>
na -himata -mona		kobaya
AUX FP.N+M REP+M		collared peccary
aux		nm

"They heard what I said," the collared peccary said.'

<sup>109</sup> It should be *hine me yaro kanemetemone*.

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

70 *Kobaya* *kame* , *kobaya* *kame* *Me* ,  
 kobaya ka -ma+M kobaya ka -ma+M me ,  
 collared peccary go/come back collared peccary go/come back 3PL  
 nm vi nm vi pron  
*me* *ihi* *naro* *haro*  
 me ihi na -haaro haaro  
 3PL.POSS result of+F exist look+F that one+F  
 pron pn vi dem  
 "The collared peccary came back. "Look, there are signs of them there."

71 *Kame* *bani* *me* *weye* *ni* *kame* *bani* *me*  
 ka -ma+M bani me weye na.NFIN ka -ma+M bani me  
 go/come back animal 3PL.O carry AUX go/come back animal 3PL.O  
 vi nm pron vt aux vi nm pron  
*iseme* *fati* *ni* *ya* *bani* *me*  
 isI -ma+M , fati ni ya bani me  
 drop off back 3SG.POSS.wife to ADJU animal 3PL.O  
 vt nf prt prt nm pron  
*isemematamonaka*  
 isI -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 drop off back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt  
 'He came back. He came back carrying game. He brought back the game. He brought back the game to his wife.'

72 *Bani* *me* *iseme* , *Oka* , *okatao* *e*  
 bani me isI -ma+M , o- ka , okatao ee  
 animal 3PL.O drop off back 1SG.POSS POSS my son (question)  
 nm pron vt prt nm vi  
*ra* ?  
 na -ra  
 AUX CQ+M  
 prt  
 'He brought the game back. "Where is my son?"'

73 *Inamate* *sawiharene* *ahi*  
 inamate sawi -hare -ne ahi  
 child be present IP.E+M BKG+M there  
 nm vi dem  
 ""The boy is with them.""

74 *Okatao* *nasawino* *awa* ?  
 okatao na- sawi -hino awa ?  
 my son CAUS be present IP.N+M seem+M  
 nm vt sec  
 ""Did she make my son join them?""

75 *Faya* *sare* *sana* *kani*  
 faya sarehe sana ka- na.NFIN  
 so blowgun dart carry strapped on shoulder COMIT AUX  
 conj nf vt aux  
*tokomake* , *tokomakematamonaka*  
 to- ka -makI , to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka  
 away go/come following away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi vi

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

**sare**                      **sana**                                      **kanahari**  
sarehe                      sana                                      ka-    na    -haari  
blowgun dart    carry strapped on shoulder    COMMIT AUX IP.E+M  
nf                      vt                                      aux  
'He went carrying his pack of darts slung on his shoulder.'

76 **Sare**                      **rofirofi**                                      **tos**  
sarehe                      rofi- rofi                                      to- na    -sii  
blowgun dart    DUP    twirl in mouth    CH    AUX slowly along the way  
nf                      vt                                      aux

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

'He was making heads on the darts, twisting them in his mouth, as he went along.'

77 **Sare**                      **rofi**                                      **ne**    **tokomake**  
sarehe                      rofi                                      na+M    to- ka    -makI  
blowgun dart    twirl in mouth    AUX    away go/come following  
nf                      vt                                      aux    vi

**tokomake**                                      **ya**                      **me**                      **bosiri**                      **fora**  
to- ka                      -makI.NOM    ya                      me                      bosiri                      fora  
away go/come following    ADJU                      3PL.POSS    scent gland    shoot with blowgun  
vi                                      prt                      pron                      pn                      vt

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

'He went making heads on the darts. He made their scent glands by hitting them with the darts.'

78 **Me**                      **bosiri**                      **fora**                                      **hina**                      **me**                      **me**  
me                      bosiri                      fora                                      hi- na+F    me                      me  
3PL.POSS    scent gland    shoot with blowgun    OC    AUX    3PL.POSS    3PL.POSS  
pron                      pn                      vt                                      aux                      pron                      pron

**bosiri**                      **nafi**    **fora**                                      **ne**                      **ya**                      **me**                      **ye**  
bosiri                      nafi    fora                                      na.NOM+M    ya                      me                      yee  
scent gland    all    shoot with blowgun    AUX                      ADJU                      3PL.S    yell  
pn                      pn    vt                                      aux                      prt                      pron    vi

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

'He made their scent glands by hitting them with the darts. He made scent glands for all of them with the darts, and they yelled out.'

79 **Me**                      **ye**                      **na**                      **me**                      **toka**                                      **me**                      **fawa**  
me                      yee    na+F    me                      to- ka+F    me                      fawa  
3PL.S    yell    AUX    3PL.S    away go/come    3PL.S    disappear  
pron    vi    aux    pron    vi                                      pron    vi

**tosawitia**                                      **biti**                                      **totimake**  
to- na -kosa -witI+F    biti                                      to- iti                      -makI  
away AUX middle out                      3SG.POSS.son    away take out following  
aux                                      nm                                      vt

**biti**                                      **kakamematamonaka**  
biti                      ka- ka                      -ma -himata -mona -ka  
3SG.POSS.son    COMMIT go/come back FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M  
nm                      vi



## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

'They yelled out as they went away. They disappeared into the forest. He got his son and brought his son back.'

80 *Biti*                      *kakame*                      ,                      *biti*                      ,                      *biti*  
 biti                      ka-    ka                      -ma+M                      ,                      biti                      ,                      biti  
 3SG.POSS.son    COMMIT go/come back                      3SG.POSS.son                      3SG.POSS.son  
 nm                      vt                      nm                      nm

*kakamematamona*

ka-    ka                      -ma    -himata    -mona  
 COMMIT go/come back FP.N+M    REP+M  
 vt

'He brought his son back.'

81 *Biti*                      *kakame*                      ,                      *biti*                      ,                      *biti*  
 biti                      ka-    ka                      -ma+M                      biti                      ,                      biti  
 3SG.POSS.son    COMMIT go/come back                      3SG.POSS.son                      3SG.POSS.son  
 nm                      vt                      nm                      nm

*tonihawahame*

to-    niha-    ha                      -waha    -ma+M                      *biti*                      *nasawi*                      ,                      *faya*    *me*  
 CH    CAUS    AUX    change    back                      3SG.POSS.son                      CAUS    be    present                      so                      3PL.S  
 vt                      nm                      vt                      conj    pron

*toka*

to-    ka+F                      *me*                      ,                      *kamaremetemoneke*  
 away go/come    3PL.S                      ka                      -ma    -ra    -hemete    -mone    -ke  
 vi                      pron                      vi                      NEG    FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F

'He brought his son back. He turned his son back into a person. He made his son stay with them. They went away and didn't come back.'

82 *Himata*    *nima*    *e*                      *ribe*                      ?  
 himata    nima    ee                      na    -ri    -be  
 what?    like    1IN.S                      AUX    CQ+F    IMMED+F  
 interrog    prt                      pron                      aux

""What should we become?""

83 *Himata*    *nima*    *e*                      *ribeya*                      ?  
 himata    nima    ee                      na    -ri    -be                      -ya  
 what?    like    1IN.S                      AUX    CQ+F    IMMED+F    now  
 interrog    prt                      pron                      aux

""What should we become?""

84 *Oka*                      *bia*                      *e*                      *ra*                      ?  
 o-                      ka                      biha                      ee                      na    -ra+F  
 1SG.POSS    POSS                      plant    sp                      (question)                      AUX    NEG  
 prt                      nm                      vi                      aux

""Where is my *biha*?""

85 *Bia*                      *owa*                      *ta*                      *one*                      *owa*                      *nafire*                      *foya*  
 biha                      owa                      taa                      o-                      na+M                      owa                      nafi                      -ra+M                      foya.CONT+M  
 plant    sp                      other+M                      give    1SG.S    AUX                      other+M                      be    big    NEG                      be    inside  
 nm                      adj                      vt                      aux                      adj                      vi                      vi

*hari*

haari  
 that one+M  
 dem

""I gave away most of the *biha*. There is a little in the pot.""

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

86 **Oko**                      **yama**      **okayawa**                      **owati**  
 o-                      ka      yama      o-      ka-      yawa+F      o-                      ati  
 1SG.POSS      POSS      thing      1SG.S      COMIT      be upset      1SG.POSS      voice  
 prt                      nf      vt                      pn

**timitariya**                      ?      **ati**      **nematamonaka**  
 ti-      mita      -ra+F      -ya                      ati      na      -himata      -mona      -ka  
 2SG.S      hear      NEG      now                      say      AUX      FP.N+M      REP+M      DECL+M  
 vt                      vt      aux

"I want my stuff, didn't you hear me?" he said.'

87 **Yama**                      ,      **yama**      **okayawa**                      **owati**                      **timitara**  
 yama                      ,      yama      o-      ka-      yawa+F      o-                      ati      ti-      mita      -hara  
 thing                      thing      1SG.S      COMIT      be upset      1SG.POSS      voice      2SG.S      hear      IP.E+F  
 nf                      nf      vt                      pn                      vt

**tike**  
 ti-      ke  
 2SG.S      DECL+F  
 prt

"I want my stuff, you heard me."

88 **Yama**                      ,      **faya**      **me**      **tafemetemoneke**  
 yama                      ,      faya      me      tafa      -hemete      -mone      -ke  
 thing                      so      3PL.S      eat      FP.N+F      REP+F      DECL+F  
 nf                      conj      pron      vi

'They ate.'

89 **Me**      **tafa**      **me**                      ,      **me**      **tafa**      **bai**      **aawa**  
 me      tafa+F      me                      ,      me      tafa+F      bahi      a-      awa  
 3PL.S      eat      3PL.S                      3PL.S      eat      sun      DUP      see  
 pron      vi                      pron                      pron      vi                      nm      vt

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

'They ate. He looked at where the sun was.'

90 **Bai**      **aawa**      **ne**                      **ya**                      ,      **tafatafa**      **kawahe**                      **ya**  
 bahi      a-      awa      na.NOM+M      ya                      ,      tafa-      tafa      ka-      na      -waha+M      ya  
 sun      DUP      see      AUX                      ADJU                      DUP      eat      COMIT      AUX      change      ADJU  
 nm      vt                      aux                      prt                      vi                      aux                      prt

**tafatafa**                      **kawahe**                      **ya**      **ahi**                      ,      **fati**                      **naba**  
 tafa-      tafa      ka-      na      -waha.NOM+M      ya      ahi                      ,      fati                      naba  
 DUP      eat      COMIT      AUX      change      ADJU      then                      3SG.POSS.wife      pregnant  
 vi                      aux                      prt      dem                      nf                      vi

**toha**                      ,      **fati**                      **naba**      **toha**                      ,      **Hima**      **biha**      **wai**  
 to-      ha+F                      ,      fati                      naba      to-      ha+F                      ,      hima      biha      wai  
 CH      AUX                      3SG.POSS.wife      pregnant      CH      AUX                      let's go      plant sp      bite  
 aux                      nf                      vi                      aux                      interj                      nm                      vt

**tiwaha**  
 ti-      na      -waha  
 2SG.S      AUX      change  
 aux

'He looked at where the sun was. He quickly finished eating. His wife was pregnant. "Come on, chew some biha."

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

- 91 *E tokomake ahi*  
 ee to- ka -makI ahi  
 1IN.S away go/come following there  
 pron vi dem  
 "'Let's go.'"
- 92 *Era me kakosariyahi*  
 era me ka- kana -kosa -ra -yahi  
 1IN.O 3PL.S COMIT leave middle NEG DIST.IMP+F  
 pron pron vt  
 "'I don't want them to leave us behind.'"
- 93 *E tokomakibeya*  
 ee to- ka -makI -be -ya  
 1IN.S away go/come following IMMED+F now  
 pron vi  
 "'Let's go.'"
- 94 *Faya yana tonematamonaka ahi*  
 faya yana to- na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 conj vi aux dem  
 'He was ready.'
- 95 *Kobaya kobaya sare soba nake*  
 kobaya kobaya , sarehe soba na -kI  
 collared peccary collared peccary blowgun dart pull out AUX coming  
 nm nm nf vt aux  
 , *sare bosiri itematamonaka ahi*  
 sarehe bosiri ita -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 blowgun dart scent gland pierce FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 nf pn vt dem  
 'The collared peccary took out a dart and pierced himself to make his scent gland.'
- 96 *Saka kabote nematamonaka ahi*  
 saka kabote na -kabote na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 pierce repeatedly AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vt aux aux dem
- Ho ho*  
 ho ho  
 (grunt of collared peccary) (grunt of collared peccary)  
 sound sound  
*ho ho*  
 ho ho  
 (grunt of collared peccary) (grunt of collared peccary)  
 sound sound  
 'He pierced repeatedly. "Ho, ho, ho.'"
- 97 *Me yana tonemetemoneke ahi*  
 me yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 pron vi aux dem  
 'They turned into animals.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

98 *Fati* , *fati* *bosiribone* *ita*  
 fati fati bosiri -bone ita.LIST  
 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife scent gland INT+F pierce  
 nf nf pn vt

*nematamonaka*

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

'He also pierced his wife to make her scent gland.'

99 *Biti* *bosiribona* *ita* *nematamonaka* *ahi*  
 biti bosiri -bona ita.LIST na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 3SG.POSS.son scent gland INT+M pierce AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 nm pn vt aux dem

'He also pierced his son to make his scent gland.'

100 *Faya me tokomaketemoneke* *ahi*  
 faya me to- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 so 3PL.S away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron vi dem

'They went.'

101 *Hobehobe kawahematamonaka* *ahi* , *fare*  
 hobe- hobe ka- na -waha -himata -mona -ka ahi fare  
 DUP squeal COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then same+M  
 vi aux dem dem

*atitebana*

ati -tee -bana  
 voice HAB FUT  
 pn

'He made the sound of a collared peccary, it was his sound.'

102 *Me toka me* , *me fawa tosi*  
 me to- ka+F me me fawa to- na -kosa.NOM+F  
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S 3PL.S disappear CH AUX middle  
 pron vi pron pron vi aux

*ya kokosi kokosi kokositeba kokosi kokosi*  
 ya kokosi kokosi kokosi -tee -ba kokosi kokosi  
 ADJU kinkajou kinkajou kinkajou HAB FUT kinkajou kinkajou  
 prt nf nm nm nm nm nm

*fare ino amane kokosi*  
 fare ino ama -ne kokosi  
 same+M name+M be BKG+M kinkajou  
 dem pn vc nm

'They went. They disappeared into the forest. It was the kinkajou. That was his only name.'

103 *Kokosimatamonaka*

kokosi -mata -mona -ka  
 kinkajou FP.N+M REP+M DECL  
 nm

'It was the kinkajou.'

104 *Faya yana tone* , *kokosi biti* , *biti*  
 faya yana to- na+M kokosi biti biti  
 so start CH AUX kinkajou 3SG.POSS.son 3SG.POSS.son  
 conj vi aux nm nm nm

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

**ababisematamona**

ahaba -bisa -himata -mona  
die also FP.N+M REP+M  
vi

'He was ready. The son of the kinkajou died.'

105 **Hinakaki** , **maka** , **yiwa bonimetemone** **yiwa boni**  
hinaka aki , maka , yiwaha boni -mete -mone yiwaha boni  
3SG.POSS grandmother snake ceramic pot FP.N+F REP+F ceramic pot  
nf nf nf

'His grandmother...snakes...there was a ceramic pot.'

106 **Aya** **yiwa boni** **itemetemoneke** **ahi**  
aya yiwaha boni ita -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
this ceramic pot sit FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
dem nf vi dem

'There was a ceramic pot.'

107 **Maka** **mo** **karawemetemone** **makarawa** **ahi** ,  
maka moo ka- na -rawa -hemete -mone maka -rawa ahi  
snake be full COMIT AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F snake F.PL then  
nf vi aux nf dem

**yowamisarawaharo**

yowa -misa -rawa -haaro  
reach up F.PL IP.E+F  
vi

'The pot was full of snakes to the brim.'

108 **Hinakaki** , **maka** **taferawabone** **ra**  
hinaka aki , maka tafe -rawa -bone ra  
3SG.POSS grandmother snake food+F F.PL INT+F O  
nf nf pn prt

**hinakaki** **tonaka** **fawa** **na** , **korakaka** **mera**  
hinaka aki to- na- ka+F fawa na+F , korakaka mera  
3SG.POSS grandmother away CAUS go/come disappear AUX toad sp 3PL.O  
nf vt vi aux nm pron

**waka** **nani** **kama** , **kamemetemoneke**  
waka na -hani ka -ma+F ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
kill AUX IP.N+F go/come back go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
vt aux vi vi

'His grandmother went out to get food for the snakes, and she took a long time. She was killing korakaka toads. She came back.'

109 **Kama** , **inamatewe** **tafematamonaka**  
ka -ma+F , inamatewe tafa -himata -mona -ka  
go/come back child eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vi nm vi

'She came back. The boy was eating.'

110 **Inamatewe** **tafe** , **inamate** **Abi** , **bakasi** **owini**  
inamatewe tafa+M , inamate abi , bakasi o- awa -ni  
child eat child father thirst 1SG.S feel BKG+F  
nm vi nm nm nf vt

'The boy was eating. "Father, I'm thirsty."'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

111 *Bakasi fa fa wataremetemoneke*  
 bakasi faha faha wata -ra -hemete -mone -ke  
 thirst water water exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nf nf nf vi

'He was thirsty, but there wasn't any water.'

112 *Aki ka fa kawita awineke*  
 aki ka faha ka- ita+F awine -ke  
 your grandmother POSS water COMIT sit seem+F DECL+F  
 nf prt nf vi sec

'''I think there is water in your grandmother's pot.'''

113 *Aki ka fa kawitine haro*  
 aki ka faha ka- ita -ne haaro  
 your grandmother POSS water COMIT sit CONT+F that one+F  
 nf prt nf vi dem

'''There is water in your grandmother's pot there.'''

114 *Aki ka fa , tifahi*  
 aki ka faha , ti- fawa -hi  
 grandmother POSS water 2SG.S drink IMP+F  
 nf prt nf vt

'''Drink some of your grandmother's water.'''

115 *Yiwa boni kawitineke haro , noki yoto*  
 yiwaha boni ka- ita -ne -ke haaro , noki yoto  
 ceramic pot COMIT sit CONT+F DECL+F that one+F end+F cover  
 nf vi dem pn result

*kanaharo haro*  
 ka- na -haaro haaro  
 COMIT AUX IP.E+F that one+F  
 aux dem

'''The pot is there with its lid on.'''

116 *Fa onakamamatibe ati*  
 faha o- to- na- ka -ma -mata -be ati  
 water 1SG.S away CAUS go/come back short time IMMED+F say  
 nf vt vt

*namako , yawematamona*  
 na -mako , yawa -himata -mona  
 AUX for this reason+M be upset FP.N+M REP+M  
 aux vi

'Because he didn't say, "I will go get water," he grieved afterwards.'

117 *Inamate yana kabote nematamonaka*  
 inamate yana na -kabote na -himata -mona -ka  
 child get up AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm vi aux aux

'The boy got up quickly.'

118 *Inamate yana ne tokematamonaka ahi*  
 inamate yana na+M to- ka -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 child get up AUX away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M there  
 nm vi aux vi dem

'The boy got up quickly and went.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

119 *Toke* , *yiwa noki bori iti* , *fa boko*  
 to- ka+M , yiwa noki bori iti+M , faha boko  
 away go/come pot lid+F take out water close  
 vi nf pn vt nf vt

*tonihebona* , *noko maka kose*  
 to- niha- na -hibona , noko maka kose  
 CH CAUS AUX INT+M face+M snake bite many times  
 aux pn nf vt

*hirawematamona ahi* .  
 hi- na -rawa -himata -mona ahi  
 OC AUX F.PL FP.N+M REP+M then  
 aux dem

'He went. He took off the lid of the pot. When he was bending over to drink water, the snakes bit him on the face.'

120 *Aya ya ya*  
 aya yaa yaa  
 (expression of pain) (expression of pain) (expression of pain)  
 interj interj prt

*onokora onokora* .  
 o- noko -ra o- noko -ra  
 1SG.POSS face NPQ 1SG.POSS face NPQ  
 pn pn

'"Aya ya ya, my face, my face."'

121 *Faya maka noko kose hirawe kiya kane*  
 faya maka noko kose hi- na -rawa+M kiya ka- na+M  
 so snake face+M bite many times OC AUX F.PL yell COMMIT AUX  
 conj nf pn vt aux vi aux

, *bati fito tonamake* , *yama nawati*  
 bati fito to- na -makI yama na- wata  
 3SG.POSS.father rush away AUX following thing CAUS exist  
 nm vi aux nf vt

*nofaraweno Hinaka yama okatao kose*  
 nofa -rawa -hino , hinaka yama okatao kose  
 recently F.PL IP.N+M 3SG.POSS thing my son bite many times  
 prt pron nf nm vt

*nineni ati nematamonaka ahi* .  
 na -ne -ni ati na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 AUX CONT+F BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux vt aux dem

'He cried out as the snakes bit him on the face. His father ran to him. "She has been raising them, and her things bit my son," he said.'

122 *Faya hikanabowarawemetemone ahi* .  
 faya hi- ka- na- aboha -rawa -hemete -mone ahi  
 so OC COMMIT CAUS die F.PL FP.N+F REP+F then  
 conj vt dem

'He destroyed the pot with the snakes.'

123 *Hikanabowarawa one hasi na kana ni*  
 hi- ka- na- aboha -rawa+F , one hasi na+F kana na.NFIN  
 OC COMMIT CAUS die F.PL other+F escape AUX run AUX  
 vt adj vi aux vi aux

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

**tokemetemoneke**

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

'He killed them, but one escaped and went running away.'

124 **Maka kana ni toka one abarawemetemone**  
 maka kana na.NFIN to- ka+F one ahaba -rawa -hemete -mone  
 snake run AUX away go/come other+F die F.PL FP.N+F REP+F  
 nf vi aux vi adj vi

**nafi**

nafi  
 all  
 pn

'The snake went running away. The others all died.'

125 **Faya abarawa , faya maka abarawa , faya inamate ,**  
 faya ahaba -rawa+F , faya maka ahaba -rawa+F , faya inamate ,  
 so die F.PL so snake die F.PL so child  
 conj vi conj nf vi conj nm

**inamate abibote nematamona amaka maka**  
 inamate ahaba -bote na -himata -mona ama -ka maka  
 child die quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M snake  
 nm vi aux sec nf

**ihirawa , bati yawebana**  
 ihi -rawa , bati yawa -hibana  
 because of+F F.PL 3SG.POSS.father be upset FUT+M  
 pn nm vi

'They died. The snakes died. The boy died quickly because of the snakes. His father grieved.'

126 **Bati yaweba , hinakaki**  
 bati yawa -hiba , hinaka aki  
 3SG.POSS.father be upset FUT+M 3SG.POSS grandmother  
 nm vi nf

**kamemetemoneke ahi , maka nanawatarawaha**  
 ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi , maka na- na- wata -rawa -ha  
 go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then snake DUP CAUS exist F.PL DUP  
 vi dem nf pn

'His father grieved. His grandmother came back, the one who was raising the snakes.'

127 **Kama kobo namemetemoneke**  
 ka -ma+F kobo na -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 go/come back arrive AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi vi aux

'She came back, and arrived.'

128 **Oka , oka yiwa boni hibeke waka**  
 o- ka , o- ka yiwaha boni hibeke waka  
 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS ceramic pot who+M destroy  
 prt prt nf nm vt

**raya ?**

na -ra -ya  
 AUX CQ+M now  
 aux

""Who destroyed my pot?""



THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

129 *Ami* , *ami* *tikanoti* *noko* *maka* *kose*  
ami ami ti- ka noti noko maka kose  
mother mother 2SG.POSS POSS grandson face+M snake bite many times  
nf nf nm pn nf vt

*hirawe* *bati* *tama* *kanahari*  
hi- na -rawa+M bati tama ka- na -haari  
OC AUX F.PL 3SG.POSS.father hold onto COMMIT AUX IP.E+M  
aux nm vt aux

"Mother, the snakes bit your grandson on the face, and his father is holding him."

130 *Tinawati* *tinofarawanihi* ?  
ti- na- wata ti- nofa -rawa -hani -hi  
2SG.S CAUS exist 2SG.S recently F.PL IP.N+F DUP  
vt prt

"Were you raising them?"

131 *Oko* *yama* *kawitarawa* *aawa* *rawareno*  
o- ka yama ka- ita -rawa+F a- awa na -rawa -ra -hino  
1SG.POSS POSS thing COMMIT sit F.PL DUP see AUX F.PL NEG IP.N+M  
prt nf vi vt aux

*awane* ?  
awa -ne  
seem+M BKG+M  
sec

"Didn't he see them in the pot?"

132 *Inamate* *feneba* *tonakamarawareno*  
inamate fehene -ba to- na- ka -ma -rawa -ra -hino  
child juice+M FUT away CAUS go/come back F.PL NEG IP.N+M  
nm pn vt

*awane* ?  
awa -ne  
seem+M BKG+M  
sec

"Why didn't he go get water for the boy?"

133 *Fa* *tonakamiha* *inamate* *katafare*  
faha to- na- ka -ma -ha inamate ka- tafa -ra+M  
water away CAUS go/come back child COMMIT eat NEG  
nf vt nm vt

"He should have gone after water, and eaten with him."

134 *Inamate* *bati* *toma* *hikana* *ati*  
inamate bati toma hi- na -ka -na ati  
child 3SG.POSS.father suck OC AUX DECL+M IRR+M say  
nm nm vt aux vt

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

'The boy's father sucked on him to cure him, but it was no use.'

135 *Inamate* *ahabematamonaka*  
inamate ahaba -himata -mona -ka  
child die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
nm vi

'The boy died.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

136 *Ahabe* , *faya me kamenemete me amake*  
 ahaba+M , faya me ka -ma -hene -mete me ama -ke  
 end so 3PL.S go/come back IRR+F FP.N+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F  
 vi conj pron vi pron sec

*fahi* .  
 fahi  
 then  
 dem

'He died. If he had gotten well, people could come back from the dead.'

137 *Faya kokosi* , *kokosi biti* , *biti tama*  
 faya kokosi , kokosi biti , biti tama  
 so kinkajou kinkajou 3SG.POSS.son 3SG.POSS.son hold onto  
 conj nm nm nm nm vt

*ne biti* *abe tama* *ne* , *faya biti* ,  
 na+M biti ahaba+M tama na+M , faya biti ,  
 AUX 3SG.POSS.son die hold onto AUX so 3SG.POSS.son  
 aux nm vi vt aux conj nm

*towakamakimatamonaka*

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

'The kinkajou's son died. He held him. He took his son away.'

138 *Biti* *towakamaki* , *Inamatewe*  
 biti to- ka- ka -makI+M , inamatewe  
 3SG.POSS.son away COMIT go/come following child  
 nm vi nm

*okomatibe*

o- kamo -mata -be  
 1SG.S bury short time IMMED+F  
 vt

'He took his son away. "I'm going to bury the boy."'

139 *Faya hikamo* , *hikamomatamonaka*  
 faya hi- kamo+M , hi- kamo -himata -mona -ka  
 so OC bury OC bury FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 conj vt vt

'So he buried him.'

140 *Hikamo* , *hikamomatamonaka*  
 hi- kamo+M , hi- kamo -himata -mona -ka  
 OC bury OC bury FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt vt

'He buried him.'

141 *Hikamo* *kame* , *inamatewe* , *hinaka yifaribone*  
 hi- kamo+M ka -ma+M , inamatewe , hinaka yifari -bone  
 OC bury go/come back child 3SG.POSS banana INT+F  
 vt vi nm pron nf

*hikanawina* , *hinaka kasibona* , *kasi* , *kasi*  
 hi- ka- na- wina+F , hinaka kasi -bona , kasi , kasi  
 OC COMIT CAUS hang 3SG.POSS gourd INT+M gourd gourd  
 vt pron nm nm nm

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

*biti* , *faha* , *fa* *kawitare* , *fa*  
 biti , faha , faha ka- ita -rI , faha  
 3SG.POSS.son water water COMIT sit raised surface water  
 nm nf nf vi nf

***kawitaremoneke***

ka- ita -rI -hemete -mone -ke  
 COMIT sit raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi

'He buried him. He came back. He hung up some bananas for him. There was also a gourd cup, and some water in a container.'

142 *Fa* *kawitare* *ama* , *inamate* *hifahabonehe*  
 faha ka- ita -rI ama , inamate hi- fawa -habone -he  
 water COMIT sit raised surface SEC child OC drink INT+F DUP  
 nf vi sec nm vt

'There was water in a container for the boy to drink.'

143 *Tafa* *tafe* *hiwasimabona* *ka* *tefebona* *botone*  
 tafa+F tafa+M hi- wasi -ma.NOM+M -bona ka tefe -bona botone  
 eat eat OC find back INT+M which food+M INT+M bunch+M  
 vi vi vt prt pn

*hinahome* , *inamate* , *tafimenaha*  
 hi- na- homa+M , inamate , tafi -ma -hina -ha ,  
 OC CAUS lie on ground child wake up back IRR+M DUP  
 vt nm vi

***kamehinaha***

ka -ma -hina -ha  
 go/come back IRR+M DUP  
 vi

'He made a place for his food, so he could find it when he came back, if he woke up and came back.'<sup>110</sup>

144 *Mati* *ati* *hiyara* *mati* *ati*  
 mati ati hiya -ra+F mati ati  
 3SG.POSS.mother voice be bad NEG 3SG.POSS.mother voice  
 nf pn vi nf pn

***hiyaremetemone***

hiya -ra -hemete -mone fara  
 be bad NEG FP.N+F REP+F same+F  
 vi dem

'His mother said something bad.'

145 *Inamate* , *okatao* *ami* , *ami*  
 inamate , okatao ami , ami  
 child my son mother mother  
 nm nm nf nf

""Mother.""

146 *Haa* ?

haa  
 huh?  
 interj

""What?""

<sup>110</sup> The first two words of the sentence, i.e. *tafa* and *tafe*, are false starts.

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

147 *Ami okatao , temene e yowi kamatahi*  
ami okatao , temene ee yowi ka- na -mata -hi  
mother my son grave+M 1IN.S sweep COMMIT AUX short time IMP+F  
nf nm pn pron vt aux

"Mother, let's sweep around my son's grave."

148 *Tikamakeriyahi*  
ti- to- ka -makI -ra -yahi  
2SG.S away go/come following NEG DIST.IMP+F  
vi

"Don't go there."

149 *Okatao temene tiwariyahi*  
okatao temene ti- awa -ra -yahi  
my son grave+M 2SG.S see NEG DIST.IMP+F  
nm pn vt

"Don't look at my son's grave."

150 *Tikamakeriyahi*  
ti- to- ka -makI -ra -yahi  
2SG.S away go/come following NEG DIST.IMP+F  
vi

"Don't go there."

151 *Owati timitini ?*  
o- ati ti- mita -ni  
1SG.POSS voice 2SG.S hear BKG+F  
pn vt

"Did you hear me?"

152 *Okatao temene tiwariyahi*  
okatao temene ti- awa -ra -yahi  
my son grave+M 2SG.S see NEG DIST.IMP+F  
nm pn vt

"Don't look at my son's grave."

153 *Okamatibeya*  
o- to- ka -mata -be -ya  
1SG.S away go/come short time IMMED+F now  
vi

"I'm going out."

154 *Faya toka , tokahi bani me fora*  
faya to- ka , to- ka+M bani me fora  
so away go/come away go/come animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun  
conj vi vi nm pron vt

*ne bani me kakamematamonaka*  
na+M bani me ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka  
AUX animal 3PL.O COMMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
aux nm pron vt

'He went out and killed animals with his blowgun, and brought the animals back.'

155 *Bani me weye ni kame , bani me weye*  
bani me weye na.NFIN ka -ma+M , bani me weye  
animal 3PL.O carry AUX go/come back animal 3PL.O carry  
nm pron vt aux vi nm pron vt

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

<i>ni</i>	<i>kame</i>		<i>bani</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>kame</i>		<i>taha</i>		<i>me</i>
na.NFIN	ka	-ma+M	bani	me	ka	-ma+M	taha		me
AUX	go/come	back	animal	3PL	go/come	back	sweat	bee sp	3PL.S
aux	vi		nm	pron	vi		nm		pron

*tokehemetemoneke*  
to- ka -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
vi dem

'He came back carrying the animals. The taha sweat bees went away.'

156	<i>Inamate</i>	<i>emene</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>kanikimematamona</i>		<i>tati</i>	<i>tati</i>
	inamate	emene	soo	na -kanikima -himata -mona		tati	tati
	child	blood+M	lie	AUX scattered FP.N+M REP+M		head	head
	nm	pn	vi	aux		pn	pn

<i>mati</i>	<i>bobi</i>	<i>hisari</i>		<i>ahi</i>	<i>yimawa</i>	<i>ya</i>
mati	bobi	hi- na -kosa -haari		ahi	yimawa	ya
3SG.POSS.mother	slit	OC AUX middle IP.E+M		there	knife	ADJU
nf	vt	aux		dem	nf	prt

'The boy's blood was all over the ground. His mother had cut off his head with a knife.'

157	<i>Owati</i>	<i>mite</i>	<i>amaka</i>	<i>hari</i>
	o- ati	mita+M	ama -ka	haari
	1SG.POSS voice	hear	SEC DECL+M	that one+M
	pn	vt	sec	dem

""She heard what I said.""

158	<i>Okatao</i>	<i>owasimebona</i>		<i>one</i>		<i>amane</i>
	okatao	o- to- wasi -ma -hibona		ati o- na+M		ama -ne
	my son	1SG.S away find back INT+M		say 1SG.S AUX		SEC BKG+M
	nm	vt		vt		sec

""I'm going to meet my son on the way back.""

159	<i>Tokomakematamonaka</i>
	to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
	away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	vi

'He went.'

160	<i>Tokomake</i>	<i>tokomake</i>
	to- ka -makI	to- ka -makI
	away go/come following	away go/come following
	vi	vi

<i>tokomake</i>	<i>ati</i>
to- ka -makI	ati
away go/come following	voice
vi	pn

<i>towanamakimatamonaka</i>
to- wana -makI -himata -mona -ka
away be attached following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi

'He went. He spoke right away.'

161	<i>Afa</i>	<i>tiweheneni</i>	<i>ama</i>	?
	afa	ti- ehene -ni	ama	
	this+F	2SG.POSS deed IP.N+F	be	
	dem	pn	vc	

""Did you do that?""

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

162 *Owehene*                    *amani* .  
 o-                    ehene    ama -ni  
 1SG.POSS deed    be BKG+F  
 pn                    vc

"I did that."

163 *Inamate*    *temene*    *yowi*    *okane*                    ,    *namiti*    *ti*  
 inamate    temene    yowi    o-    ka-    na+M    ,    namiti    tii  
 child    grave+M    sweep    1SG.S COMIT AUX    neck    cut through  
 nm            pn            vt            aux                                    pn            vt

*onakose*                    *amane*                    *yama*    *yowi*    *ona*                    *owa* .  
 o-    na -kosa+M    ama -ne    yama    yowi    o-    na+F    owa  
 1SG.S AUX middle    SEC BKG+M    thing    sweep    1SG.S AUX    1SG.S  
 aux                    sec                    nf            vt            aux                    pron

"I was sweeping around the boy's grave, and I cut off his head as I was sweeping."

164 *Faya*    *inamate*                    ,    *faya*    *mera*    *tonahiyeba*                                    *mera*  
 faya    inamate                    ,    faya    mera    to- na- hiya                    -hiba    mera  
 so    child                    so    3PL.O CH CAUS be different    FUT+M    3PL.O  
 conj    nm                    conj    pron    vt

*wati*                    *kanematamona*                                    *fahi* .  
 wati                    ka-    na -himata -mona    fahi  
 plan against    COMIT AUX FP.N+M    REP+M    then  
 vt                    aux

'He was planning to turn them into animals.'

165 *Hinakaki*                                    ,    *hinakaki*  
 hinaka    aki                                    hinaka    aki  
 3SG.POSS mother-in-law                    3SG.POSS mother-in-law  
 nf                                    nf

*nabowematamonaka*                                    *ahi* .  
 na- aboha -himata -mona -ka    ahi  
 CAUS die    FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M    then  
 vt                                    dem

'He killed his mother-in-law.'

166 *Hinakaki*                                    *nabowa*                                    ,    *fati*                                    *nabowa*  
 hinaka    aki                                    na- aboha.LIST                    ,    fati                                    na- aboha.LIST  
 3SG.POSS mother-in-law    CAUS die                    3SG.POSS.wife    CAUS die  
 nf                                    vt                                    nf                                    vt

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

'He killed his mother-in-law, and killed his wife, too.'

167 *Fati*                                    *nabowe*                                    *ya*                                    ,    *yama*  
 fati                                    na- aboha.NOM+M    ya                                    ,    yama  
 3SG.POSS.wife    CAUS die                    ADJU                    thing  
 nf                                    vt                                    prt                                    nf

*yehehemetemone*                                    *amani*                                    *fati*                                    *nabowe*  
 yehe                    -hemete -mone    ama -ni    fati                                    na- aboha.NOM+M  
 be a problem    FP.N+F    REP+F    SEC BKG+F    3SG.POSS.wife    CAUS die  
 vi                                    sec                                    nf                                    vt

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

*karo*

karo  
because  
prt

'When he killed his wife, it was a bad situation, because he killed his wife.'

168 *Naba koro toa ra nabowematamonaka*  
naba koro to- ha+F ra na- aboha -himata -mona -ka  
pregnant CH be O CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
adj vc prt vt

'She was pregnant when he killed her.'

169 *He nabowe ya*  
hee na- aboha.NOM+M ya  
3SG.O CAUS die ADJU  
pron vt prt

*tokomakematamonaka* *ahi bati me ni*  
to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka ahi bati me ni  
away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M there 3SG.POSS.father 3PL to  
vi dem nm pron prt

*ya*  
ya  
ADJU  
prt

'After he killed her, he went to his parents.'

170 *Tokomake kobo tonamake ohi ni*  
to- ka -makI kobo to- na -makI ohi na.NFIN  
away go/come following arrive away AUX following cry AUX  
vi vi aux vi aux

*tokomake ohi ni me himite ohi ni*  
to- ka -makI ohi na.NFIN me hi- mita+M ohi na.NFIN  
away go/come following cry AUX 3PL.S OC hear cry AUX  
vi vi aux pron vt vi aux

*fawa ne faya tasi tonamake faya mati*  
fawa na+M faya tasi to- na -makI faya mati  
stop AUX so emerge away AUX following so 3SG.POSS.mother  
vi aux conj vi aux conj nf

*aate hinematamona fahi*  
a- ate hi- na -himata -mona fahi  
DUP ask OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
vt aux dem

'He went and arrived. He went crying. They heard him crying. He stopped crying. He appeared. His mother asked him.'

171 *Mati aate hine Oka noti me*  
mati a- ate hi- na+M o- ka noti me  
3SG.POSS.mother DUP ask OC AUX 1SG.POSS POSS grandson 3PL.S  
nf vt aux prt nm pron

*e riya ?*  
ee na -ri -ya  
(question) AUX CQ+F now  
vi aux

'His mother asked him. "Where are my grandchildren?"'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

172 *Okahiwa* *okare*  
 o- ka- hiwa o- ka -re  
 1SG.S COMIT have children 1SG.S DECL NEG+F  
 vi prt

"I don't have any children."

173 *Okahiwara* *okomakine*  
 o- ka- hiwa -ra+F o- ka -makI -ne  
 1SG.S COMIT have children NEG 1SG.S go/come following CONT+F  
 vi vi

*oke*

o- ke  
 1SG.S DECL+F  
 prt

"I am coming, and I don't have any children."

174 *Me* *winarake*  
 me wina -hara -ke  
 3PL.S live IP.E+F DECL+F  
 pron vi

"The others are living there."

175 *Me* *winarani*  
 me wina -hara -ni  
 3PL.S live IP.E+F BKG+F  
 pron vi

"They are living there."

176 *Fara* *owi* *ya* *okomakine*  
 fara o- waa.NOM+F ya o- ka -makI -ne  
 same+F 1SG.S stand ADJU 1SG.S go/come following CONT+F  
 dem vi prt vi

*oke*

o- ke  
 1SG.S DECL+F  
 prt

"I stayed there a long time, and I am coming."

177 *Faya* *kamaki* *sawimake* , *faya*  
 faya ka -makI+M sawi -makI , faya  
 so go/come following be present following so  
 conj vi vi conj

*sasawimake* *toe* , *hahi* *fati* , *inamate*  
 sa- sawi -makI to- ha+M , haahi fati , inamate  
 DUP be present following CH AUX this one+M 3SG.POSS.wife child  
 vi aux dem nf nm

*ahababise* , *inamate* *ahababise* , *kamobisahi* , *inamate*  
 ahaba -bisa+M , inamate ahaba -bisa+M , kamo -bisa+M , inamate  
 die also child die also bury also child  
 vi nm vi vt nm

*kamobise* , *biti* , *ahabe* *ka* ,  
 kamo -bisa+M , biti , ahaba+M ka ,  
 bury also 3SG.POSS.son end which  
 vt nm vi prt



## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

**sibirimatamonaka**

sibiri -mata -mona -ka  
harpy eagle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
nm

**sibiri**

sibiri  
harpy eagle  
nm

**sibiri**

sibiri  
harpy eagle  
nm

**biti**

biti  
small+M  
adj

'He came and stayed there. He stayed there a long time. Another man was fishing. The boy died, and he buried him. His son turned into a harpy eagle, a young harpy eagle.'

178 **Sibiri**

sibiri  
harpy eagle  
nm

**biti**

biti  
small+M  
adj

**wasi**

wasi+M  
find  
vt

**sibiri**

sibiri  
harpy eagle  
nm

**biti**

biti  
3SG.POSS.son  
nm

**kakame**

ka- ka -ma+M  
COMIT go/come back  
vt

**sibiri**

sibiri  
harpy eagle  
nm

**nanawata**

na- na- wata  
DUP CAUS exist  
vt

**tohe**

to- ha+M  
CH AUX  
aux

**fare**

fare  
same+M  
dem

**biti**

biti  
3SG.POSS.son  
nm

**fare**

fare  
same+M  
dem

**bitimatamonaka**

biti -mata -mona -ka  
3SG.POSS.son FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
nm

'He found the harpy eagle and brought the harpy eagle back. He raised the harpy eagle. It was his own son.'

179 **Fare**

fare  
same+M  
dem

**biti**

biti  
3SG.POSS.son  
nm

**nawate**

na- wata+M  
CAUS exist  
vt

**isiri**

isiri  
basket  
nf

**ya**

ya  
ADJU  
prt

**isiri**

isiri  
basket  
nf

**ya**

ya  
ADJU  
prt

**ihahi**

iha+M  
be located  
vi

**kakawina**

ka- ka- wina  
DUP COMIT hang  
vi

**toematamonaka**

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

**ahi**

ahi  
there  
dem

**neme**

neme  
up  
nf

**ya**

ya  
ADJU  
prt

'He raised his own son in a basket. He was in the basket hanging up high.'

180 **Kawine**

ka- wina+M  
COMIT hang  
vi

**yayana**

ya- yana  
DUP grow  
vi

**toe**

to- ha+M  
CH AUX  
aux

**yayana**

ya- yana  
DUP grow  
vi

**toematamonaka**

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

'He grew hanging in it up high.'

181 **Yayana**

ya- yana  
DUP grow  
vi

**toe**

to- ha+M  
CH AUX  
aux

**fare**

fare  
same+M  
dem

**bati**

bati  
3SG.POSS.father  
nm

**hikanawine**

hi- ka- na- wina+M  
OC COMIT CAUS hang  
vt

**nanatafa**

na- na- tafa  
DUP CAUS eat  
vt

**hihe**

hi- to- ha+M  
OC CH AUX  
aux

**tefebona**

tefe -bona  
food+M INT+M  
pn

**fora**

fora  
shoot with blowgun  
vt

**hine**

hi- na+M  
OC AUX  
aux

**hinaka**

hinaka  
3SG.POSS  
pron

**bani**

bani  
animal  
nm

**mebone**

me -bone  
3PL INT+F  
pron

**me**

me  
3PL.O  
pron

**ta**

taa  
give  
vt

**hina**

hi- na+F  
OC AUX  
aux

**yama**

yama  
thing  
nf

**soki**

soki.NOM  
be dark  
vi

**ya**

ya  
ADJU  
prt

'He was growing. His own father had hung him up, and he fed him. He killed food for him with his blowgun. He gave him animals at night.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

182 *Faya tafe ya yayana toe , karaboa kihare ,*  
 faya tafa.NOM+M ya ya- yana to- ha+M , karaboha kiha -ra+M ,  
 so eat ADJU DUP grow CH AUX blowgun have NEG  
 conj vi prt vi aux nf vt

*Haa yama yete omatibe*  
 haa yama yete o- na -mata -be  
 oh thing hunt 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F  
 interj nf vt aux

'As he ate, he grew. He didn't have a blowgun. "Haa, I'm going to go hunting."

183 *Oof , yama yete omatibeya*  
 oof , yama yete o- na -mata -be -ya  
 hoo thing hunt 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F now  
 interj nf vt aux

"Oof, I'm going hunting."

184 *Faya hikatise sana hikana ,*  
 faya hi- ka- tisa+M sana hi- ka- na.LIST ,  
 so OC COMIT undo carry strapped on shoulder OC COMIT AUX  
 conj vt vt aux

*boro ya*  
 boro ya  
 basket ADJU  
 nf prt

'He untied him and slung him over his shoulder, in a basket.'

185 *Boro ya sana hikane ,*  
 boro ya sana hi- ka- na+M ,  
 basket ADJU carry strapped on shoulder OC COMIT AUX  
 nf prt vt aux

*hiwake , hiwake yimawa tatama*  
 hi- to- ka- ka+M , hi- to- ka- ka+M yimawa ta- tama  
 OC away COMIT go/come OC away COMIT go/come knife DUP hold onto  
 vt vt nf vt

*yimawa , toke ya toke ya , fare biti*  
 yimawa to- ka.NOM+M ya to- ka.NOM+M ya , fare biti  
 knife away go/come ADJU away go/come ADJU same+M 3SG.POSS.son  
 nf vi prt vi prt dem nm

*ehene kakaba toematamona*  
 ehene ka- kaba to- ha -himata -mona  
 victim of+M DUP eat CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 pn vt aux

'He slung him over his shoulder in a basket. He took him. He had a knife. When he went out, he ate what his own son killed.'

186 *Bani me bani me , bani me*  
 bani me bani me , bani me  
 animal 3PL animal 3PL animal 3PL.O  
 nm pron nm pron nm pron

*katomematamonaka ahi*  
 katoma -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 kill many FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 vt dem

'He killed a lot of animals.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

187	<b>Bani</b>	<b>me</b>	,	<b>bani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>katome</b>	<b>hinaka</b>	<b>bani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>weye</b>
	bani	me		bani	me	katoma+M	hinaka	bani	me	weye
	animal	3PL		animal	3PL.O	kill many	3SG.POSS	animal	3PL.O	carry
	nm	pron		nm	pron	vt	pron	nm	pron	vt
	<b>hina</b>		,	<b>bani</b>	<b>me</b>	,	<b>faya</b>	<b>hibema</b>		
	hi- na+F			bani	me		faya	hi- ibI		-ma.LIST
	OC AUX			animal	3PL		so	OC put inside		back
	aux			nm	pron		conj	vt		
	<b>hibeme</b>				<b>ya</b>		<b>hiwakama</b>			
	hi- ibI				ya		hi- ka- ka			-ma.LIST
	OC put inside				ADJU		OC COMIT go/come			back
	vt				prt		vt			
	<b>hiwakame</b>				<b>ya</b>		<b>sana</b>			
	hi- ka- ka				ya		sana			
	OC COMIT go/come				ADJU		carry strapped on			shoulder
	vt				prt		vt			
	<b>hikana</b>		,	<b>hinaka</b>	<b>bani</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>weye</b>		<b>hinaka</b>	<b>bani</b>
	hi- ka- na.LIST			hinaka	bani	me	weye.LIST		hinaka	bani
	OC COMIT AUX			3SG.POSS	animal	3PL.O	carry		3SG.POSS	animal
	aux			pron	nm	pron	vt		pron	nm
	<b>me</b>	<b>weye</b>		<b>hina</b>		,	<b>faya</b>	<b>kobo</b>	<b>hikana</b>	
	me	weye		hi- na+F			faya	kobo	hi- ka- na.LIST	
	3PL.O	carry		OC AUX			so	arrive	OC COMIT AUX	
	pron	vt		aux			conj	vi	aux	
										<b>kobo</b>
										arrive
										vi
	<b>hikanematamonaka</b>									
	hi- ka- na			-himata	-mona	-ka				
	OC COMIT AUX			FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M				
	aux									

'He killed a lot of animals. He carried his animals. He put him back in and brought him, slung over his shoulder. He also carried his animals. He arrived with him.'

188	<b>Faya</b>	<b>wabori</b>			<b>ene</b>	<b>hiyareba</b>
	faya	wabori			ehene	hiya -ra -hiba
	so	3SG.POSS		brother-in-law	deed+M	be bad NEG FUT+M
	conj	nm			pn	vi
	<b>sawino</b>			<b>ya</b>	,	<b>wabori</b>
	sawi.NOM	-no		ya		wabori
	be present	IP.N+M		ADJU		3SG.POSS
	vi			prt		brother-in-law
						deed+M
						be bad NEG
						pn
						vi
	<b>mayawari</b>		,	<b>mayawari</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ayaki</b>
	mayawari			mayawari	me	ayaka.NFIN
	titi			titi	3PL.S	sing
	nm			nm	pron	vi
						<b>yana</b>
						tonemetemone
						yana
						to- na -hemete -mone
						start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
						vi
						aux
	<b>mayawari</b>	<b>mati</b>				
	mayawari	mati				
	titi	3PL				
	nm	pron				

'His brother-in-law, who was going to do something bad, was there. There were some titi monkeys that started chattering.'

189	<b>Mayawari</b>	<b>me</b>		<b>ayaketemone</b>	,	<b>Soso</b>
	mayawari	me		ayaka -hemete -mone		soso
	titi	3PL.S		sing FP.N+F REP+F		(chatter of titi)
	nm	pron		vi		sound

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

<b>soso</b> soso (chatter of titi) sound	<b>soso</b> soso (chatter of titi) sound	<b>soso</b> soso (chatter of titi) sound	<b>sososo</b> sososo (chatter of titi) sound
<b>soso</b> soso (chatter of titi) sound	<b>soso</b> soso (chatter of titi) sound	<b>sososo</b> sososo (chatter of titi) sound	.

"The titis were chattering. "Soso, soso."

190	<b>Hiya</b>	,	<b>mayawari</b>	<b>me</b>	<b>ayakine</b>	<b>ayata</b>	<b>karo</b>	.
	hiya		mayawari	me	ayaka -ne	ayata	karo	
	come on		titi	3PL.S	sing CONT+F	near	LOC	
	interj		nm	pron	vi	nf	prt	

"Here, there are titis chattering nearby."

191	<b>Karaboara</b>	?	
	karaboha -ra		
	blowgun NPQ		
	nf		

"Where is a blowgun?"

192	<b>Karaboa</b>	,	<b>ota owa</b>		<b>ka</b>	<b>karabohara</b>	?
	karaboha		ota owa		ka	karaboha -ra	
	blowgun		1SG.POSS.brother-in-law		POSS	blowgun NPQ	
	nf		nm		prt	nf	

"The blowgun, where is my brother-in-law's blowgun?"

193	<b>Karaboa</b>		<b>watarini</b>				.
	karaboha		wata -ra -ni				
	blowgun		exist NEG BKG+F				
	nf		vi				

"There is no blowgun."

194	<b>Karaboa</b>		<b>watarini</b>				.
	karaboha		wata -ra -ni				
	blowgun		exist NEG BKG+F				
	nf		vi				

"There is no blowgun."

195	<b>Hibaka</b>		<b>ota owa</b>		<b>ka</b>	<b>moho</b>	<b>kawinaha</b>	?
	hibaka		ota owa		ka	moho	ka- wina+F	
	where		1SG.POSS.brother-in-law		POSS	tree sp	COMIT hang	
	interrog		nm		prt	nf	vi	

"Where is my brother-in-law's moho cotton hanging?"

196	<b>Moho</b>		<b>amari</b>		<b>haro</b>		?
	moho		ama -ra.NOM+F		haaro		
	tree sp		be NEG		that one+F		
	nf		vc		dem		

"Is that the moho there?"

197	<b>Yama</b>		<b>ahi</b>		<b>rima</b>		<b>tinahi</b>	.
	yama		ahi		na -rima		ti- na -hi	
	thing		mess with		AUX NEG.IMP+F		2SG.S AUX IMP+F	
	nf		vt		aux		aux	

"Don't touch that."

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

198 *Yama hine kawini na ahi hinakati ati*  
 yama hine ka- wina.NOM+F na ahi hinaka ati ati  
 thing only COMMIT hang AUX there 3SG.POSS older sister say  
 nf pron vi aux dem nf vt

*na ati mitarama ne hinakati ati mite*  
 na+F ati mita -rama na+M , hinaka ati ati mita+M  
 AUX voice hear unusual AUX 3SG.POSS older sister voice hear  
 aux pn result aux nf pn vt

*sa kanibote ramako*  
 saa ka- na -bote na -ra -mako  
 release COMMIT AUX quickly AUX NEG for this reason+M  
 vt aux aux

'Just let that thing hang there,' his older sister said, but he didn't listen to her. He should have listened to her and left it go.'

199 *Faya yama katisematamonaka*  
 faya yama ka- tisa -himata -mona -ka  
 so thing COMMIT undo FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 conj nf vt

'He untied it.'

200 *Sibiri foye ra katisematamonane*  
 sibiri foya+M ra ka- tisa -himata -mona -ne  
 harpy eagle be inside O COMMIT undo FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nm vi prt vt

'He freed the eagle that was inside.'

201 *Sibiri katise kana ni tokebona*  
 sibiri ka- tisa+M , kana na.NFIN to- ka -hibona ,  
 harpy eagle COMMIT undo run AUX away go/come INT+M  
 nm vt vi aux vi

*hikatise rama ahi*  
 hi- ka- tisa+M rama ahi  
 OC COMMIT undo unusual then  
 vt prt dem

'He freed the eagle. He should have run away, but he freed it.'

202 *Hikatise noko noko kefe hikanematamonaka*  
 hi- ka- tisa+M noko noko kefe hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka  
 OC COMMIT undo eye+M eye+M open OC COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vt pn pn vt aux

'He freed it. He opened its eyes.'

203 *Noko kefe hikane he noko korone awe rama ahi*  
 noko kefe hi- ka- na+M hee noko korone awa+M rama ahi  
 eye+M open OC COMMIT AUX 3SG.POSS eye naked see unusual then  
 pn vt aux pron pn pn vt prt dem

'He opened its eyes, and it saw his eyes.'

204 *Yora namise , namiti hotone yokana wara hine rama*  
 yora na -misa+M , namiti hotone yokana wara hi- to- na+M rama  
 jump AUX up neck hole+M true grab OC CH AUX unusual  
 vi aux pn pn adj vt aux prt

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

*ahi*

ahi  
then  
dem

'It jumped out. It grabbed his throat.'

205 *Aya* , *aya* *ya*  
aya aya yaa  
(expression of pain) (expression of pain) (expression of pain)  
interj interj interj

*ya* *sibiri*  
yaa sibiri  
(expression of pain) harpy eagle  
interj nm

""Aya, aya ya ya, the eagle.""

206 *Ene* *kiya* *kanematamonaka* *ahi*  
ehene kiya ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
result of+M yell COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
pn vi aux dem

'He cried out because of it.'

207 *Owati* *kasawari* *kiya* *kana* *hari*  
o- ati ka- sawari+M kiya ka- na.CONT+M haari  
1SG.POSS voice COMIT frustrate yell COMIT AUX that one+M  
pn vt vi aux dem

""He didn't listen to me, and now he is crying out.""

208 *Owati* *kasawari* *kiya* *kana* *hari*  
o- ati ka- sawari+M kiya ka- na.CONT+M haari  
1SG.POSS voice COMIT frustrate yell COMIT AUX that one+M  
pn vt vi aux dem

""He didn't listen to me, and now he is crying out.""

209 *Hine* *ati* *saibona*  
hine ati sai -hibona  
only voice be heard INT+M  
pron pn vi

""He should have just complained.""

210 *Faya* *kiya* *ni* *sai* *ya* , *faya* , *tama* *ni*  
faya kiya na.NFIN sai.NOM ya faya tama na.NFIN  
so yell AUX be heard ADJU so hold onto AUX  
conj vi aux vi prt conj vt aux

*hikamake* *rama* *ahi*  
hi- to- ka -makI rama ahi  
OC away go/come following unusual then  
vi prt dem

'His cries could be heard, as it went carrying him.'

211 *Hiwakamakimatamonaka* *awa* *me* *ka*  
hi- to- ka- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka awa me kaa  
OC away COMIT go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M tree 3PL.S chop  
vt nf pron vt

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

*na me ni ya ahi*  
na+F me ni ya ahi  
AUX 3PL to ADJU there  
aux pron prt prt dem

'It took him to where they were cutting trees down.'

212 *Awa me ka na me moni saiha me , faya*  
awa me kaa na+F me moni sai+F me , faya  
tree 3PL.S chop AUX 3PL.POSS sound be heard 3PL.POSS so  
nf pron vt aux pron pn vi pron conj

*kokori towakamaki kokori*  
kokori to- ka- ka -makI+M kokori  
3SG.POSS.father-in-law away COMIT go/come following 3SG.POSS.father-in-law  
nm vt nm

*tama kanematamonaka ahi*  
tama ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
hold onto COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
vt aux dem

'The sound of them could be heard as they cut down trees. He took his mother's brother. He carried him.'

213 *Yaweba wa , Me kakasiro raba*  
yawa -hiba waa.LIST , me ka- kasiro na -raba  
be upset FUT+M stand 3PL.S DUP persist AUX a bit  
vi vi pron vi aux

*nofara me , owati me mitahara me*  
na nofa -ra+F me , o- ati me mita -hara me  
AUX recently NEG 3PL.S 1SG.POSS voice 3PL.S hear NEG+F 3PL.O  
prt pron pn pron vt pron

*onofara me , oka yama foya*  
ati o- na nofa -hara me , o- ka yama foya+F  
say 1SG.S AUX recently IP.E+F 3PL.O 1SG.POSS POSS thing be inside  
prt pron prt nf vi

*amani*  
ama -ni  
SEC BKG+F  
sec

'He was standing out there, and he was going to be upset. "They are really bad. They never listen to me. My thing was in there."'

214 *Te karaboaho*  
tee karaboha -ho  
2PL.S shoot with blowgun IMP+M  
pron vt

""Kill it with your blowguns.""

215 *Te karaboaho*  
tee karaboha -ho  
2PL.S shoot with blowgun IMP+M  
pron vt

""Kill it with your blowguns.""

216 *Te karaboaho*  
tee karaboha -ho  
2PL.S shoot with blowgun IMP+M  
pron vt

""Kill it with your blowguns.""

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

217 *Te karaboaho me ati nemetemoneke*  
tee karaboaha -ho me ati na -hemete -mone -ke  
2PL.S shoot with blowgun IMP+M 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
pron vt pron vt aux

*ahi*  
ahi  
then  
dem

"Kill it with your blowguns," they said.'

218 *Ene iti amane*  
ehene iti+M ama -ne  
victim of+M exist SEC BKG+M  
pn vi sec

"It killed someone."

219 *Te karaboaho*  
tee karaboaha -ho  
2PL.S shoot with blowgun IMP+M  
pron vt

"Kill it with your blowguns."

220 *Te karaboaho*  
tee karaboaha -ho  
2PL.S shoot with blowgun IMP+M  
pron vt

"Kill it with your blowguns."

221 *Me fora hinematamonaka ahi*  
me fora hi- na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
3PL.S shoot with blowgun OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
pron vt aux dem

'They shot it with their blowguns.'

222 *Me fora hine ware hiwa*  
me fora hi- na+M waa -rI hiwa  
3PL.S shoot with blowgun OC AUX stand raised surface 3SG.REFL.M  
pron vt aux vi pron

*yewe kanematamonaka ahi sare*  
yewe ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi sarehe  
open and close COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then blowgun dart  
vt aux dem nf

*sare taroro kanari ahi*  
sarehe taro -ro ka- na -haari ahi  
blowgun dart kick DUP COMIT AUX IP.E+M then  
nf vt aux dem

'They shot it with their blowguns. It was sitting on a branch. It opened its wings and fended off the darts.'

223 *Sare taroro kanematamonane*  
sarehe taro -ro ka- na -himata -mona -ne  
blowgun dart kick DUP COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
nf vt aux

'It was fending off the darts.'



THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

224 *Yawa ya awa ka nematamonaka*  
 yawa ya awa kaa na -himata -mona -ka  
 grief ADJU tree chop AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nf prt nf vt aux

'He was upset as he cut down the trees.'

225 *Yawa ya awa ka ne , awa ka ne awa ka ne*  
 yawa ya awa kaa na+M , awa kaa na+M awa kaa na.NOM+M  
 grief ADJU tree chop AUX tree chop AUX tree chop AUX  
 nf prt nf vt aux nf vt aux nf vt aux

*ya , Yama kakasiro raba ra yama hiri*  
 ya , yama ka- kasiro na -raba na -ra+F yama hiri  
 ADJU thing DUP persist AUX a bit AUX NEG thing do  
 prt nf vi aux aux nf vt

*narawaba*  
 na -rawa -haba  
 AUX F.PL FUT+F  
 aux

'He was upset as he cut down the trees. "They do bad things."

226 *Kokori mete koro kokori kabi*  
 kokori mete koro kokori kaba.NFIN  
 3SG.POSS.father-in-law rear+M throw 3SG.POSS.father-in-law eat  
 nm pn vt nm vt

*hawa toe kokori mete koro*  
 hawa to- ha+M kokori mete koro  
 palm sp CH AUX 3SG.POSS.father-in-law rear+M throw  
 nf aux nm pn vt

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

'He finished eating one side of his uncle's rear end, and then he threw the other side down.'

227 *Abi abi fiio fiio*  
 abi abi fiio fiio  
 father father (call of harpy eagle) (call of harpy eagle)  
 nm nm sound sound

*fiio fiio*  
 fiio fiio  
 (call of harpy eagle) (call of harpy eagle)  
 sound sound

""Father, Father, fiio, fiio.""

228 *Titefone naro haro*  
 ti- tefe -bone na -haaro haaro  
 2SG.POSS food INT+F exist look+F that one+F  
 pn vi dem

""Here is some food for you.""

229 *Okobareka*  
 o- kaba -hare -ka  
 1SG.S eat IP.E+M DECL+M  
 vt

""I ate him.""

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

230 *Kokori* *mete* *koro* *nisematamonaka*  
kokori mete koro na -risa -himata -mona -ka  
3SG.POSS.father-in-law rear+M throw AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
nm pn vt aux

'He threw down his uncle's leg.'

231 *Kokori* *mete* *koro* *nise* ,  
kokori mete koro na -risa+M  
3SG.POSS.father-in-law rear+M throw AUX down  
nm pn vt aux

*yawamisematamonaka*

yawa -misa -himata -mona -ka  
be upset up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
aux

'He threw down his uncle's leg. He was upset.'

232 *Yawamise* , *sare* *me* *fora* *na* *me*  
yawa -misa+M sarehe me fora na+F me  
be upset up blowgun dart 3PL.S shoot with blowgun AUX 3PL.S  
vi nf pron vt aux pron

, *sare* *me* *fora* *na* *me* *fora*  
sarehe me fora na+F me fora  
blowgun dart 3PL.S shoot with blowgun AUX 3PL.S shoot with blowgun  
nf pron vt aux pron vt

*hine* *karaboi* *me* *hiwatore* , *sare*  
hi- na+M karaboha.NFIN me hi- wato -ra+M sarehe  
OC AUX shoot with blowgun 3PL.S OC know NEG blowgun dart  
aux vt pron vt nf

*taroro* *kanematamonaka*

taro -ro ka- na -himata -mona -ka  
kick DUP COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vt aux

'He was upset. They shot blowgun darts. They shot blowgun darts. They shot at it, but they couldn't hit it. It was fending off the darts.'

233 *Sare* *taroro* *kane* , *sibiri* *fora*  
sarehe taro -ro ka- na+M sibiri fora  
blowgun dart kick DUP COMIT AUX harpy eagle shoot with blowgun  
nf vt aux nm vt

*ne* *we* *ka* *karaboa* *hose* *tomisematamonaka*  
na+M waa+M ka karaboha hose to- na -misa -himata -mona -ka  
AUX stand POSS blowgun pull out away AUX up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
aux vi prt nf vt aux

*ahi*  
ahi  
then  
dem

'It was fending off the darts. He yanked a blowgun from one of them who was standing there shooting darts at the eagle.'

234 *Karaboa* *hose* *tomisematamonaka* *ahi*  
karaboha hose to- na -misa -himata -mona -ka ahi  
blowgun pull out away AUX up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
nf vt aux dem

'He yanked the blowgun away.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

235 *Sare* , *sare* *horo* *nakematamonaka*  
 sarehe sarehe horo na -kI -himata -mona -ka  
 blowgun dart blowgun dart drag AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nf nf vt aux

'He pulled out a dart.'

236 *Sare* *horo* *nake* , *sare* *rofi*  
 sarehe horo na -kI sarehe rofi  
 blowgun dart drag AUX coming blowgun dart twirl in mouth  
 nf vt aux nf vt

*kanematamonaka*

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

aux

'He pulled out a dart. He twirled the dart head in his mouth.'

237 *Sare* *rofi* *kane* , *biti*  
 sarehe rofi ka- na+M biti  
 blowgun dart twirl in mouth COMIT AUX 3SG.POSS.son  
 nf vt aux nm

*karaboebana*

karaboha -hibana , *yawehibanoho*  
 shoot with blowgun FUT+M yawa -hiba -no -ho  
 vt vi be upset FUT+M IP.N+M DUP

'He twirled the dart head in his mouth. Then he shot his son, and after that he grieved.'

238 *Yaweba* *biti* *karaboematamonaka*  
 yawa -hiba biti karaboha -himata -mona -ka  
 be upset FUT+M 3SG.POSS.son shoot with blowgun FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi nm vt

'He was going to grieve, and he shot his son.'

239 *Yama* , *te* *awaawa* *raba* *nofara* *te*  
 yama tee awa- awa na -raba na nofa -ra+F tee  
 thing 2PL.S DUP see AUX a bit AUX recently NEG 2PL.S  
 nf pron vt aux prt pron

*amake*

ama -ke  
 SEC DECL+F

sec

""You people never listen.""

240 *Faya* , *biti* *karaboe* , *faya* *bati*  
 faya biti karaboha+M faya bati  
 so 3SG.POSS.son shoot with blowgun so 3SG.POSS.father  
 conj nm vt conj nm

*hikaraboe*

hi- karaboha+M *tokowarekose*  
 OC shoot with blowgun to- ka- waa -rI -kosa+M  
 vt vi away COMIT stand raised surface middle

*kakamake*

ka- ka -makI *kobo* *kanamakematamonaka*  
 COMIT go/come following arrive COMIT AUX following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi vi aux

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

*ahi*  
ahi  
then  
dem

'He shot his son. His father shot him, and he tottered. He came after him, and landed near him.'

241 *Kobo* *kanamake* *iha* *hiwasino* *waha*  
kobo ka- na -makI iha hi- wasi -hino waha  
arrive COMIT AUX following plant sp OC find IP.N+M turn  
vi aux nm vt vi

*nematamonaka* *wahaa* *beo* , *nabati*  
na -himata -mona -ka wahaa beo nabati  
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (falling) (sound of hitting ground) stomach  
aux sound sound pn

*nafi* *rama* *ahi* *kokori* *kabe* *karo*  
nafi+M rama ahi kokori kaba.NOM+M karo  
be big unusual then 3SG.POSS.father-in-law eat because  
vi prt dem nm vt prt

'He landed near him. The poison affected him more strongly, and he fell, "Wahaa beo," because his stomach was full after he ate his uncle.'

242 *Faya* , *Yama* *te* *awaawa* *raba* *nofara* *me*  
faya yama tee awa- awa na -raba na nofa -ra+F me  
so thing 2PL.S DUP see AUX a bit AUX recently NEG 3PL.POSS  
conj nf pron vt aux prt pron

*warabi* *nima* *onarani*  
warabi nima o- na -hara -ni  
ear+F communicate to 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F BKG+F  
pn vt aux

"You people never listen. I had warned them."

243 *Yama* *hine* *kawini* *na* *okene* *atiati*  
yama hine ka- wina.NOM+F na ati o- na -ke -ne ati- ati  
thing only COMIT hang AUX say 1SG.S AUX DECL+F IRR+F DUP say  
nf pron vi aux vt vt

*re*  
na -ra+M  
AUX NEG  
aux

"I told them to leave it hanging there, but it was no use."

244 *Bani* *hinaboweno* ?  
bani hi- na- aboha -hino  
animal OC CAUS die IP.N+M  
nm vt

"Did the bird kill him?"

245 *Hora* *nematamonaka* *ahi*  
hora na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
complain AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
vi aux dem

'He was scolding.'

246 *Te* *ka* *yama* *makoni* *te* *tisine* *nini* ?  
tee ka yama makoni tee tisa -ne na.NOM+F -ni  
2PL POSS thing for this reason 2PL.S undo CONT+F AUX IP.N+F  
pron prt nf conj pron vt aux

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

"Did you undo it because you thought it was yours?"

247 *Karaboa tiwa okana* , *karaboa tiwa okana*  
karaboha tiwa o- ka- na+F , karaboha tiwa o- ka- na+F  
blowgun carry 1SG.S COMIT AUX blowgun carry 1SG.S COMIT AUX  
nf vt aux nf vt aux  
*okaha bani me weweye ohamone te*  
o- to- ka+F bani me we- weye o- to- ha -hamone tee  
1SG.S away go/come animal 3PL.O DUP carry 1SG.S CH AUX REP+F 2PL.S  
vi nm pron vt aux pron  
*aati toha te awineni*  
a- ati to- ha+F tee awine -ni  
DUP say CH AUX 2PL.S seem+F BKG+F  
vt aux pron sec

"I was carrying a blowgun when I went out and you thought I was carrying animals that I had hunted."

248 *Oka yama ihi okobi onofa*  
o- ka yama ihi o- kaba o- nofa+F  
1SG.POSS POSS thing victim of+F 1SG.S eat 1SG.S recently  
prt nf pn nm prt  
*oko yama te yokoneke*  
o- ka yama tee , yoko -ne -ke  
1SG.POSS POSS thing 2PL.S bring misfortune on CONT+F DECL+F  
prt nf pron vt

"You caused misfortune to the one who killed animals for me to eat."

249 *Te kabaho*  
tee kaba -ho  
2PL.S eat IMP+M  
pron vt

"You eat him."

250 *Te kabaho*  
tee kaba -ho  
2PL.S eat IMP+M  
pron vt

"You eat him."

251 *Te kabaho*  
tee kaba -ho  
2PL.S eat IMP+M  
pron vt

"You eat him."

252 *Okaraboahareka ha owa*  
o- karaboha -hare -ka haa owa  
1SG.S shoot with blowgun IP.E+M DECL+M DEM 1SG  
vt dem pron

"I killed him with my blowgun."

253 *Me hikabebona hikahabane me kabi*  
me hi- kaba -hibona hi- ka- habana+M me kaba.NFIN  
3PL.S OC eat INT+M OC COMIT order 3PL.S eat  
pron vt vt pron vt

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

**hinofare** , **Ene** **itino** **okaraboine**  
 hi- nofa -ra+M , ehene iti -hino o- karaboha -ne  
 OC want NEG victim of+M exist IP.N+M 1SG.S shoot with blowgun CONT+F  
 vt pn vi vt

**oke**  
 o- ke  
 1SG.S DECL+F  
 prt

'He told them to eat it, but they didn't want to eat it. "I killed him with a blowgun because he killed someone."'

254 **Oka** **wabo** **nabowanomako**  
 o- ka wabo na- aboha -no -mako  
 1SG.POSS POSS brother-in-law CAUS die IP.N+M for this reason+M  
 prt nm vt

**okaraboa** **oka**  
 o- karaboha o- ka  
 1SG.S shoot with blowgun 1SG.POSS DECL  
 vt prt

"I killed him with a blowgun because he killed my brother-in-law."

255 **Sare** **sana** **okana**  
 sarehe sana o- ka- na+F  
 blowgun dart carry strapped on shoulder 1SG.S COMMIT AUX  
 nf vt aux

**oka** **owa** **awi** **nofeno**  
 o- to- ka+F owa awa nofa -hino  
 1SG.S away go/come 1SG.O see recently IP.N+M  
 vi pron vt prt

**awanemako** , **sare** **tabiyo** **yama** **se**  
 awa -ne -mako sarehe tabiyo yama see  
 seem+M BKG+M for this reason+M blowgun dart absence thing open  
 sec nf pn nf vt

**na** **nanoho** , **ati** **nematamonaka**  
 na.CONT+M na.NOM+M -no -ho ati na -himata -mona -ka  
 AUX AUX IP.N+M DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux aux vt aux

'He thought he saw me carrying blowgun darts when I went out, so he opened the thing looking for darts,' he said.'

256 **Mati** **ohi** **nemetemoneke** **ahi**  
 mati ohi na -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 3SG.POSS.mother cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 nf vi aux dem

'His mother cried.'

257 **Mati** **ohi** **nemetemoneni**  
 mati ohi na -hemete -mone -ni  
 3SG.POSS.mother cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 nf vi aux

'His mother cried.'

258 **Mati** **ohi** **na** , **faya** **mati** **ohi** **nama** ,  
 mati ohi na+F , faya mati ohi na -ma+F ,  
 3SG.POSS.mother cry AUX so 3SG.POSS.mother cry AUX back  
 nf vi aux conj nf vi aux

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

*kokosi kame kokosi , oof , faya me*  
 kokosi ka -ma+M kokosi , oof , faya me  
 kinkajou go/come back kinkajou hoo so 3PL.S  
 nm vi nm interj conj pron

*tohiyemetemoneke fahi me one*  
 to- hiya -hemete -mone -ke fahi me one  
 CH be different FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3PL other+F  
 vi dem pron adj

'His mother cried. His mother cried again. The kinkajou came back. The others turned into animals.'

259 *Bite bite fanabone*  
 bite bite fana -habone  
 3SG.POSS.daughter 3SG.POSS.daughter be married INT+F  
 nf nf vi

*bite fanabone bite*  
 bite fana -habone bite  
 3SG.POSS.daughter be married INT+F 3SG.POSS.daughter  
 nf vi nf

*totimakebona bite hikasawari*  
 to- iti -makI -hibona bite hi- ka- sawari+M  
 away take out following INT+M 3SG.POSS.daughter OC COMMIT frustrate  
 vt nf vt

*bite kana ni tokarawa*  
 bite kana na.NFIN to- ka -rawa+F  
 3SG.POSS.daughter run AUX away go/come F.PL  
 nf vi aux vi

*towakarawa me hinakamakirawa*  
 to- ka- ka -rawa+F me hi- to- na- ka -makI -rawa+F  
 away COMMIT go/come F.PL 3PL.O OC away CAUS go/come following F.PL  
 vi pron vt

*me hiwasirawara me siba hirawa me*  
 me hi- wasi -rawa -ra+F me siba hi- na -rawa+F me  
 3PL.O OC find F.PL NEG 3PL.O look for OC AUX F.PL 3PL.O  
 pron vt pron vt aux pron

*siba hirawemetemoneke*  
 siba hi- na -rawa -hemete -mone -ke  
 look for OC AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt aux

'He wanted to get his daughters so they could marry, but his daughters frustrated him. His daughters went running away. He went after them. He didn't find them when he looked for them. He looked for them.'

260 *Me siba hirawa , faya , yama sosoki*  
 me siba hi- na -rawa+F , faya , yama so- soki  
 3PL.O look for OC AUX F.PL so thing DUP be dark  
 pron vt aux conj nf vi

*ni ya me kakamakeni me , tasi*  
 na.NOM+F ya me ka- ka -makI -hani me , tasi  
 AUX ADJU 3PL.S COMMIT go/come following IP.N+F 3PL.S emerge  
 aux prt pron vi pron vi

*kanamakemetemone*  
 ka- na -makI -hemete -mone  
 COMMIT AUX following FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

'He looked for them. When it was starting to get dark, they came and appeared.'

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

261 *Faya* , *me* , *tohiyaminemetemoneke* *fahi*  
 faya , me , to- hiya -mina -hemete -mone -ke fahi  
 so 3PL.S CH be different morning FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 conj pron vi dem

'They turned into animals the next morning.'

262 *Me* *tohiyamina* *me* , *bia* *ha*  
 me to- hiya -mina+F me , biha haa  
 3PL.S CH be different morning 3PL.S plant sp ask for  
 pron vi pron nm vt  
*nematamona* *bia* *bite* *ni* *ya* *bite*  
 na -himata -mona biha bite ni ya bite  
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M plant sp 3SG.POSS.daughter to ADJU 3SG.POSS.daughter  
 aux nm nf prt prt nf

*fanabisaharo*  
 fana -bisa -haaro  
 be married also IP.E+F  
 vi

'They turned into animals in the morning. He called to his daughter for some *biha*, his other daughter who was married.'

263 *Ee* , *okoto* *oko* *bihaba* *ta*  
 ee , okoto o- ka biha -ba taa  
 (pause) my daughter 1SG.POSS POSS plant sp FUT give  
 interj nf prt nm vt

*timata* *mata*  
 ti- na -mata mata  
 2SG.S AUX short time for now  
 aux prt

'''Daughter, give me some *biha*.'''

264 *Biha* *ta* *timata* *mata*  
 biha taa ti- na -mata mata  
 plant sp give 2SG.S AUX short time for now  
 nm vt aux prt

'''Give some *biha*.'''

265 *Tohiyinima* *oni*  
 to- hiya -nima o- ni  
 CH be different want 1SG.S BKG+F  
 vi prt

'''I want to turn into an animal.'''

266 *Tohiyinima* *oni*  
 to- hiya -nima o- ni  
 CH be different want 1SG.S BKG+F  
 vi prt

'''I want to turn into an animal.'''

267 *Hiba* , *te* *ati* *watarima* *nahi*  
 hiba , tee ati wata -rima na -hi  
 wait 2PL.POSS voice exist NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F  
 interj pron pn vi aux

'Wait, you be quiet.'<sup>111</sup>

<sup>111</sup> This sentence and the next were instructions to children who were present.



THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

268 *Yama kamiti tiwitarehi*  
 yama ka- mita.NFIN ti- ita -rI -hi  
 thing COMMIT hear 2SG.S sit raised surface IMP+F  
 nf vt vi

'Sit there listening.'

269 *Faya , yana tonematamonaka*  
 faya , yana to- na -himata -mona -ka  
 so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 conj vi aux

'He got ready.'

270 *Yana tone hinaka bihabona fare ati totoha*  
 yana to- na+M hinaka biha -bona fare ati to- to- ha  
 start CH AUX 3SG.POSS plant sp INT+M same+M voice DUP CH be  
 vi aux pron nm dem pn vc

*namako hinaka bihabona bite ta*  
 na -mako hinaka biha -bona bite taa  
 AUX for this reason+M 3SG.POSS plant sp INT+M 3SG.POSS.daughter give  
 aux pron nm nf vt

*hine , me towakama , me abe*  
 hi- na+M , me to- ka- ka -ma+F , me abe  
 OC AUX 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come back 3PL.POSS RECIP  
 aux pron vi pron pn

*afo nemetemoneke ahi , me*  
 afo na -hemete -mone -ke ahi , me  
 blow snuff into AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3PL.S  
 vt aux dem pron

*tohiyabone mati*  
 to- hiya -habone mati  
 CH be different INT+F 3PL.S  
 vi pron

'He got ready. He wouldn't stop asking, so she gave him some *biha*. They went. They blew snuff into each other's noses, so they would turn into animals.'

271 *Me abe afo nemetemoneke*  
 me abe afo na -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.POSS RECIP blow snuff into AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron pn vt aux

'They blew snuff into each other's noses.'

272 *Me abe afo na me , faya me*  
 me abe afo na+F me , faya me  
 3PL.POSS RECIP blow snuff into AUX 3PL.POSS so 3PL.POSS  
 pron pn vt aux pron conj pron

*abe afo ni ya me tohiyemetemone*  
 abe afo ni na.NOM+F ya me to- hiya -hemete -mone  
 RECIP blow snuff into AUX ADJU 3PL.S CH be different FP.N+F REP+F  
 pn vt aux prt pron vi

*fahi*  
 fahi  
 then  
 dem

'They blew snuff into each other's noses. When they blew snuff into each other's noses, they turned into animals.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

273 *Faya biha me kaba me , biha me kaba*  
 faya biha me kaba+F me , biha me kaba+F  
 so plant sp 3PL.S eat 3PL.S plant sp 3PL.S eat  
 conj nm pron vt pron nm pron vt  
*me , nafi ye nemetemoneke ahi*  
 me , nafi yee na -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 3PL.POSS all yell AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 pron pn vi aux dem  
 'They ate *biha*. They all yelled.'

274 *Me tokemetemone ooooooooooooo*  
 me to- ka -hemete -mone ooooooooooooo  
 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F (grunting of white-lipped peccary)  
 pron vi sound  
*fara me , fara metebana*  
 fara me , fara me -tee -bana  
 same+F 3PL same+F 3PL HAB FUT  
 dem pron dem pron  
 'They went into the forest. "Oooooo," they went, grunting as white-lipped peccaries do.'

275 *Fara meteba hine me itihemetemoneni*  
 fara me -tee -ba hine me iti -hemete -mone -ni  
 same+F 3PL HAB FUT 3.REFL 3PL.S begin FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 dem pron pron pron vt  
 'They began grunting like peccaries.'

276 *Me ye ni toka me ati*  
 me yee na.NFIN to- ka+F me ati  
 3PL.S yell AUX away go/come 3PL.POSS voice  
 pron vi aux vi pron pn  
*saihemetemoneke ahi*  
 sai -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 be heard FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 vi dem  
 'They went into the forest yelling. Their voices could be heard.'

277 *Me ati saiha me tokomake*  
 me ati sai+F me to- ka -makI  
 3PL.POSS voice be heard 3PL.S away go/come following  
 pron pn vi pron vi  
*tonamakehite hahi tokabise*  
 to- na -makI -hitI haahi to- ka -bisa+M  
 away AUX following along the way this one+M away go/come also  
 aux dem vi  
*tokabise nowati ya me tokomake faya*  
 to- ka -bisa+M nowati ya me to- ka -makI faya  
 away go/come also behind ADJU 3PL.S away go/come following so  
 vi pn prt pron vi conj  
*biti sawimatamona fahi*  
 biti sawi -himata -mona fahi  
 3SG.POSS.son be present FP.N+M REP+M then  
 nm vi dem  
 'Their voices could be heard. They went after the one who had gone into the forest. His son was with them.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

278 *Faya biti sawi me hinasawinoho*  
 faya biti sawi+M , me hi- na- sawi -hino -ho  
 so 3SG.POSS.son be present 3PL.S OC CAUS be present IP.N+M DUP  
 conj nm vi pron vt  
*sawino tokomake me*  
 sawi -hino , to- ka -makI me ,  
 be present IP.N+M away go/come following 3PL.S  
 vi vi pron

*kamematamonane*

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

'His son was with them. They had taken him along. They went after him. He came back.'<sup>112</sup>

279 *Kame kame me ihi*  
 ka -ma+M , ka -ma+M me , ihi  
 go/come back go/come back 3PL.POSS result of+F  
 vi vi pron pn

*wasimebanoho*

wasi -ma -hiba -no -ho  
 find back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt

'As he came back, he came upon their trail.'

280 *Yama siraka tonikimemetemoneke yama*  
 yama siraka to- na -kima -hemete -mone -ke yama ,  
 forest be messed up CH AUX spread out FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F thing  
 nf vi aux nf  
*fa tori ahi*  
 faha tori ahi  
 stream bed+F then  
 nf pn dem

'The underbrush was all messed up. The stream was all messed up, too.'

281 *Owati me mita me amake haro*  
 o- ati me mita+F me ama -ke haaro  
 1SG.POSS voice 3PL.S hear 3PL.S SEC DECL+F that one+F  
 pn pron vt pron sec dem

""They heard what I said.""

282 *Oka biha ta ne awaka*  
 o- ka biha taa na+M awa -ka  
 1SG.POSS POSS plant sp give AUX seem+M DECL+M  
 prt nm vt aux sec

""She gave out my *biha*.""

283 *Oka biha ta ne awaka*  
 o- ka biha taa na+M awa -ka  
 1SG.POSS POSS plant sp give AUX seem+M DECL+M  
 prt nm vt aux sec

""She gave out my *biha*.""

284 *Makoni me tohiyinekeni ati*  
 makoni me to- hiya -ne -ke -ni , ati  
 for this reason 3PL.S CH be different CONT+F DECL+F IP.N+F say  
 conj pron vi vt

112 Instead of *tokomake me*, Siko should have said *me tokomake (me)*.

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

*nematamonaka*

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

"That's why they turned into animals," he said.'

285 *Faya* , *kamawe* *kame* *kame*  
 faya , ka -ma -waha+M ka -ma+M ka -ma+M  
 so go/come back change go/come back go/come back  
 conj vi vi vi  
*kame* *kame* *ya* , *kobo* *name* *ya*  
 ka -ma+M ka -ma.NOM+M ya , kobo na -ma.NOM+M ya  
 go/come back go/come back ADJU arrive AUX back ADJU  
 vi vi prt vi aux prt prt  
*bani* *me* *koro* *nisa* , *Oka* *bia* *ta*  
 bani me koro na -risa.LIST , o- ka biha taa  
 animal 3PL.O throw AUX down 1SG.POSS POSS plant sp give  
 nm pron vt aux prt nm vt  
*tini* ?  
 ti- ni  
 2SG.S BKG+F  
 prt

'He came back. He arrived back, and threw down the animals. "Did you give away my *biha*?"'

286 *Biha* *noko* *okobi* *hinihe* ,  
 biha noko o- ka abi hi- to- niha- ha+M ,  
 plant sp attraction 1SG.POSS POSS father OC CH CAUS AUX  
 nm pn nm vt  
*okobi* *okobi* *hinihahi* *ta*  
 o- ka abi o- ka abi hi- to- niha- ha+M taa  
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father OC CH CAUS AUX give  
 nm nm vt vt

*onarene*  
 o- na -hare -ne  
 1SG.S AUX IP.E+M BKG+M  
 aux

"My father really wanted the *biha*, so I gave it."

287 *Owati* *timitariya* ?  
 o- ati ti- mita -ra+F -ya  
 1SG.POSS voice 2SG.S hear NEG now  
 pn vt

"Didn't you hear what I said?"

288 *E* *nafi* *tohiyabone* *onara*  
 ee nafi to- hiya -habone ati o- na -hara  
 1IN.POSS all CH be different INT+F say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F  
 pron pn vi vt

*oke* , *ati* *nematamonaka* *ati* *ne* , *ene*  
 o- ke , ati na -himata -mona -ka ati na+M , ehene  
 1SG.S DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M say AUX deed+M  
 prt vt aux vt aux prt

*hiyabisarebanoho*  
 hiya -bisa -ra -hiba -no -ho  
 be bad also NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vi

"I wanted us all to turn into animals together," he said. He turned into an animal, too.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

289 *Hiwa wati kamako*  
 hiwa wati ka- na -mako  
 3SG.REFL.M plan against COMIT AUX for this reason+M  
 pron vt aux

*atimatamonane kobaya*  
 ati -mata -mona -ne kobaya  
 voice FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M collared peccary  
 pn nm

'He wanted to change himself. He wanted to turn into a collared peccary.'

290 *Hinaka koma tohiye hinaka koma*  
 hinaka koma to- hiya+M , hinaka koma  
 3SG.POSS son-in-law CH be different 3SG.POSS son-in-law  
 pron nm vi pron nm

*tohiye hinaka faya tokomake ya*  
 to- hiya+M , hinaka , faya to- ka -makI.NOM ya ,  
 CH be different 3SG.POSS so away go/come following ADJU  
 vi pron conj vi prt

*sare sana kamise*  
 sarehe sana ka- na -misa+M  
 blowgun dart carry strapped on shoulder COMIT AUX up  
 nf vt aux

*tokomake sare rofi ni*  
 to- ka -makI sarehe rofi na.NFIN  
 away go/come following blowgun dart twirl in mouth AUX  
 vi nf vt aux

*tokomake me bosiri fora*  
 to- ka -makI , me bosiri fora  
 away go/come following 3PL.POSS scent gland shoot with blowgun  
 vi pron pn vt

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

'His son-in-law turned into an animal. When he went he carried blowgun darts slung on his shoulder. He went twirling the heads of darts in his mouth. He made their scent glands by shooting them with darts.'

291 *Mera towasimake me bosiri fora*  
 mera to- wasi -makI me bosiri fora  
 3PL.O away find following 3PL.POSS scent gland shoot with blowgun  
 pron vt pron pn vt

*ne faya biti totimake biti*  
 na+M , faya biti to- iti -makI biti  
 AUX so 3SG.POSS.son away take out following 3SG.POSS.son  
 aux conj nm vt nm

*kakame faya biti tonihawama*  
 ka- ka -ma+M , faya biti to- niha- ha -waha -ma.LIST ,  
 COMIT go/come back so 3SG.POSS.son CH CAUS be change back  
 vt conj nm vt

*faya biti tonihawame biti*  
 faya biti to- niha- ha -waha -ma+M , biti  
 so 3SG.POSS.son CH CAUS be change back 3SG.POSS.son  
 conj nm vt nm

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

**tonihawahame**    **kame**    ,    **kobo**    **name**    ,    **kobo**  
 to- niha- ha -waha -ma+M ka -ma+M , kobo na -ma+M , kobo  
 CH CAUS be change back go/come back arrive AUX back arrive  
 vt vi vi aux vi

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

'He came upon them and made their scent glands by shooting them with darts. He took his son back and brought his son home. He turned his son back into a boy. He came back and arrived back.'

292 **Kobo**    **name**    ,    **kobo**    **namematamonane**  
 kobo na -ma+M , kobo na -ma -himata -mona -ne  
 arrive AUX back arrive AUX back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 vi aux vi aux

'He arrived back.'

293 **Fa**    **mera**    ?  
 faa me -ra  
 that 3PL NPQ  
 dem pron

""Where are they?""

294 **Me**    **toki**    **ahi**  
 me to- ka.NOM+F ahi  
 3PL.S away go/come there  
 pron vi dem

""They went out there.""

295 **Me**    **bosiribone**    **fora**    **onahara**  
 me bosiri -bone fora o- na -hara  
 3PL.POSS scent gland INT+F shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F  
 pron pn vt aux

""I made their scent glands by shooting them with darts.""

296 **Me**    **fora**    **ona**    **me**    **toki**    **ahi**  
 me fora o- na+F me to- ka.NOM+F ahi  
 3PL.O shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX 3PL.S away go/come then  
 pron vt aux pron vi dem

""I shot them and they went away.""

297 **Faya**    **me**    **tokemetemone**  
 faya me to- ka -hemete -mone  
 so 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F  
 conj pron vi

'They went away.'

298 **Me**    ,    **toka**    **me**    ,    **tafemetemoneni**  
 me to- ka+F me , tafa -hemete -mone -ni  
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 pron vi pron vi

'They went, and ate.'

299 **Tafa**    **me**    **amo**    **na**    ,    **Oka**    **bia**    ,    **oka**  
 tafa+F me amo na+F , o- ka biha , o- ka  
 eat 3PL.S sleep AUX 1SG.POSS POSS plant sp 1SG.POSS POSS  
 vi pron vi aux prt nm prt

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

**biha ta tinani e nafi tohiya**  
 biha taa ti- na -hani , ee nafi to- hiya+F  
 plant sp give 2SG.S AUX IP.N+F 1IN.POSS all CH be different  
 nm vt aux pron pn vi  
 "They ate. They slept. "You gave away my *biha*. We were all going to turn into animals."

300 **Owa foyakana owa owa**  
 owa foya -ka -na owa owa  
 other+M be inside DECL+M IRR+M other+M other+M  
 adj vi adj adj

**foyakana owa ta oneba**  
 foya -ka -na owa taa o- na -hiba  
 be inside DECL+M IRR+M other+M give 1SG.S AUX FUT+M  
 vi adj vt aux

**otiba awane**  
 o- iti -hiba awa -ne  
 1SG.S take out FUT+M seem+M BKG+M  
 vt sec

"There is one left in the basket, and I will take it out and give it to you."

301 **Faya biha owa itiha biha**  
 faya biha owa , iti+F biha  
 so plant sp other+M take out plant sp  
 conj nm adj vt nm

**itihemetemoneke**  
 iti -hemete -mone -ke  
 take out FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt

'She took out the piece of *biha*.'

302 **Hari**  
 haari  
 that one+M  
 dem

"Here."

303 **Hiya owa tekawa**  
 hiya owa ti- ka- kawa  
 come on 1SG.O 2SG.S COMIT give something to  
 interj pron vt

"Come on, give it to me."

304 **Sina sina kaitikabote sina sina hisi**  
 sina sina ka- iti -kabote sina sina hisi  
 snuff snuff COMIT take out quickly snuff snuff sniff  
 nf nf vt nf nf vt

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

'He quickly got some snuff and took the snuff.'

305 **Sina hisi ne sina hisi nematamona**  
 sina hisi na+M , sina hisi na -himata -mona  
 snuff sniff AUX snuff sniff AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nf vt aux nf vt aux

'He took the snuff.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

306 *Sina hisi ne ya , Tiwati watarima na*  
 sina hisi na.NOM+M ya , ti- ati wata -rima na  
 snuff sniff AUX ADJU 2SG.POSS voice exist NEG.IMP+F AUX  
 nf vt aux prt pn vi aux

'He took the snuff. Be quiet.'

307 *Sina hisi nematamonane*  
 sina hisi na -himata -mona -ne  
 snuff sniff AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 nf vt aux

'He took the snuff.'

308 *Sina hisi hina , kawa kane sina kawa kane*  
 sina hisi hi- na+F , kawa ka- na+M sina kawa ka- na+M  
 snuff sniff OC AUX thrust COMMIT AUX snuff thrust COMMIT AUX  
 nf vt aux vt aux nf vt aux  
 , *sina kawa kane ya , sina kawa kane na* ,  
 sina kawa ka- na.NOM+M ya , sina kawa ka- na+M na  
 snuff thrust COMMIT AUX ADJU snuff thrust COMMIT AUX AUX  
 nf vt aux prt nf vt aux aux

*faya hano , hiwa wati kanematamona*  
 faya hano+M , hiwa wati ka- na -himata -mona  
 so be drunk 3SG.REFL.M plan against COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 conj vi pron vt aux

'He took the snuff. He cleaned the tube out with a feather. He was high. He wanted to change himself.'

309 *Hiwa wati kane , fati tai*  
 hiwa wati ka- na+M , fati tai  
 3SG.REFL.M plan against COMMIT AUX 3SG.POSS.wife be ahead  
 pron vt aux nf vi

*tonihebana*  
 to- niha- ha -hibana  
 CH CAUS AUX FUT+M  
 aux

'He wanted to change himself. He changed his wife first.'

310 *Fati tai tonihematamonaka*  
 fati tai to- niha- ha -himata -mona -ka  
 3SG.POSS.wife be ahead CH CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nf vi aux

'He changed his wife first.'

311 *Fati tai tonihe , fati*  
 fati tai to- niha- ha+M , fati  
 3SG.POSS.wife be ahead CH CAUS AUX 3SG.POSS.wife  
 nf vi aux nf

*fati watematamonaka*  
 fati wata -himata -mona -ka  
 3SG.POSS.wife catch FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nf vt

'He changed his wife first. He grabbed his wife.'

312 *Fati wate , fati bonibone nawata*  
 fati wata+M , fati boni -bone na- wata.LIST  
 3SG.POSS.wife catch 3SG.POSS.wife snout+F INT+F CAUS be located  
 nf vt nf pn vt





THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

316 *Kobaya*                    *amare*                    *kobaya*                    *hiwa*  
 kobaya                    ama -ra+M                    kobaya                    hiwa  
 collared peccary                    be NEG                    collared peccary                    3SG.REFL.M  
 nm                    vc                    nm                    pron

*tonihematamona*                    ,                    *ota*                    *kabinetini*  
 to- niha- ha -himata -mona                    ,                    otaa                    kaba -ne                    -tee.NOM -ni  
 CH CAUS be FP.N+M REP+M                    1EX.S eat CONT+F HAB                    IP.N+F  
 vd                    pron vt

'He wasn't a peccary. Then he turned himself into a peccary. We eat them.'

317 *Faya*                    *kobaya*                    ,                    *me*                    *towakama*                    ,                    *me*  
 faya                    kobaya                    ,                    me                    to- ka- ka                    -ma+F                    me  
 so                    collared peccary                    3PL.S                    away COMMIT go/come back                    3PL.S  
 conj nm                    pron vi                    pron

*biti*                    ,                    *hahi*                    *hiyama*                    ,                    *me*                    *ee*  
 biti                    ,                    haahi                    hiyama                    ,                    me                    ee  
 3SG.POSS.son                    this one+M                    white-lipped peccary                    3PL                    yes  
 nm                    dem                    nm                    pron                    interj

*efematamona*                    ,                    *hari*                    ?  
 efe                    -mata -mona                    ,                    haari  
 this+M FP.N+M REP+M                    that one+M  
 dem                    dem

'The two of them went off. His son, the one who was with the white-lipped peccaries...Yes, is he the one?'

318 *Hiwa*                    *tonahiyabiseba*                    ,                    *yana*                    *tobise*  
 hiwa                    to- na- hiya                    -bisa -hiba                    yana                    to- na -bisa+M  
 3SG.REFL.M CH CAUS be different also FUT+M                    start CH AUX also  
 pron                    vt                    vi                    aux

*faya*                    *biti*                    ,                    *famematamona*                    ,                    *fahi*  
 faya                    biti                    ,                    fama -himata -mona                    fahi  
 so                    3SG.POSS.son                    be two FP.N+M REP+M                    then  
 conj nm                    vi                    dem

'He was going to turn himself into an animal and he got ready. He was with his son.'

319 *Biti*                    *fame*                    ,                    *biti*                    *famabise*                    ,                    *me*                    *amo*  
 biti                    fama+M                    ,                    biti                    fama -bisa+M                    ,                    me                    amo  
 3SG.POSS.son                    be two                    3SG.POSS.son                    be two also                    3PL.S                    sleep  
 nm                    vi                    nm                    vi                    pron                    vi

*na*                    *me*                    ,                    *Me*                    *tohiyarake*                    ,                    *me*                    *nafi*  
 na+F                    me                    ,                    me                    to- hiya                    -hara -ke                    me                    nafi  
 AUX                    3PL.S                    3PL.S CH be different IP.E+F DECL+F                    3PL.POSS                    all  
 aux                    pron                    pron vi                    pron                    pn

'He was with his son. They slept. "They all turned into animals."'

320 *Me*                    *nafi*                    *tohiyarani*  
 me                    nafi                    to- hiya                    -hara -ni  
 3PL.POSS                    all                    CH be bad IP.E+F BKG+F  
 pron                    pn                    vi

""They all turned into animals.""

321 *Me*                    *winamakere*  
 me                    wina -ma -ke -re  
 3PL.S                    live back DECL+F NEG+F  
 pron                    vi

""They aren't living here anymore.""

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

322 *Me tohiyakimone hima , hima .*  
 me to- hiya -ki -mone hima , hima  
 3PL.S CH be bad DECL+F REP+F let's go let's go  
 pron vi interj interj

"They are said to have turned into animals. Come on."

323 *E taboroba e awibeya , ati nematamona*  
 ee taboro -ba ee awa -be -ya , ati na -himata -mona  
 1IN.POSS place FUT 1IN.S see IMMED+F now say AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 pron pn pron vt vt aux

*ama hari boroko , borokotebana .*  
 ama haari boroko , boroko -tee -bana  
 SEC that one+M pirarucu pirarucu HAB FUT  
 sec dem nm nm

"Let's find a place to live," he said, the first pirarucu fish.'

324 *Boroko taborobona awebona , yana tonematamona*  
 boroko taboro -bona awa -hibona , yana to- na -himata -mona  
 pirarucu place+M INT+M see INT+M start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M  
 nm pn vt vi aux

*amaka .*  
 ama -ka  
 SEC DECL+M  
 sec

'The pirarucu started out to look for a place to live.'

325 *Yana tone , fati tai toa me*  
 yana to- na+M , fati tai to- ha+F me  
 start CH AUX 3SG.POSS.wife be ahead CH AUX 3PL.S  
 vi aux nf vi aux pron

*tokemetemone .*  
 to- ka -hemete -mone  
 away go/come FP.N+F REP+F  
 vi

'He started out. His wife went ahead. They all went.'

326 *Me toka , inamate e nemata awaka*  
 me to- ka+F , inamate ee na -himata awa -ka  
 3PL.S away go/come child be similar AUX FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M  
 pron vi nm vi aux aux

*ahi .*  
 ahi  
 here  
 dem

'They went. The boy was only this big.'

327 *Inamate , ya me taba me toka me ,*  
 inamate , ya me taba+F me to- ka+F me ,  
 child ADJU 3PL.S be together 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S  
 nm prt pron vi pron vi pron

*me toka me , kanawa kanawametemoneke .*  
 me to- ka+F me , kanawa kanawa -mete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S canoe canoe FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi pron nf nf

'They went with the boy. They went...it was a canoe.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

328 *Kanawa ya ahi , me kafowemetemoneni*  
 kanawa ya ahi , me ka- fowa -hemete -mone -ni  
 canoe ADJU there 3PL.S COMIT be in water FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 nf prt dem pron vi

'They were in the boat.'

329 *Me kafowa me , me kafowa*  
 me ka- fowa+F me , me ka- fowa+F  
 3PL.S COMIT be in water 3PL.S 3PL.S COMIT be in water  
 pron vi pron pron vi  
*biti , biti wati kanematamonaka*  
 biti , biti wati ka- na -himata -mona -ka  
 3SG.POSS.son 3SG.POSS.son plan against COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm nm vt aux

'They were in the boat. He wanted to change his son.'

330 *Biti wati kane , biti namiti baka*  
 biti wati ka- na+M , biti namiti baka  
 3SG.POSS.son plan against COMIT AUX 3SG.POSS.son neck break  
 nm vt aux nm pn vt

*nakose biti , mase mase witi nima biti*  
 na -kosa+M , mase mase witi nima biti  
 AUX middle 3SG.POSS.son curassow curassow beak like 3SG.POSS.son  
 aux nm nm nm pn prt nm

*witi ne , biti nawe , iso , faya yana*  
 witi na+M , biti na- waa+M , iso , faya yana  
 nose AUX 3SG.POSS.son CAUS stand leg+M so start  
 pn aux nm aux pn conj vi

*tonematamonaka ahi*  
 to- na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem

'He wanted to change his son. He broke his son's neck. His son's nose was like a curassow's beak. He stood his son. He left.'

331 *Aa faya biti yana nimatamona ahi ,*  
 aa faya biti yana niha- na -himata -mona ahi  
 (pause) so 3SG.POSS.son start CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M then  
 interj conj nm vi vt dem

*fofofofofofofofofofofoooo*  
 fofofofofofofofofofofofoooo  
 (sound of bird taking off)  
 sound

'He told his son to fly, "Fofofofo."'

332 *Kobo nematamonaka iro , iro ino ya*  
 kobo na -himata -mona -ka iro , iro ino ya  
 arrive AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M tree sp tree sp branch+M ADJU  
 vi aux nm nm pn prt

'He landed on the branch of an iro tree.'

333 *Iro ino ya kobo nematamonaka*  
 iro ino ya kobo na -himata -mona -ka  
 tree sp branch+M ADJU arrive AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 nm pn prt vi aux

'He landed on the branch of an iro tree.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

334 *Fayo* *ati* *nematamona* *fare* *atitebana*  
 fayō ati na -himata -mona fare ati -tee -bana  
 (call of fayō bird) say AUX FP.N+M REP+M same+M voice HAB FUT  
 sound vt aux dem pn

"Fayo," he said, calling like the bird he was turning into.'

335 *Fare* *atiteba* *itimatamonane*  
 fare ati -tee -ba iti -himata -mona -ne  
 same+M voice HAB FUT begin FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 dem pn vt

'He began the call of the bird he was turning into.'

336 *Faya* *ati* *yana* *ne* *ya* , *ware*  
 faya ati yana na.NOM+M ya waa -rI  
 so voice start AUX ADJU stand raised surface  
 conj pn vi aux prt vi

*bati* *ta* , *bati* *ta* *hiwa* ,  
 bati taa bati taa hiwa  
 3SG.POSS.father contrast 3SG.POSS.father contrast 3SG.REFL.M  
 nm prt nm prt pron

*hiwa* *wati* *kanematamona* *ahi* *fati*  
 hiwa wati ka- na -himata -mona ahi fati  
 3SG.REFL.M plan against COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M then 3SG.POSS.wife  
 pron vt aux dem nf

*famari* *ahi*  
 fama -haari ahi  
 be two IP.E+M then  
 vi dem

'He called while perched. But his father wanted to change into an animal, along with his wife.'

337 *Hine* *me* *behe* *kanehemetemoneke* *ahi*  
 hine me behe ka- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 3.REFL 3PL.S turn over COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 pron pron vi aux dem

'They were rocking back and forth in the canoe.'

338 *Hine* *me* , *behe* *kana* *me* , *tabakitebana* ,  
 hine me behe ka- na+F me tabaki -tee -bana  
 3.REFL 3PL.S turn over COMIT AUX 3PL.S tambaqui HAB FUT  
 pron pron vi aux pron nf

*tabakitebana* *me* *na* *me* *hine* *me* *behe*  
 tabaki -tee -bana me na+F me hine me behe  
 tambaqui HAB FUT 3PL.S AUX 3PL.S 3.REFL 3PL.S turn over  
 nf pron aux pron pron pron vi

*kanemetemoneke* *ahi* , *asiooo*  
 ka- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi asiooo  
 COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then (water rushing in)  
 aux dem sound

'They rocked back and forth. They were going to change into tambaqui fish, and they were rocking back and forth, "Asiooo."'

339 *Fa* *weye* *towitimatamonaka* *ahi* , *yama*  
 faha weye to- na -witI -himata -mona -ka ahi yama  
 water carry away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then thing  
 nf vt aux dem nf



## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

*sariwa*                      *mati*                      ,                      *mayawari*                      *metebana*                      ,                      *tamakori*  
sariwa                      mati                      ,                      mayawari                      me -tee -bana                      ,                      tamakori  
squirrel monkey                      3PL                      titi                      3PL HAB FUT                      saki  
nm                      pron                      nm                      pron                      nm

*metebana*                      *me*                      *nafi*                      *kiso*  
me -tee -bana                      me                      nafi                      kiso  
3PL HAB FUT                      3PL.POSS                      all                      white-fronted capuchin  
pron                      pron                      pn                      nf

'They turned into animals. The others, when they were going to turn into animals, yelled like white-lipped peccaries. They were brown capuchin monkeys, howler monkeys, squirrel monkeys, titis, sakis, and white-fronted capuchins.'

343 *Faya me*                      ,                      *sisiwa toha*                      *me kakaro me kakaro me*  
faya me                      ,                      si- siwa to- ha+F                      me kakaro me kakaro me  
so 3PL.S                      DUP play CH AUX                      3PL.S disk 3PL disk 3PL.S  
conj pron                      vi                      aux                      pron nm                      pron nm                      pron

*titisa*                      *tohemetemone*                      *kakaro*  
ti- tisa                      to- ha -hemete -mone                      kakaro  
DUP shoot with arrow                      CH AUX FP.N+F                      REP+F                      disk  
vt                      aux                      nm

'They were always playing, shooting arrows at a disk that rolled on the ground.'

344 *Kakaro me tisa*                      *na me*                      ,                      *kakaro me*  
kakaro me                      tisa                      na+F me                      ,                      kakaro me  
disk 3PL.S                      shoot with arrow                      AUX 3PL.S                      disk 3PL.S  
nm                      pron vt                      aux pron                      nm                      pron

*titisa*                      *toha me*                      ,                      *hine me*  
ti- tisa                      to- ha+F me                      ,                      hine me  
DUP shoot with arrow                      CH AUX 3PL.S                      3.REFL 3PL.S  
vt                      aux                      pron                      pron                      pron

*tonahiyaba*                      *kakaro me tisa*                      *na me*                      ,  
to- na- hiya                      -haba kakaro me tisa                      na+F me  
CH CAUS be different                      FUT+F disk 3PL.S shoot with arrow                      AUX 3PL.S  
vt                      nm                      pron vt                      aux                      pron

*me afi nabone me tokoma me afi*  
me afi na -habone me to- ka -ma+F me afi  
3PL.S bathe AUX INT+F                      3PL.S away go/come back                      3PL.S bathe  
pron vi                      aux                      pron vi                      pron vi

*tonama me kama me siwa namatasa*  
to- na -ma+F me ka -ma+F me siwa na -ma -tasa+F  
away AUX back                      3PL.S go/come back                      3PL.S play AUX back again  
aux                      pron vi                      pron vi                      aux

*me tokomatasa me afi tonamatasa me*  
me to- ka -ma -tasa+F me afi to- na -ma -tasa+F me  
3PL.S away go/come back again                      3PL.S bathe away AUX back again                      3PL.S  
pron vi                      pron vi                      aux                      pron

, *me siwa na me* , *faya ati yana tonemetemone*  
me siwa na+F me                      ,                      faya ati yana to- na -hemete -mone  
3PL.S play AUX 3PL.S                      so voice start CH AUX FP.N+F                      REP+F  
pron vi                      aux                      pron conj pn                      vi                      aux

*maketebana*  
makehe -tee -bana  
anaconda HAB FUT  
nf

'They were shooting arrows at the disk. They were shooting at the disk in order to turn themselves into animals. They went to bathe. They went and bathed and came back and played again. They went again and bathed again. They played. The one who became an anaconda spoke.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

345 *Maketeba* , *yiko* , *yiko* *itihabone*  
 makehe -tee -ba , yiko , yiko iti -habone  
 anaconda HAB FUT howler monkey howler monkey marry INT+F  
 nf nm nm vt

*yiko* *kakako* *toha* , *yiko*  
 yiko ka- kaako to- ha+F , yiko  
 howler monkey DUP be angry with CH AUX howler monkey  
 nm vt aux nm

*kakako* *tohemetemoneke*  
 ka- kaako to- ha -hemete -mone -ke  
 DUP be angry with CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt aux

'The howler monkey wanted to marry the anaconda, but the anaconda didn't like the howler.'

346 *Yiko* *kakako* *toha* , *yiko*  
 yiko ka- kaako to- ha+F , yiko  
 howler monkey DUP be angry with CH AUX howler monkey  
 nm vt aux nm

*kakako* *toha* , *tohaha* *yiko* , *me* *siwa*  
 ka- kaako to- ha+F , to- ha+F yiko , me siwa  
 DUP be angry with CH AUX CH be howler monkey 3PL.S play  
 vt aux vc nm pron vi

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

'She didn't like the howler. They played.'

347 *Me* *siwa* *na* *me* , *yiko*  
 me siwa na+F me , yiko  
 3PL.S play AUX 3PL.S howler monkey  
 pron vi aux pron nm

*tokifiwamematamonaka*  
 to- ka -fI -waha -ma -himata -mona -ka  
 away go/come water change back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi

'They played. The howler went to the water.'

348 *Tokifiwame* , *tokifiwame*  
 to- ka -fI -waha -ma+M , to- ka -fI -waha -ma+M ,  
 away go/come water change back away go/come water change back  
 vi vi

*noko* *tamo* *nawahe* *noko* , *noko* *yene* , *aba* *aba*  
 noko tamona -waha+M noko , noko yehene , aba aba  
 face+M rub AUX change face+M face+M fat+M fish sp fish sp  
 pn vt aux pn pn nm nm

*tonihematamona* *aba* , *aba* *amarari* , *fara*  
 to- niha- ha -himata -mona aba , aba ama -ra -haari , fara  
 CH CAUS be FP.N+M REP+M fish sp fish sp be NEG IP.E+M same+F  
 vd nm nm vc dem

*hinaka* *yama*  
 hinaka yama  
 3SG.POSS thing  
 pron nf

'He went to the water. He washed his face. He made an *aba* fish with the sweat from his face. It wasn't really a fish, it was a magic object.'



THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

349 *Hinaka yamametemoneke*  
 hinaka yama -mete -mone -ke  
 3SG.POSS thing FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron nf

'It was his magic object.'

350 *Aba hiniha , tasi hinakosaha*  
 aba hi- to- niha- ha+F , tasi hi- to- na -kosa+F  
 fish sp OC CH CAUS be string OC CH AUX middle  
 nm vd vt aux

*hiwakamemetemone*  
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone  
 OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F  
 vt

'He turned it into an *aba* fish. He strung it on a line, and took it away.'

351 *Faya hiwakama hinawinama*  
 faya hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F hi- to- na- wina -ma+F ,  
 so OC away COMIT go/come back OC away CAUS hang back  
 conj vt vt

*hinawinama make winaha ati yana*  
 hi- to- na- wina -ma+F makehe wina+F ati yana  
 OC away CAUS hang back anaconda lie in hammock voice start  
 vt nf vi pn vi

*tonemetemone*  
 to- na -hemete -mone  
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

'He took it and hung it up. The anaconda was in her hammock and spoke.'

352 *Make , make iyawa siraha iyawa kaba*  
 makehe makehe iyawa siraha iyawa kaba+F  
 anaconda anaconda manioc mash toast manioc mash eat  
 nf nf nf vt nf vt

*winaha Asima , asima*  
 wina+F asima asima  
 lie in hammock younger sister younger sister  
 vi nf nf

'The anaconda was toasting manioc mash. She was in her hammock eating manioc mash. "Sister, sister."'

353 *Haa ?*  
 haa  
 huh?  
 interj

""Huh?""

354 *Asima , aba winahi titiwitemata*  
 asima aba wina+M ti- to- iti -witI -mata  
 younger sister fish sp hang 2SG.S away take out out short time  
 nf nm vi vt

*hari*  
 haari  
 that one+M  
 dem

""Sister, get the *aba* fish that is hanging there for me.""

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

355 *Aba okobibeya*  
 aba o- kaba -be -ya  
 fish sp 1SG.S eat IMMED+F now  
 nm vt

"I want to eat the *aba* fish."

356 *Yiko ka aba hiwa wina na*  
 yiko ka aba hiwa wina.NOM+M na  
 howler monkey POSS fish sp only.M hang AUX  
 nm prt nm pron vi aux

"Let the howler's *aba* fish hang there."

357 *Aba okobebona*  
 aba o- kaba -hibona  
 fish sp 1SG.S eat INT+M  
 nm vt

"I want to eat the *aba* fish."

358 *Yiko owa kakoba ati*  
 yiko owa kaako -ba ati  
 howler monkey 1SG.O be angry with IMMED+M say  
 nm pron vt vt

*nemetemoneke hinakasima*  
 na -hemete -mone -ke hinaka asima  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3SG.POSS younger sister  
 aux nf

"The howler will be mad at me," she said, her younger sister.'

359 *Tiwa kakoreba awane*  
 tiwa kaako -ra -hiba awa -ne  
 2SG.O be angry with NEG FUT+M seem+M BKG+M  
 pron vt sec

"He won't be mad at you."

360 *Yama yana kabote tinahi*  
 yama yana na -kabote ti- na -hi  
 thing get up AUX quickly 2SG.S AUX IMP+F  
 nf vi aux aux

"Get up."

361 *Aba kabinima oni*  
 aba kaba -nima o- ni  
 fish sp eat want 1SG.S BKG+F  
 nm vt prt

"I want to eat the *aba* fish."

362 *Faya toka hinakati kasiro hikamisa*  
 faya to- ka+F hinaka ati kasiro hi- ka- na -misa+F  
 so away go/come 3SG.POSS older sister persist OC COMMIT AUX up  
 conj vi nf vi aux

*toka aba sota tona aba*  
 to- ka+F aba sota to- na+F aba  
 away go/come fish sp remove CH AUX fish sp  
 vi nm vt aux nm

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

**kakamemetemoneke**

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

'So she went. Her older sister was pestering her, so she went and removed the *aba* fish and brought the *aba* fish.'

363 **Yifo afo kamisama aba ibanemetemoneke**  
yifo afo ka- na -misa -ma+F aba ibana -hemete -mone -ke  
fire light COMIT AUX up back fish sp roast FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
nf vt aux nm vt

**ahi**  
ahi  
then  
dem

'She fanned the fire and roasted the *aba* fish on the coals.'

364 **Aba hirihiri kawahematamona yehene**  
aba hiri- hiri ka- na -waha -himata -mona yehene  
fish sp DUP catch fire COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M fat+M  
nm vi aux nm pn

**ahi**  
ahi  
then  
dem

'The fish was sizzling, its fat.'

365 **Afafa tonakane ahi**  
afa -fa to- na -kane ahi  
be wet DUP CH AUX ?+M then  
vi aux dem

'It was dripping with fat.'

366 **Yehe sobisobi hina nemetemoneke**  
yehe sobi- sobi na -hina na -hemete -mone -ke  
hand DUP lick AUX AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
pn vt aux aux

'She licked her fingers.'

367 **Tiye sobi tina fahi**  
ti- yehe sobi ti- na fahi  
2SG.POSS hand lick 2SG.S AUX then  
pn vt aux dem

'Lick your fingers.'

368 **Ye sobi nemetemoneke aba afafa**  
yehe sobi na -hemete -mone -ke aba afa -fa  
hand lick AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F fish sp be wet DUP  
pn vt aux nm vi

**kanikime yehene**  
na -kanikima+M yehene  
AUX scattered fat+M  
aux pn

'She licked her fingers. The *aba* fish was dripping with fat.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

369 *Ye sobi na , aba behe nawahemetemoneke*  
 yehe sobi na+F , aba behe na -waha -hemete -mone -ke  
 hand lick AUX fish sp turn over AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pn vt aux nm vt aux

'She licked her fingers. She turned the *aba* fish over.'

370 *Aba behe nawa , behe*  
 aba behe na -waha+F , behe  
 fish sp turn over AUX change turn over  
 nm vt aux vt

*hiwahematamonaka*

hi- na -waha -himata -mona -ka  
 OC AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux

'She turned the *aba* fish over.'

371 *Behe hiwe , iyawa , bibisi sobi*  
 behe hi- na -waha+M , iyawa , bi- bisi sobi  
 turn over OC AUX change manioc mash DUP scratch lick  
 vt aux nf vt vt

*hinehimatamonaka*

hi- na -himata -mona -ka *ahi afafa kanikimahari*  
 OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then be wet DUP COMMIT AUX two IP.E+M  
 aux dem vi aux

'After she turned it over, she took a little manioc mash with her fingers. She was licking her other hand, it was greasy.'

372 *Iyawa tima nake iyawa yoko tona*  
 iyawa tima na -kI iyawa yoko to- na  
 manioc mash pick up AUX coming manioc mash push CH AUX  
 nf vt aux nf vt aux

*kanibote*

ka- na -bote , *aba isi ni hinakasima*  
 COMIT AUX quickly fish sp little bit 3SG.POSS younger sister  
 aux nm pn nf

*hiharebana*

hi- iha -ra -hibana  
 OC have NEG FUT+M  
 vt

'She took the manioc mash and put it in her mouth. She didn't want her younger sister to have any of the *aba* fish.'

373 *Ee isi ni hinakasima hiareba*  
 ee isi ni hinaka asima hi- iha -ra -hiba ,  
 (pause) little bit 3SG.POSS younger sister OC have NEG FUT+M  
 interj pn nf vt

*aba kabemetemoneke*

aba kaba -hemete -mone -ke , *abi*  
 fish sp eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 2SG.POSS.father  
 nm vt nm

'She didn't want her sister to have any of the *aba* fish. She ate the *aba* fish.'<sup>113</sup>

113 The word *abi* at the end of the sentence is something Siko said to someone present.

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

374 *Aba kabemetemoneke*  
 aba kaba -hemete -mone -ke  
 fish sp eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nm vt  
 'She ate the *aba* fish.'

375 *Aba kaba , aba kabaha iyawa fawa*  
 aba kaba+F , aba kaba+F iyawa fawa  
 fish sp eat fish sp eat manioc mash disappear  
 nm vt nm vt nf vi  
*toniha aba , yehene aba yehene*  
 to- niha- na+F aba yehene aba yehene  
 CH CAUS AUX fish sp fat+M fish sp fat+M  
 aux nm pn nm pn

*kabemetemoneke*  
 kaba -hemete -mone -ke  
 eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt  
 'She ate the *aba* fish. She finished the manioc mash. She ate the fat of the *aba* fish.'

376 *Aba kaba , aba kabi ya , faya fa bite ,*  
 aba kaba+F , aba kaba.NOM+F ya , faya fa bite  
 fish sp eat fish sp eat ADJU so water small+F  
 nm vt nm vt prt conj nf adj  
*iisi kabote na fawa , ye soko nawaha , ye*  
 i- isi na -kabote na+F fawa+F , yehe soko na -waha+F , yehe  
 DUP be small AUX quickly AUX drink hand wash AUX change hand  
 vi aux aux vt pn vt aux pn

*soko nawahemetemoneke*  
 soko na -waha -hemete -mone -ke  
 wash AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vt aux  
 'She ate the *aba* fish. After she ate the *aba* fish, she drank a little water. She washed her hands.'

377 *Faya winemetemoneke*  
 faya wina -hemete -mone -ke  
 so lie in hammock FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 conj vi  
 'Then she lay in her hammock.'

378 *Wini ya bakasi yana nemetemone amani*  
 wina.NOM+F ya bakasi yana na -hemete -mone ama -ni  
 lie in hammock ADJU thirst start AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F  
 vi prt nf vi aux sec

'As she lay in the hammock, she got thirsty.'

379 *Bakasi yana na , Asima , asima oko*  
 bakasi yana na+F , asima asima o- ka  
 thirst start AUX younger sister younger sister 1SG.POSS POSS  
 nf vi aux nf prt  
*fabana*  
 faha -bana  
 water FUT  
 nf  
 'She got thirsty. "Sister, I want some water."'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

380 *Fa tifamahi*  
 faha ti- to- fawa -ma -hi  
 water 2SG.S away drink back IMP+F  
 nf vt

"Go drink some water."

381 *Fa tifarakene* , *fa* , *wiye*  
 faha ti- fawa -hara -ke -ne faha , wiye  
 water 2SG.S drink IP.E+F DECL+F IRR+F water container+F  
 nf vt nf pn

*itineke haro*  
 ita -ne -ke haaro  
 sit CONT+F DECL+F that one+F  
 vi dem

"You already drank all the water, and the empty water pot is there."

382 *Fa nafirarake*  
 faha nafi -ra -hara -ke  
 water be big NEG IP.E+F DECL+F  
 nf vi

"There wasn't much water in it."

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

"Go quickly."

384 *Faya* , *hinakasima* , *yoseha* , *hinakasima* , *fa*  
 faya , hinaka asima yose+F hinaka asima faha  
 so 3SG.POSS younger sister command 3SG.POSS younger sister water  
 conj nf vt nf nf

*tonakama tokoma* , *kama* , *Haro*  
 to- na- ka -ma+F to- ka -ma+F , ka -ma+F , haaro  
 away CAUS go/come back away go/come back go/come back that one+F  
 vt vi vi dem

*mahika tinahi*  
 mahika ti- na -hi  
 consume a lot 2SG.S AUX IMP+F  
 vt aux

'She ordered her younger sister, and her sister went to get water. She went and came back. "Here, drink all of it."

385 *Mati mati itaha ati yana kane ati*  
 mati mati ita+F ati yana ka- na+M ati  
 3SG.POSS.mother 3SG.POSS.mother sit voice start COMIT AUX say  
 nf nf vi pn vi aux vt

*yana nemetemoneke ahi*  
 yana na -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 start AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 vi aux dem

'Her mother was sitting there, and she spoke.'<sup>114</sup>

114 The phrase *ati yana kane* is a false start.

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

- 386 *Ateate*                      *raba*                      *nofe*                      *yiko*                      *aba*  
 ate- ate                      na -raba                      nofa+M                      yiko                      aba  
 DUP make noise                      AUX a bit                      recently                      howler monkey                      fish sp  
 vi                      aux                      prt                      nm                      nm
- hekameno*  
 hi- ka- ka                      -ma -hino                      kaba+M                      ,                      *bakasi*                      *awe*                      *tiwa*                      *yose*  
 OC COMIT go/come back IP.N+M                      eat                      thirst                      feel                      2SG.0                      command  
 vt                      vt                      nf                      vt                      pron                      vt
- nati*                      *ne*                      ,                      *yiko*                      *nofaterari*  
 nahatI.LIST na+M                      ,                      yiko                      nofa -tee -ra -haari  
 daytime                      AUX                      howler monkey                      want HAB NEG IP.E+M  
 prt                      aux                      nm                      vt
- "Why is she complaining all the time? She ate the *aba* fish that the howler brought, she got thirsty, she ordered you during the day, she doesn't like the howler."

- 387 *Faya*                      *fa*                      *komi*                      *nake*                      ,                      *bakasi*                      *keteketebe*  
 faya faha komi na -kI                      ,                      bakasi                      kete-                      ketebeha  
 so water suck                      AUX coming                      thirst                      DUP be fast  
 conj nf                      vt                      aux                      nf                      vi
- nemetemoneni*  
 na -hemete -mone -ni  
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 aux  
 'She sucked up the water. She was still thirsty.'

- 388 *Faya*                      ,                      *hinakasima*                      *kasiro*                      *kana*                      *mati*  
 faya                      ,                      hinaka                      asima                      kasiro                      ka-                      na+F                      mati  
 so                      3SG.POSS younger sister                      persist                      COMIT AUX                      3SG.POSS.mother  
 conj                      nf                      vi                      aux                      nf
- hora*                      *hina*                      ,                      *Afi*                      *tina*  
 hora hi- na+F                      ,                      afi                      ti-                      na  
 scold OC AUX                      bathe                      2SG.S AUX  
 vt                      aux                      vi                      aux
- 'She pestered her sister, and her mother scolded her. "Take a bath."

- 389 *Fa*                      *mahika*                      *tibe*  
 faha mahika                      ti-                      na -be  
 water consume a lot                      2SG.S AUX IMMED+F  
 nf                      vt                      aux
- "Drink lots of water."

- 390 *Tikamahi*  
 ti- to- ka                      -ma -hi  
 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F  
 vi  
 "Go."

- 391 *Me*                      *tinofa*                      *timakoni*                      ,                      *yiko*  
 me ti- nofa+F                      ti- makoni                      ,                      yiko  
 3PL.0 2SG.S want                      2SG.S for this reason                      howler monkey  
 pron vt                      conj                      nm
- tinofa*                      *timakoni*                      *yiko*                      *ka*                      *aba*  
 ti- nofa+F                      ti- makoni                      yiko                      ka                      aba  
 2SG.S want                      2SG.S for this reason                      howler monkey                      POSS fish sp  
 vt                      conj                      nm                      prt                      nm

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

**tikaba** , **bakasi** **tiwawaine** **tini** , **faya**  
 ti- kaba+F , bakasi ti- awa -waha -ne ti- ni , faya  
 2SG.S eat thirst 2SG.S feel change CONT+F 2SG.S BKG+F so  
 vt nf vt prt conj

**yana towahebanihi**  
 yana to- na -waha -haba -ni -hi  
 start CH AUX change FUT+F IP.N+F DUP  
 vi aux

"You don't like the howler, but you ate the howler's fish, so now you are thirsty." Then she left.'

392 **Yana tonani tokifiwama**  
 yana to- na -hani to- ka -fI -waha -ma+F ,  
 start CH AUX IP.N+F away go/come water change back  
 vi aux vi

**mati hora hina tokifiwama**  
 mati hora hi- na+F to- ka -fI -waha -ma+F ,  
 3SG.POSS.mother scold OC AUX away go/come water change back  
 nf vt aux vi

**tokifiwamemetemoneke**  
 to- ka -fI -waha -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 away go/come water change back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi

'She left and went to the water. Her mother scolded her, so she went to the water.'

393 **Tokifiwama faya bokarisa fa**  
 to- ka -fI -waha -ma+F faya boka -risa+F faha  
 away go/come water change back so enter water down water  
 vi conj vi nf

**maika na faya hofaha hofa ni ya me**  
 mahika na+F , faya hofa+F , hofa+F ni ya me ,  
 consume a lot AUX so be in water be in water to ADJU 3PL  
 vt aux conj vi vi prt prt pron

**me siwa nabone me tokomaketemone me**  
 me siwa na -habone me to- ka -makI -hemete -mone me  
 3PL.S play AUX INT+F 3PL.S away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S  
 pron vi aux pron vi pron

**afi nabone mati ahi**  
 afi na -habone mati ahi  
 bathe AUX INT+F 3PL.S then  
 vi aux pron dem

'She went to the water. She squatted in the water and drank lots of water. She floated. The others went there to bathe and play.'

394 **Me tokomake me bokehemetemoneke**  
 me to- ka -makI me boka -hemete -mone -ke  
 3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.S enter water FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pron vi pron vi

oooo

oooo

(sound of water)

sound

'They went there and jumped in the water, "Oooo".'

395 **Tio tiotiotiotiotiotio sariwa boti**  
 tio tiotiotiotiotiotio sariwa boti  
 (swimming) (swimming) squirrel monkey way down  
 sound sound nm nf



THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

**toke** , **me one kama me afi na me** ,  
to- ka+M , me one ka -ma+F me afi na+F me ,  
away go/come 3PL other+F go/come back 3PL.S bathe AUX 3PL.S  
vi pron adj vi pron vi aux pron

**me afi nemetemoneke**  
me afi na -hemete -mone -ke  
3PL.S bathe AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
pron vi aux

"Tiotiotio," the squirrel monkey dove down deep. Some of them came back. They were bathing.'

396 **Me afi na me , me afi nemetemoneni**  
me afi na+F me , me afi na -hemete -mone -ni  
3PL.S bathe AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S bathe AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
pron vi aux pron pron vi aux

'They were bathing.'

397 **Me afi na me , me afi nemetemoneke**  
me afi na+F me , me afi na -hemete -mone -ke  
3PL.S bathe AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S bathe AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
pron vi aux pron pron vi aux

**me nafi ahi teo teo**  
me nafi ahi teo teo  
3PL.POSS all then (sound of hitting) (sound of hitting)  
pron pn dem sound sound

**teo teo teo**  
teo teo teo  
(sound of hitting) (sound of hitting) (sound of hitting)  
sound sound sound

**teo**  
teo  
(sound of hitting)  
sound

'They were bathing, all of them, "Teo teo teo."'

398 **Me kikiya kawahemetemoneke ahi me**  
me ki- kiya ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ke ahi me  
3PL.S DUP yell COMMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3PL.S  
pron vi aux dem pron

**tohiyaba mati**  
to- hiya -haba mati  
CH be different FUT+F 3PL.S  
vi pron

'They were crying out like monkeys, as they changed into animals.'

399 **Me , afi na me ni ya , sariwa , boti**  
me , afi na+F me ni ya , sariwa , boti  
3PL.S bathe AUX 3PL to ADJU squirrel monkey way down  
pron vi aux pron prt prt nm nf

**tokome noko awematamonaka**  
to- ka -ma+M , noko awa -himata -mona -ka  
away go/come back eye+M see FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vi pn vi

'As they were bathing, the squirrel monkey dove down deep, and he saw something.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

400 *Me sariwa noko aweno ati yana*  
 me sariwa noko awa -hino ati yana  
 3PL squirrel monkey eye+M see IP.N+M voice start  
 pron nm pn vi pn vi

*tonematamona tafihari seo*  
 to- na -himata -mona tafi -haari seo  
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M buoy up IP.E+M (squirrel monkey alarm)  
 aux vi sound

*seo seo seo*  
 seo seo seo  
 (squirrel monkey alarm) (squirrel monkey alarm) (squirrel monkey alarm)  
 sound sound sound

*seo seo seo*  
 seo seo seo  
 (squirrel monkey alarm) (squirrel monkey alarm) (squirrel monkey alarm)  
 sound sound sound

*seo*  
 seo  
 (squirrel monkey alarm)  
 sound

"The squirrel monkey saw something, and when he came to the surface, he spoke, "Seo seo."

401 *Te noko awini ?*  
 tee noko awa -ni  
 2PL.POSS eye see BKG+F  
 pron pn vi

"Did you see something?"

402 *Yama hofi ahi*  
 yama hofa.NOM+F ahi  
 thing be in water then  
 nf vi dem

"There is a creature lying on the bottom."

403 *Yama hofi ahi e afi ni yokana ya*  
 yama hofa.NOM+F ahi ee afi na.NOM+F yokana ya  
 thing be in water there 1IN.S bathe AUX true ADJU  
 nf vi dem pron vi aux adj prt

"There is a creature lying right where we are bathing."

404 *Yama hohona nofari*  
 yama ho- hona na nofa -ra.NOM+F  
 thing DUP have something AUX recently NEG  
 nf vi prt

"There has never been anything here."

405 *Yama hofarake*  
 yama hofa -hara -ke  
 thing be in water IP.E+F DECL+F  
 nf vi

"It is lying there."

406 *Nokokiarake ha ya ahi*  
 noko -kI -hara -ke haa ya ahi  
 point coming IP.E+F DECL+F DEM ADJU then  
 vi dem prt dem

"It's looking this way, but not at me."

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

407 *Yama nokokiara ahi , make , make mera*  
 yama noko -kI -hara ahi , makehe , makehe mera  
 thing point coming IP.E+F then anaconda anaconda 3PL.O  
 nf vi dem nf nf pron

*wahiyaro*

wahiya -haaro  
 hide from IP.E+F  
 vt

"It's looking that way." It was the anaconda, hiding from them.'

408 *Yowi noki nemetemone yowi*  
 yowi noki na -hemete -mone yowi  
 brown capuchin wait for AUX FP.N+F REP+F brown capuchin  
 nm vt aux nm

'She was waiting for the brown capuchin.'

409 *Yowi , yowi noki na , me me*  
 yowi yowi noki na+F , me me  
 brown capuchin brown capuchin wait for AUX 3PL 3PL.S  
 nm nm vt aux pron pron

*bokamemetemoneke*

boka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 enter water back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi

'She was waiting for the brown capuchin. They jumped in the water on the other bank.'

410 *Me bokama me tokoma me , me ,*  
 me boka -ma+F me to- ka -ma+F me , me ,  
 3PL.S enter water back 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron vi pron pron

*hiwaha me , Te awini ?*  
 hi- awa+F me , tee awa -ni  
 OC see 3PL 2PL.S see BKG+F  
 vt pron pron vt

"They jumped in the water. They were wading. They saw her. "Did you see it?"

411 *Ee ota awarake*  
 ee otaa awa -hara -ke  
 yes 1EX.S see IP.E+F DECL+F  
 interj pron vt

"Yes, we saw it."

412 *Yama homi ahi*  
 yama homa.NOM+F ahi  
 thing lie on ground there  
 nf vi dem

"There is something lying there."

413 *Homarake ahi*  
 homa -hara -ke ahi  
 lie on ground IP.E+F DECL+F there  
 vi dem

"It is lying there."

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

414 *Awa amarini* ?  
 awa ama -ra -ni  
 tree be NEG BKG+F  
 nf vc

"Is it a log?"

415 *Awa amakere*  
 awa ama -ke -re  
 tree be DECL+F NEG+F  
 nf vc

"It's not a log."

416 *Me nafi boka me Hiba e awibeya*  
 me nafi boka+F me hiba ee awa -be -ya  
 3PL.POSS all enter water 3PL.POSS wait 1IN.S see IMMED+F now  
 pron pn vi pron interj pron vt

*e nafi e nafi*  
 ee nafi ee nafi  
 1IN.POSS all 1IN.POSS all  
 pron pn pron pn

"They all went in the water. "Wait, let's look at it, all of us."

417 *Kofai kofai oooo me*  
 kofai kofai oooo me  
 (jumping in water) (jumping in water) (sound of water) 3PL.S  
 sound sound sound pron

*tokometemoneni*

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

"Kofai, oooo," they went.'

418 *Me tokoma me me*  
 me to- ka -ma+F me me  
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S  
 pron vi pron pron

*tokometemoneke*

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

'They went down.'

419 *Me tokoma me yowi*  
 me to- ka -ma+F me yowi  
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S brown capuchin  
 pron vi pron nm

*watemetemoneke*

wata -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 catch FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 vt dem

'They went down. She grasped the brown capuchin.'

420 *Yowi wata yowi watemetemoneni*  
 yowi wata+F yowi wata -hemete -mone -ni  
 brown capuchin catch brown capuchin catch FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 nm vt nm vt

'She grasped the brown capuchin.'



THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

*bari ya*  
bari ya  
back ADJU  
pn prt

'The capuchin was sitting on her nose.'

428 *Yowi itarimatamona*  
yowi ita -rI -himata -mona  
brown capuchin sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M  
nm vi

'The capuchin was sitting there.'

429 *Faya hofaha mati Yowi yowi*  
faya hofa+F mati yowi yowi  
so be in water 3SG.POSS.mother brown capuchin brown capuchin  
conj vi nf nm nm

*yama watarake me tokoma me ati*  
yama wata -hara -ke me to- ka -ma+F me ati  
thing catch IP.E+F DECL+F 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S say  
nf vt pron vi pron vt

*nemetemone*  
na -hemete -mone  
AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
aux

'The anaconda was in the water. "Something caught the brown capuchin," they said, as they went back.'<sup>116</sup>

430 *Me tokoma me ati na Yowi yama*  
me to- ka -ma+F me ati na+F yowi yama  
3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S say AUX brown capuchin thing  
pron vi pron vt aux nm nf

*watarake*  
wata -hara -ke  
catch IP.E+F DECL+F  
vt

'"Something caught the brown capuchin."'

431 *Yowi ya ati fofore toemetemone*  
yowi ya ati fo- forI to- ha -hemete -mone  
brown capuchin ADJU voice DUP lie on top CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
nm prt pn vi aux

'She had decided to marry the brown capuchin.'

432 *Yowi watemetemoneke*  
yowi wata -hemete -mone -ke  
brown capuchin catch FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
nm vt

'She caught the brown capuchin.'

433 *Faya yowi wata yowi fofoya toe*  
faya yowi wata+F yowi fo- foya to- ha+M  
so brown capuchin catch brown capuchin DUP be inside CH AUX  
conj nm vt nm vi aux

*kakafowa hihe Afi omateya*  
ka- ka- fowa hi- to- ha+M afi o- na -mate -ya  
DUP COMIT be in water OC CH AUX bathe 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F now  
vt aux vi aux

<sup>116</sup> The word *mati* is a false start.

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

<b>, mati</b>	<b>ati</b>	<b>nemetemoneke</b>	<b>mati</b>
mati	ati	na -hemete -mone -ke	mati
3SG.POSS.mother	say	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	3SG.POSS.mother
nf	vt	aux	nf

**haro**  
 haaro  
 that one+F  
 dem

'She caught the capuchin. He was inside her, and she was lying in the water with him. "I'm going to take a bath," her mother said.'

434 <b>Hima</b>	<b>tai</b>	<b>tiwamahi</b>	
hima	tai	ti- to- ha -ma -hi	
let's go	be ahead	2SG.S CH AUX back IMP+F	
interj	vi	aux	

"You go on ahead."

435 <b>Isiri</b>	<b>tama</b>	<b>tinahi</b>	
isiri	tama	ti- na -hi	
basket	hold onto	2SG.S AUX IMP+F	
nf	vt	aux	

"Take along a basket."

436 <b>Isiri</b>	<b>bite</b>	<b>tama</b>	<b>tinahi</b>
isiri	bite	tama	ti- na -hi
basket	small+F	hold onto	2SG.S AUX IMP+F
nf	adj	vt	aux

"Take a small basket."

437 <b>Yowi</b>	<b>, tohiyi</b>	<b>tabiyo</b>	<b>, tohiyi</b>	<b>tabiyo</b>
yowi	to- hiya.NFIN	tabiyo	to- hiya.NFIN	tabiyo
brown capuchin	CH be different	absence	CH be different	absence
nm	vi	pn	vi	pn

<b>, mera</b>	<b>nofatere</b>		
mera	nofa -tee -ra+M		
3PL.O	want HAB NEG		
pron	vt		

"She wants to turn into an animal, and she doesn't want to marry."

438 <b>Yiko</b>	<b>nofatere</b>		
yiko	nofa -tee -ra+M		
howler monkey	want HAB NEG		
nm	vt		

"She doesn't like the howler monkey."

439 <b>Tohiye</b>	<b>, yowi</b>	<b>fawa</b>	<b>nine</b>	<b>, ati</b>
to- hiya+M	yowi	fawa	niha- na -ne	ati
CH be different	brown capuchin	disappear	CAUS AUX CONT+F	say
vi	nm	vi	aux	vt

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

"She turned into an animal, and made the brown capuchin go away," she said.'

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

440 *Faya tokifiwama*

faya to- ka -fI -waha -ma+F ,  
 so away go/come water change back  
 conj vi

*tokifiwamemetemoneke*

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

'She went to the water.'

441 *Tokifiwama*

to- ka -fI -waha -ma+F ,  
 away go/come water change back  
 vi

*homemetemoneke*

homa -hemete -mone -ke  
 lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi

'She went to the water. She was lying there.'

442 *Homamisini*

homa -misa.NOM -ni ka hinaka yowi  
 lie on ground up IP.N+F LOC 3SG.POSS brown capuchin  
 vi prt pron nm

*itari*

ita -rI+M ne witi botokori ya , kowa nari  
 sit raised surface AUX nose bridge ADJU whistle AUX IP.E+M  
 vi aux pn pn prt vi aux

'She was lying on the beach and her brown capuchin was sitting on the bridge of her nose, crying.'

443 *Yowi*

yowi kowa nematamonaka he witi  
 brown capuchin whistle AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS nose  
 nm vi aux pron pn

*botokori*

botokori ya itariari  
 bridge ADJU sit raised surface IP.E+M  
 pn prt vi

'The capuchin was crying, as he sat on the bridge of her nose.'

444 *Tifowawawitih*

ti- to- fowa -waha -witI -hi  
 2SG.S away be in water change out IMP+F  
 vi

""You get out of here.""

445 *He*

fito kanemetemoneke ahi  
 hee fito ka- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 3SG.O rush COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 pron vi aux dem

'She attacked her.'

446 *Owa*

fito tikanahi onimakoni  
 owa fito ti- ka- na -hi ati o- na -makoni  
 1SG.O rush 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMP+F say 1SG.S AUX for this reason+F  
 pron vi aux vt

*owa*

fito tikine tini  
 owa fito ti- ka- na -ne ti- ni  
 1SG.O rush 2SG.S COMIT AUX CONT+F 2SG.S BKG+F  
 pron vi aux prt

""Did I say, 'Attack me'? Is that why you are attacking me?""



THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

447 *Faya yora towitia bite , Okomi*  
 faya yora to- na -witI+F bite o- ka ami  
 so jump away AUX out 3SG.POSS.daughter 1SG.POSS POSS mother  
 conj vi aux nf nf

*aware awane*  
 awa -ra+M awa -ne  
 see NEG seem+M BKG+M  
 vi sec

'She jumped away. Her daughter said, "Why are you after my mother?"'

448 *Yoari wataha nafihemetemoneke*  
 yoha -ri wata+F nafi -hemete -mone -ke  
 breast PN exist be big FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 pn vi vi

'She had breasts, she was big.'

449 *Nafiha , yoari wataha nafihara*  
 nafi+F , yoha -ri wata+F nafi -hara  
 be big breast PN exist be big IP.E+F  
 vi pn vi vi

'She had breasts, she was big.'

450 *Faya me , afi kanabone , Ami , ami*  
 faya me , afi ka- na -habone , ami , ami  
 so 3PL.S bathe COMMIT AUX INT+F mother mother  
 conj pron vi aux nf nf

'The two of them were going to bathe. "Mother, Mother."'

451 *Hofemetemone*  
 hofa -hemete -mone  
 be in water FP.N+F REP+F  
 vi

'She was in the water.'

452 *Tati tati ihamisemetemoneke ahi*  
 tati tati iha -misa -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 head head be located up FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 pn pn vi dem

'Her head was on the beach.'

453 *Ami owiti yama ati sai nofa , baba*  
 ami o- witi yama ati sai nofa+F , ba- baa  
 mother 1SG.POSS nose thing voice be heard recently DUP hit  
 nf pn nf pn vi prt vt

*timatahi*  
 ti- na -mata -hi  
 2SG.S AUX short time IMP+F  
 aux

""Mother, there is a voice coming out of my nose, hit a little bit on it.""

454 *Faya hinaka , awabone hiwasia awa wasia , Hiya ,*  
 faya hinaka , awa -bone hi- wasi+F awa wasi+F , hiya ,  
 so 3SG.POSS wood INT+F OC find wood find come on  
 conj pron nf vt nf vt interj

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

**ahi owiti ba tire ahi**  
ahi o- witi baa ti- na -rI ahi  
here 1SG.POSS nose hit 2SG.S AUX raised surface here  
dem pn vt aux dem  
'She found a stick for her. "Here, hit on my nose."

455 **Owiti ba tire**  
o- witi baa ti- na -rI  
1SG.POSS nose hit 2SG.S AUX raised surface  
pn vt aux  
'"Hit on my nose."

456 **Fati one watotibisani hisiri hisiri**  
fati one wato -tee.NOM -bisa -ni hisiri hisiri  
3SG.POSS.wife other+F know HAB also IP.N+F basket basket  
nf adj vt nf nf

**tonanokohemetemone ahi**  
to- na- noko -hemete -mone ahi  
away CAUS point FP.N+F REP+F then  
vt dem  
'She knew her daughter was going to marry the capuchin. She tipped the basket.'

457 **Isiri bite tonanokoha witi baba**  
isiri bite to- na- noko+F witi baba  
basket small+F away CAUS point nose DUP hit  
nf adj vt pn vt

**hinemetemoneke**  
hi- na -hemete -mone -ke  
OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
aux  
'She tipped the basket, and hit lightly on her nose.'

458 **Mata ba nare tinahi**  
mata baa na -rI ti- na -hi  
more hit AUX raised surface 2SG.S AUX IMP+F  
adv vt aux aux  
'"Hit harder."

459 **Witi ba hire yowi yowi**  
witi baa hi- na -rI yowi yowi  
nose hit OC AUX raised surface brown capuchin brown capuchin  
pn vt aux nm nm

**yora towitimatamonaka isiri tori ya ahi**  
yora to- na -witI -himata -mona -ka isiri tori ya ahi  
jump away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M basket inside+F ADJU there  
vi aux nf pn prt dem  
'She hit on her nose, and the capuchin jumped into the basket.'

460 **Noko borone wara hikane yowi tama**  
noko borone wara hi- to- ka- na+M yowi tama  
lid+M grab OC CH COMIT AUX brown capuchin hold onto  
pn vt aux nm vt

**kanemetemoneke**  
ka- na -hemete -mone -ke  
COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
aux  
'She held the mouth of the basket shut, shutting the capuchin inside.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

461 *Yowi*                    *tama*                    *kane*                    ,   *faya*   *tama*                    *hikane*  
 yowi                    tama                    ka-   na+M   ,   faya   tama                    hi- ka-   na+M  
 brown capuchin   hold onto   COMIT AUX   so   hold onto   OC   COMIT AUX  
 nm                    vt                    aux                    conj   vt                    aux

*noko*                    *wete*                    *hikanematamonaka*  
 noko                    wete   hi- ka-   na   -himata   -mona   -ka  
 opening+M   tie   OC   COMIT AUX   FP.N+M   REP+M   DECL+M  
 pn                    vt                    aux

'She held the capuchin in, and tied the mouth of the basket.'

462 *Noko*                    *wete*                    *hikane*                    ,   *faya*   *mati*                    *hora*  
 noko                    wete   hi- ka-   na+M   ,   faya   mati                    hora  
 opening+M   tie   OC   COMIT AUX   so   3SG.POSS.mother   scold  
 pn                    vt                    aux                    conj   nf                    vt

*hina*                    ,   *mati*                    *hora*                    *hinemetemoneke*  
 hi- na+F   ,   mati                    hora   hi- na   -hemete   -mone   -ke  
 OC AUX   3SG.POSS.mother   scold   OC AUX   FP.N+F   REP+F   DECL+F  
 aux                    nf                    vt                    aux

'She tied the mouth of the basket. Her mother scolded her.'

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

""Go.""

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

""Go.""

465 *Yama*   *nafi*                    *nima*                    *titibeya*  
 yama   nafi   nima   ti-   na   -tee   -be   -ya  
 thing   all   like   2SG.S   AUX   HAB   IMMED+F   now  
 nf                    pn                    prt                    aux

""Go everywhere.""

466 *Mati*                    ,   *mati*                    *koro*  
 mati                    ,   mati                    koro  
 3SG.POSS.mother   3SG.POSS.mother   throw  
 nf                    nf                    vt

*hifemetemoneke*                    *ahi*  
 hi- to-   na   -fI   -ma   -hemete   -mone   -ke   ahi  
 OC   away   AUX   water   back   FP.N+F   REP+F   DECL+F   then  
 aux                    dem

'Her mother threw her back into the water.'

467 *Mati*                    *koro*                    *hifema*                    ,  
 mati                    koro   hi- to-   na   -fI   -ma+F   ,  
 3SG.POSS.mother   throw   OC   away   AUX   water   back  
 nf                    vt                    aux

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

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

'Her mother threw her in the water, and she went down.'

468 *Fa nafi nima titiyahi*  
 faha nafi nima ti- na -tee -yahi  
 water all like 2SG.S AUX HAB DIST.IMP+F  
 nf pn prt aux

""You will go to the waters everywhere.""

469 *Faya tokoma , tokomi ya ,*  
 faya to- ka -ma+F , to- ka -ma.NOM+F ya ,  
 so away go/come back away go/come back ADJU  
 conj vi vi prt

*yowi fatitebone tama hikane he*  
 yowi fati -tee -bone tama hi- ka- na+M , hee  
 brown capuchin 3SG.POSS.wife HAB INT+F hold onto OC COMIT AUX 3SG  
 nm nf vt aux pron

*famawatebanoho*  
 fama -waha -tee -hiba -no -ho  
 be two change HAB FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vi

'So she went down. When she went down, the one who was going to be the wife of the brown capuchin was holding him. She stayed with him.'

470 *Faya me , afi kana me*  
 faya me , afi ka- na+F me  
 so 3PL.S bathe COMIT AUX 3PL.S  
 conj pron vi vi pron

*kakamemetemoneke*  
 ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 vi

'The two of them bathed and came back.'

471 *Me kakama me , mati fama*  
 me ka- ka -ma+F me , mati fama+F  
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3SG.POSS.mother be two  
 pron vi pron nf vi

*kama yowi tama kani kama*  
 ka -ma+F yowi tama ka- na.NFIN ka -ma+F ,  
 go/come back brown capuchin hold onto COMIT AUX go/come back  
 vi nm vt aux vi

*faya yowi nanayana toha , faya*  
 faya yowi na- na- yana to- ha+F , faya  
 so brown capuchin DUP CAUS grow CH AUX so  
 conj nm vt aux conj

*kikimisama raba ne ya*  
 ki- ka -misa -ma na -raba na.NOM+M ya  
 DUP go/come up back AUX a bit AUX ADJU  
 vi aux aux prt

*wamisamematamona fahi*  
 waa -misa -ma -himata -mona fahi  
 stand up back FP.N+M REP+M then  
 vi dem

'They came back. She came back with her mother. She came back holding onto the brown capuchin. Then she raised the capuchin. He got somewhat better, and then got up.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

472 *Wamisamematamonaka*

waa -misa -ma -himata -mona -ka  
stand up back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
vi

'He got up.'

473 *Wamisame*

waa -misa -ma+M  
stand up back  
vi

*wamisame*

waa -misa -ma+M  
stand up back  
vi

*Make*

makehe  
anaconda  
nf

*kora*

kora  
swallow whole  
vt

*hiniseno*

hi- to- na -risa -hino  
OC CH AUX down IP.N+M  
aux

*wamisamawahane*

waa -misa -ma -waha.CONT+M -ne  
stand up back change BKG+M  
vi

'He got up. "The anaconda swallowed him whole, but finally he got up."'

474 *Make*

makehe  
anaconda  
nf

*owa*

owa  
1SG.O  
pron

*watani*

wata -hani  
catch IP.N+F  
vt

*o*

o-  
1SG.O  
prt

"The anaconda bit me."

475 *Owamisamawahine*

o- waa -misa -ma -waha -ne  
1SG.S stand up back change CONT+F  
vi

*oni*

o- ni  
1SG.S BKG+F  
prt

"I got up now."

476 *Faya*

faya si- siwa na -ma to- ha -himata -mona -ka  
so DUP play AUX back CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
conj vi aux aux

*sisiwa*

*nama*

*toematamonaka*

*fahi*

fahi  
then  
dem

'He played once again.'

477 *Sisiwa*

si- siwa na -ma to- ha+M  
DUP play AUX back CH AUX  
vi

*nama*

*tohe*

*faya*

*me*

*siwa*

faya me siwa  
so 3PL.S play  
conj pron vi

*namemetemone*

na -ma -hemete -mone  
AUX back FP.N+F REP+F  
aux

*fahi*

fahi  
then  
dem

'He played once again. They played again.'

478 *Me*

me siwa na -ma+F me  
3PL.S play AUX back 3PL.S  
pron vi aux pron

*siwa*

*nama*

*me*

*me*

*siwa*

*nemetemoneke*

me siwa na -hemete -mone -ke  
3PL.S play AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
pron vi aux

*ahi*

ahi  
then  
dem

'They played again. They played.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

479 **Kakaro me sa nemetemone ahi**  
 kakaro me saa na -hemete -mone ahi  
 disk 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 nm pron vt aux dem

'They shot arrows at the disk.'

480 **Kakaro me tisa nemetemone ahi**  
 kakaro me tisa na -hemete -mone ahi  
 disk 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F then  
 nm pron vt aux dem

'They shot arrows at the disk.'

481 **Kakaro me tisa na me , kakaro me me**  
 kakaro me tisa na+F me , kakaro me me  
 disk 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.S disk 3PL 3PL.POSS  
 nm pron vt aux pron nm pron pron

**abe tokatowiemetemoneni kakaro ya , kakaro ya**  
 abe to- katowi -hemete -mone -ni kakaro ya kakaro ya  
 RECIIP away fight FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F disk ADJU disk ADJU  
 pn vt nm prt nm prt

'They shot arrows at the disk. They fought over the disk.'

482 **Kakaro owa itikabote kakaro , banakabote**  
 kakaro owa iti -kabote kakaro , bana -kabote  
 disk other+M take out quickly disk throw something at quickly  
 nm adj vt nm vt

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

'One of them took the disk and threw it at someone.'

483 **Kakaro itematamonaka ahi**  
 kakaro ita -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 disk pierce FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 nm vt dem

'He put a hole in the disk.'

484 **Kakaro , wari nawa kanibote bana**  
 kakaro , wari na -waha ka- na -bote bana  
 disk turn AUX change COMIT AUX quickly throw at someone  
 nm vt aux aux vt

**kanibote nematamonaka**  
 ka- na -bote na -himata -mona -ka  
 COMIT AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 aux aux

'He twisted the disk off and threw it.'

485 **Kakaro itatasematamonaka ahi owa**  
 kakaro ita -tasa -himata -mona -ka ahi owa  
 disk pierce again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then other+M  
 nm vt dem adj

'Someone else hit the disk with an arrow.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

486 *Faya me* , *abe tokatowimetemone* *fahi*  
 faya me , abe to- katowi -hemete -mone fahi  
 so 3PL.POSS RECIp CH fight FP.N+F REP+F then  
 conj pron pn vt dem

'They fought with each other.'

487 *Yowi fito tonamakematamonaka* *ahi*  
 yowi fito to- na -makI -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 brown capuchin rush away AUX following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 nm vi aux

*yiko wati kanenoho*  
 yiko wati ka- na -hino -ho  
 howler monkey plan against COMIT AUX IP.N+M DUP  
 nm vt aux

'The brown capuchin ran, planning against the howler monkey.'

488 *Fito tonamake* , *kakaro wara tonematamonaka*  
 fito to- na -makI kakaro wara to- na -himata -mona -ka  
 rush away AUX following disk grab CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M  
 vi aux nm vt aux

'He ran and grabbed the disk.'

489 *Kakaro wara tone* , *yiko namiti baka nakose*  
 kakaro wara to- na+M , yiko namiti baka na -kosa+M  
 disk grab away AUX howler monkey neck break AUX middle  
 nm vt aux nm pn vt aux

*yiko kakaro yoko tonematamonaka* *ahi*  
 yiko kakaro yoko to- na -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 howler monkey disk push CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 nm nm vt aux dem

'He grabbed the disk and broke the howler's neck, and shoved the disk on him.'

490 *Hinaka kakaromatamona* , *he namiti foyati*  
 hinaka kakaro -mata -mona , hee namiti foya -tee.NOM  
 3SG.POSS disk FP.N+M REP+M 3SG.POSS neck be inside HAB  
 pron nm pron pn vi

'It was his disk, that stays in his throat.'

491 *Faya namiti yoko hine* , *faya iso baka*  
 faya namiti yoko hi- to- na+M , faya iso baka  
 so neck push OC CH AUX so leg+M break  
 conj pn vt aux conj pn vt

*hikasa teme teme baka hisa*  
 hi- ka- na -kosa.LIST , teme teme baka hi- na -kosa.LIST ,  
 OC COMIT AUX middle foot+M foot+M break OC AUX middle  
 aux pn pn vt aux

*yehe baka hisa* , *koro*  
 yehe baka hi- na -kosa.LIST , koro  
 hand break OC AUX middle throw  
 pn vt aux vt

*himisematamonaka* *ahi*  
 hi- to- na -misa -himata -mona -ka ahi  
 OC away AUX up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then  
 aux dem

'He shoved it on his throat. Then he broke his legs. He broke his feet and his hands, and threw him up high.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

492 *Kirikirikirikiriki*                      *bofe*      *ya*      *tokematamonaka*  
 kirikirikirikirikiriki                      bofe      ya      to- ka      -himata -mona -ka  
 (voice of howler monkey)              ground      ADJU      away go/come      FP.N+M      REP+M      DECL+M  
 sound                      nf              prt              vi

*ahi*  
 ahi  
 then  
 dem

'He went along saying, "Kirikirikirikiriki."<sup>117</sup>

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

"Look at him."

494 *Mera*      *tonahiyeba*                                      *make*      ,      *yome*  
 mera      to- na- hiya                      -hiba      makehe      ,      yome  
 3PL.O      CH      CAUS      be different      FUT+M      anaconda                      swallow  
 pron      vt                                      nf                                      vt

*hiniseno*                                      *mera*      *tonahiyematamonaka*  
 hi- to- na      -risa -hino      mera      to- na- hiya                      -himata -mona -ka  
 OC      CH      AUX      down      IP.N+M      3PL.O      CH      CAUS      be different      FP.N+M      REP+M      DECL+M  
 aux                                      pron      vt

*yowi*  
 yowi  
 brown capuchin  
 nm

'So that he could turn them into animals, the anaconda swallowed him. He turned them into animals, the brown capuchin.'

495 *Sariwa*                                      *kiya*      *kanakane*                                      *sariwa*                                      *ahi*  
 sariwa                                      kiya      ka-      na      -kane      sariwa                                      ahi  
 squirrel monkey      yell      COMMIT      AUX      ?+M      squirrel monkey                      then  
 nm                                      vi                      aux                                      nm                                      dem

'The squirrel monkey also cried out.'

496 *Sariwa*                                      *wate*      *sariwa*                                      ,      *baka*      *ne*      *sariwa*  
 sariwa                                      wata+M      sariwa                                      ,      baka      na+M      sariwa  
 squirrel monkey      catch      squirrel monkey                      break      AUX      squirrel monkey  
 nm                                      vt                      nm                                      vt                      aux                      nm

*koro*      *tomisematamonaka*                                      *ahi*  
 koro      to- na      -misa -himata -mona -ka                      ahi  
 throw      away      AUX      up                      FP.N+M      REP+M      DECL+M                      then  
 vt                      aux                                      dem

'He grabbed the squirrel monkey and broke him. He threw the squirrel monkey up high.'

497 *Sariwa*                                      *seo*      *nibote*                                      *nematamonaka*                                      *ahi*  
 sariwa                                      seo      na      -bote      na      -himata -mona -ka                      ahi  
 squirrel monkey      hiss      AUX      quickly      AUX      FP.N+M      REP+M      DECL+M                      then  
 nm                                      vi                      aux                                      aux                                      dem

'The squirrel monkey began hissing right away.'

117 I was not able to determine why Siko included the phrase *bofe ya* 'on the ground'.



THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

498 *Yowi*                      *mati*    *yowi*                      ,    *yowi*                      *me*    *one*                      ,  
       yowi                      mati    yowi                      ,    yowi                      me    one  
       brown capuchin 3PL    brown capuchin                      brown capuchin                      3PL    other+F  
       nm                      pron nm                      nm                      pron adj

*me*    *one*                      *tonahiyematamona*  
 me    one                      to- na- hiya                      -himata -mona  
 3PL    other+F    CH    CAUS    be different    FP.N+M    REP+M  
 pron adj                      vt

'He also turned the others into brown capuchins.'

499 *Tamakori*    *fana*                      *kisorawaha*                      ,  
       tamakori    fana                      kiso                      -rawa -ha  
       saki                      female    white-fronted capuchin F.PL    DUP  
       nm                      nf                      nf

*kiso*                      *mera*    *tonahiya*                      ,  
 kiso                      mera    to- na- hiya.LIST  
 white-fronted capuchin 3PL.O    CH    CAUS    be different  
 nf                      pron    vt

*kiso*                      *metebana*  
 kiso                      me    -tee -bana  
 white-fronted capuchin 3PL    HAB    FUT  
 nf                      pron

'He turned them into female saki monkeys, and white-fronted capuchins, too.'

500 *Faya*    *mera*    *tonahiyematamonaka*                      *fahi*  
       faya    mera    to- na- hiya                      -himata -mona -ka    fahi  
       so    3PL.O    CH    CAUS    be different    FP.N+M    REP+M    DECL+M    then  
       conj    pron    vt                      dem

'He turned them into animals.'

501 *Mera*    *tonahiye*                      *nafi*                      ,    *me*                      *nafi*  
       mera    to- na- hiya+M                      nafi                      me                      nafi  
       3PL.O    CH    CAUS    be different    all                      3PL.POSS    all  
       pron    vt                      pn                      pron                      pn

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

'He turned them into animals. They all went up into the trees.'

502 *Yama*    *yama*    *me*                      *ati*                      *sasai*                      *ka*                      *yama*  
       yama    yama    me                      ati                      sa- sai                      ka                      yama  
       thing    thing    3PL.POSS    voice    DUP    be heard    which    thing  
       nf                      nf                      pron                      pn                      vi                      prt                      nf

*fawafawa*                      ,    *nemetemoneke*  
 fawa- fawa                      na -hemete -mone -ke  
 DUP    disappear                      AUX    FP.N+F    REP+F    DECL+F  
 vi                      aux

'There had been lots of voices before, but now there was silence.'

503 *Hahi*                      ,    *bane*                      *mebisa*                      ,    *fati*                      *famabise*  
       haahi                      banehe                      me -bisa                      ,    fati                      fama -bisa+M  
       this one+M                      giant anteater                      3PL    also                      3SG.POSS.wife                      be two also  
       dem                      nf                      pron                      nf                      vi

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

, *tabakitebana*  
 tabaki -tee -bana  
 tambaqui HAB FUT  
 nf

'The giant anteater was with his wife, the tamabaqui fish.'

504 *Bane* *yama* , *Himata* *nima* *e* *naba* *e*  
 banehe yama , himata nima ee na -haba ee  
 giant anteater thing what? like 1IN.S AUX FUT+F 1IN.S  
 nf nf interrog prt pron aux pron

*amari* ?

ama -ri  
 SEC CQ+F  
 sec

""What shall we do?""

505 *Yama* *nanawaha* *raba* *ra* *me* *hiri* *na*  
 yama na- nawaha na -raba na -ra+F me hiri na+F  
 thing CAUS take a long time AUX a bit AUX NEG 3PL.S do AUX  
 nf vi aux aux pron vt aux

*me* *tiwa*  
 me ti- awa  
 3PL.O 2SG.S see  
 pron vt

""Look at the difficult thing they are doing.""

506 *E* *goro* *nabisahi*  
 ee goro na -bisa -hi  
 1IN.S stay AUX also IMP+F  
 pron vi aux

""We will stay here.""

507 *E* *goro* *nabisa* *bisa*  
 ee goro na -bisa+F bisa  
 1IN.S stay AUX also also  
 pron vi aux prt

""We will stay here.""

508 *Yama* *nawahake*  
 yama nawaha -ke  
 thing take a long time DECL+F  
 nf vi

""It's hard.""

509 *E* *goro* *nahi*  
 ee goro na -hi  
 1IN.S stay AUX IMP+F  
 pron vi aux

""Let's stay.""

510 *E* *goro* *nene* *na*  
 ee goro na -hene na  
 1IN.S stay AUX IRR+F AUX  
 pron vi aux aux

""No, let's not stay.""

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

511 *Yamata kababa watakerene*  
 yamata kaba -haba wata -ke -re -ne  
 food eat FUT+F exist DECL+F NEG+F IRR+F  
 nf result vi

"There is no food to eat."

512 *Awa boni ota kabateraba ota awineni*  
 awa boni otaa kaba -tee -ra -haba otaa awine -ni  
 tree fruit+F 1EX.S eat HAB NEG FUT+F 1EX.S seem+F BKG+F  
 nf pn pron vt pron sec

"We will eat fruits."<sup>118</sup>

513 *Awa boni ota kabakitibe ati*  
 awa boni otaa kaba -ki -tee.NOM -be , ati  
 tree fruit+F 1EX.S eat DECL+F HAB IMMED+F say  
 nf pn pron vt vt

*nematamonaka*

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

"We will eat fruits," he said."<sup>119</sup>

514 *Ati ne , faya , faya me , yana tokanabone*  
 ati na+M , faya , faya me , yana to- ka- na -habone  
 say AUX so conj so 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX INT+F  
 vt aux conj conj pron vi aux

*me , abe hima na me ,*  
 me , abe hima na+F me ,  
 3PL.POSS RECIP call to go AUX 3PL.S  
 pron pn vt aux pron

*towakabasawawitia me , Bane*  
 to- ka- ka -basa -waha -witI+F me , banehe  
 away COMIT go/come edge change out 3PL.S giant anteater  
 vi pron nf

*bane tiwatyahi*  
 banehe ti- waa -tee -yahi  
 giant anteater 2SG.S stand HAB DIST.IMP+F  
 nf vi

"They got ready and called each other to go. They went around the edge of the lake. "Anteater, you stay here."

515 *Okomakibana ama oni*  
 o- to- ka -makI -bana ama o- ni  
 1SG.S away go/come following FUT be 1SG.S BKG+F  
 vi vc prt

"I'm going."

516 *Himata ebe tinabana ?*  
 himata ebe ti- na -habana  
 what? purpose 2SG.S AUX FUT+F  
 interrog vt aux

"What are you going to do?"

118 I wasn't able to determine why the exclusive *ota* is used here rather than the inclusive *e*.

119 The noun *banehe* 'giant anteater' has feminine gender, but this is overridden because the character in the story is a man.

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

517 *Okomakibana* *ama oni*  
 o- to- ka -makI -bana ama o- ni  
 1SG.S away go/come following FUT be 1SG.S BKG+F  
 vi vc prt

"I'm going."

518 *Faha ya owatibana* *ama oni*  
 faha ya o- waa -tee -bana ama o- ni  
 water ADJU 1SG.S stay HAB FUT be 1SG.S BKG+F  
 nf prt vi vc prt

"I'm going to stay in the water."

519 *Owa tinafimiteiyahi*  
 owa ti- na- fimi -tee -ra -yahi  
 1SG.O 2SG.S CAUS be hungry HAB NEG DIST.IMP+F  
 pron vt

"I don't want you to cause me to starve."

520 *Owa tinafimiteiyahi*  
 owa ti- na- fimi -tee -ra -yahi  
 1SG.O 2SG.S CAUS be hungry HAB NEG DIST.IMP+F  
 pron v

"I don't want you to cause me to starve."

521 *Okomakibana* *ama oni* *faha ya*  
 o- to- ka -makI -bana ama o- ni faha ya  
 1SG.S away go/come following FUT be 1SG.S BKG+F water ADJU  
 vi vc prt nf prt

"I'm going to the water."

522 *Faya faha ya tokomakebone* *hine wati*  
 faya faha ya to- ka -makI -habone hine wati  
 so water ADJU away go/come following INT+F 3.REFL think about  
 conj nf prt vi pron vt

*kana* , *Owahariha* *owinaba* *owa awine oni*  
 ka- na+F o- ohari+F o- wina -haba owa awine o- ni  
 COMMIT AUX 1SG.S be one 1SG.S live FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 aux vi vi pron sec prt

*ati nematamona bane*  
 ati na -himata -mona banehe  
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M giant anteater  
 vt aux nm

'She was going to go into the water. "I guess I will live alone," he said, the anteater.'

523 *Faya , yana tone yana tonematamonane*  
 faya , yana to- na+M yana to- na -himata -mona -ne  
 so start CH AUX start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M  
 conj vi aux vi aux

'He left.'<sup>120</sup>

524 *Yana tonemetemone* *fara*  
 yana to- na -hemete -mone fara  
 start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F same+F  
 vi aux dem

'She is the one that left.'

120 The agreement should be feminine, and Siko corrects it in the next sentence.

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

525 *Yana tona* , *tokifiwamakia* *yo*  
 yana to- na+F , to- ka -fI -waha -makI+F yoo  
 start CH AUX away go/come water change following wade  
 vi aux vi vi

*tonamakemetemoneke*  
 to- na -makI -hemete -mone -ke  
 away AUX following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 aux

'She left. She went to the water and waded in.'

526 *Yo tonamake* , *Yama amosa awineni*  
 yoo to- na -makI , yama amosa+F awine -ni  
 wade away AUX following thing be good seem+F BKG+F  
 vi aux nf vi sec

'She waded in. "It's nice."'

527 *Yama totowamake* *omatibeya*  
 yama to- to- awa -makI o- na -mata -be -ya  
 thing DUP away see following 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F now  
 nf vt aux

""I'm going to take a look.""

528 *Bane wawa karama tinahi*  
 banehe wa- waa na -karahama ti- na -hi  
 giant anteater DUP stand AUX only do 2SG.S AUX IMP+F  
 nf vi aux aux

""Anteater, you stay there.""

529 *Tikamakeriyahi*  
 ti- to- ka -makI -ra -yahi  
 2SG.S away go/come following NEG DIST.IMP+F  
 vi

""Don't go there.""

530 *Tikamakeriyahi*  
 ti- to- ka -makI -ra -yahi  
 2SG.S away go/come following NEG DIST.IMP+F  
 vi

""Don't go there.""

531 *Hibareya yama amosi aawa onabone oni*  
 hibareya yama amosa.NFIN a- awa o- na -habone o- ni  
 wait thing be good DUP see 1SG.S AUX INT+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 interj nf vi vt aux prt

""Wait, I want to take a look at the nice place.""

532 *Tebo fawi fa weye*  
 tebo fawi faha weye  
 (something hitting water) (disappearing) water carry  
 sound sound nf vt

*tonamakemetemone*  
 to- na -makI -hemete -mone  
 away AUX following FP.N+F REP+F  
 aux

""Tebo." She disappeared. She made a wave.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

533 *Fa weye tonamake tokomake*  
 faha weye to- na -makI to- ka -makI  
 water carry away AUX following away go/come following  
 nf vt aux vi

*tokomakeni e tonamakeni moni*  
 to- ka -makI -hani ee to- na -makI -hani  
 away go/come following IP.N+F turn back away AUX following IP.N+F  
 vi vi aux sound  
 pn

*yana tonemetemoneke ahi tooo*  
 yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi tooo  
 start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then (fish coming to surface)  
 vi aux dem sound

'She made a wave as she went. She went and turned back. She made a noise, "Too."'

534 *Kamemetemoneni*  
 ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni  
 go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
 vi

'She came back.'

535 *Kama kamemetemoneke ahi*  
 ka -ma+F ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi  
 go/come back go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then  
 vi vi dem

'She came back.'

536 *Yama kamahani tasi namemetemoneke*  
 yama ka -ma -hani tasi na -ma -hemete -mone -ke  
 thing go/come back IP.N+F emerge AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F  
 nf vi vi aux

'She came back and came to the surface.'

537 *Bane ohi ne ite bane ohi*  
 banehe ohi na+M ita+M banehe ohi  
 giant anteater cry AUX sit giant anteater cry  
 nf vi aux vi nf vi

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

'The anteater sat there crying.'

538 *Faya hima hiname he ati*  
 faya hima hi- to- na -ma+M hee ati  
 so call to go OC away AUX back 3SG.POSS voice  
 conj vt aux pron pn

*kasawaribanoho*  
 ka- sawari -hiba -no -ho  
 COMMIT frustrate FUT+M IP.N+M DUP  
 vt

'She called him to go, but he didn't listen to her.'

539 *He ati kasawarimatamona fahi*  
 hee ati ka- sawari -himata -mona fahi  
 3SG.POSS voice COMMIT frustrate FP.N+M REP+M then  
 pron pn vt dem

'He didn't listen to her.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

540 *He ati kasawari tasi namemetemone*  
 hee ati ka- sawari+M , tasi na -ma -hemete -mone  
 3SG.POSS voice COMIT frustrate emerge AUX back FP.N+F REP+F  
 pron pn vt vi aux

'He didn't listen to her. She came to the surface.'

541 *Bane yama siba rarakene*  
 banehe , yama siba na -ra -hara -ke -ne  
 giant anteater thing be all right AUX NEG IP.E+F DECL+F IRR+F  
 nf nf vi aux

"Anteater, it's really nice."

542 *Yama yama amosarani*  
 yama yama amosa -hara -ni  
 thing thing be good IP.E+F BKG+F  
 nf nf vi

"It's nice."

543 *Fa boti ihi owa tinihibe*  
 faha boti ihi owa ti- to- niha- ha -be  
 water inside victim of+F 1SG.O 2SG.S CH CAUS be IMMED+F  
 nf pn pn pron vd

"You will cause me to drown."

544 *Fa boti ihi tohe yama yama e*  
 faha boti ihi to- ha+M , yama yama ee  
 water inside victim of+F CH be thing thing be similar  
 nf pn pn vc nf nf vi

*nara ahi*  
 na -hara ahi  
 AUX IP.E+F here  
 aux dem

"You won't drown, it's just like the land."

545 *Yama e na ya okomine oni*  
 yama ee na+F ya , o- ka -ma -ne o- ni  
 thing be similar AUX ADJU 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F  
 nf vi aux prt vi prt

"I am coming back on something just like the land."

546 *Makoni okomibana oni*  
 makoni o- to- ka -ma+F -bana o- ni  
 for this reason 1SG.S away go/come back FUT 1SG.S BKG+F  
 conj vi prt

"I'm going back."

547 *Tiwitiyahi*  
 ti- ita -yahi  
 2SG.S sit DIST.IMP+F  
 vi

"You sit there."

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

- 548 *Titabiyo*                      *ohi ora*                      *owa awine o*  
ti-                      tabiyo                      ohi o-                      na -ra+F                      owa                      awine                      o-  
2SG.POSS absence cry 1SG.S AUX NEG                      1SG.S                      seem+F                      1SG.S  
pn                      vi                      aux                      pron                      sec                      prt  
'I'm crying because I miss you.'
- 549 *Waremetemoneni*  
waa -ra -hemete -mone -ni  
stand NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F  
vi  
'She didn't stay.'
- 550 *Tokometemoneke*                      *ahi tebo*  
to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke                      ahi                      tebo  
away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F                      then                      (something hitting water)  
vi                      dem                      sound  
*fawi*  
fawi  
(disappearing)  
sound  
'She went. "Tebo." She was gone.'
- 551 *Okomaraba*                      *ama oni*                      *ati nemetemone*  
o- ka -ma -ra -haba                      ama o- ni                      ati na -hemete -mone  
1SG.S go/come back NEG FUT+F                      SEC 1SG.S BKG+F                      say AUX FP.N+F REP+F  
vi                      sec prt                      vt aux
- 'I'm not coming back," she said.'
- 552 *Faya tokoma*                      *fawa na bane*                      *ohi ne*  
faya to- ka -ma+F                      fawa                      na+F                      banehe                      ohi na+M  
so away go/come back                      disappear                      AUX                      giant anteater                      cry AUX  
conj vi                      vi                      aux                      nf                      vi                      aux  
*Hoo ofimia*                      *owa tiweheye*  
hoo o- fimi+F                      owa ti- awa -heye  
humph 1SG.S be hungry                      1SG.O 2SG.S see  
interj vi                      pron vt  
'So she went, and disappeared. The anteater cried. "Whew, I'm really hungry.'
- 553 *Ofimia*                      *owa tiweheye*  
o- fimi+F                      owa ti- awa -heye  
1SG.S be hungry                      1SG.O 2SG.S see  
vi                      pron vt  
'I'm really hungry.'
- 554 *Okobasawabana*                      *oke*  
o- to- ka -basa -waha -habana                      o- ke  
1SG.S away go/come edge change FUT+F                      1SG.S DECL+F  
vi                      prt  
'I'm going to go along the edge of the lake.'
- 555 *Tokobasawawite*  
to- ka -basa -waha -witI  
away go/come edge change out  
vi



THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

**tokobasawawitematamona** *fa witi nafi nima*  
to- ka -basa -waha -witI -himata -mona faha witi , nafi nima  
away go/come edge change out FP.N+M REP+M water edge all like  
vi nf pn pn prt  
'He went along the edge of the lake, the whole lake.'

556 **Faya** , **tohiyematamona** *fahi*  
faya , to- hiya -himata -mona fahi  
so CH be different FP.N+M REP+M then  
conj vi dem  
'Then he turned into an anteater.'

557 **Mototo** *me fare tefeteba mototo me wana*  
mototo me fare tefe -tee -ba mototo me , wana+F  
termite 3PL same+M food+M HAB FUT termite 3PL.S be attached  
nm pron dem pn nm pron vi

**mera** *hero ne Ofimia owa tiwa*  
mera hero na+M , o- fimi+F owa ti- awa  
3PL.O lick AUX 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.O 2SG.S see  
pron vt aux vi pron vt  
'He licked up the termites that were on a tree. They were his food now. "I'm really hungry."

558 **Bane** *owa nofi nofara rama*  
banehe owa nofa nofa -ra+F rama  
giant anteater 1SG.O want recently NEG unusual  
nf pron vt prt prt  
'"The tambaqui doesn't like me."<sup>121</sup>

559 **Faya** **tokobasawawite** ,  
faya to- ka -basa -waha -witI ,  
so away go/come edge change out  
conj vi  
**toyabisematamona** *wati*  
to- hiya -bisa -himata -mona , waa -tee.NOM  
CH be different also FP.N+M REP+M stand HAB  
vi vi  
'He went along the edge of the lake, and turned into an anteater. He stayed there.'

560 **Faya** *me toiya me yama fawafawa*  
faya me to- hiya+F me , yama fawa- fawa ,  
so 3PL.S CH be different 3PL.S thing DUP disappear  
conj pron vi pron nf vi

**nemetemone** *amake me toiya me*  
na -hemete -mone ama -ke , me to- hiya+F me  
AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F 3PL.S CH be different 3PL.POSS  
aux sec pron vi pron

**ihi**  
ihi  
because of+F  
post

'They turned into animals. The village was silent, because they had turned into animals.'

561 **Me** *toiya me me one*  
me to- hiya+F me , me one  
3PL.S CH be different 3PL.S 3PL other+F  
pron vi pron pron adj

121 *Bane* should be *tabaki*.

## THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

*tohiyamakitasahaba* *mati*  
 to- hiya -makI -tasa -haba mati  
 CH be different following again FUT+F 3PL.S  
 vi pron  
 'They turned into animals. Others turned into animals later.'

562 *Afa* *memetemone* *wafa* *me* *amake*  
 afa me -mete -mone wafa me ama -ke  
 this+F 3PL FP.N+F REP+F woolly monkey 3PL.S be DECL+F  
 dem pron nm pron vc  
 'They became the woolly monkeys.'