# Free Translation

The woolly monkeys were coming downstream. They made the water start so they could come downstream. They came downstream. They ate fish over a period of time, and then the water went away. There was no water. There wasn't water in the Purus River. The first woolly monkeys came downstream after the ones who made the water start. They came downstream. The water came downstream.

When there was not yet much water coming downstream, the three-toed sloth, who was with his wife, was going after *sirika* fruits, because his wife asked him to.

"Sloth, go up after sirika fruits."

"If I go up, the water is coming downstream."

"The water will come downstream. The water won't be deep."

So the sloth went up the tree. He went up high. He broke off *sirika* fruits, and threw them down. "Take a look. Look at them. If the fruits are ripe, say they are ripe."

She opened a fruit. She opened the fruit.

"Well?"

"It's not ripe enough. The fruit is still green," she said.

He was going to come back down.

"Come back down."

The water level was rising fast. It was flooding. If the sloth had gone into the water, the piranhas would have eaten him. The sloth wouldn't walk in the water, because the piranhas were on the bank cutting down trees. So the sloth went back up in the tree.

"I can't go back. There are many creatures there, piranhas. There are many piranhas."

He went back up in the tree, because he was afraid of the piranhas.

As the woolly monkeys were coming downstream, the sound of the noisemaker was coming downstream. Their noisemaker went, "Iiiiii," as they came downstream. There were also many other monkeys with them. They could be heard coming downstream.

The sloth was in the tree, because he was afraid of the water. "Whew, call my grandmother, the vulture. My grandmother is coming there. I saw my grandmother there. My grandmother is coming there."

"Grandmother, Grandmother. Heee." He called her. "Grandmother, come here a minute. The creatures are cutting me down."

The tree was making a cracking sound, because of the piranhas. They were cutting deeply into the base of the *sirika* tree. They were cutting into the base of the *sirika* tree.

The vulture came. She came.

"Grandma, come slowly. Land softly." She landed softly.

"Grandma, are you strong?"

"I guess I am strong. I don't know. Push a little on my shoulders."

He pushed on her shoulders. "Grandma, you're not strong. Go and get my father-in-law instead. He is living over there. Don't make the branch move on me. Just set off."

She went off, taking off gently. She came on his father-in-law when he was bathing. She

came, and landed.

"Your son-in-law called for you. Your son-in-law, who they are cutting down, is there in the tree."

"Who?"

"It's the three-toed sloth."

"He's my son-in-law."

The woodpecker took off. The woodpecker left. It flew, fofofofofo. It arrived, wakii.

"Whew, hey, hey. Here, here, Father-in-law, here. Father-in-law, come slowly." He went slowly, fofofofofo, fooo.

"Father-in-law, land softly," the sloth said. "I am here in the tree that is cracking," he said, as the woodpecker landed softly.

"Grab on quickly."

"Father-in-law, are you strong?"

"Yes, I am strong." He was ready. He put his son-in-law on his back. He had said he wasn't strong, but he carried him off, fofofofofo.

"Father-in-law, go without stopping. Don't land."

He took him. Then he became exhausted. He fell with the sloth into the water almost at the edge, taawaa. The piranhas cut off his rear end, that's why the woodpecker's rear end is short. Because the piranhas cut off his rear end, his rear end is short.

"Whew, oof." He pulled him onto the land and left him there. "The piranhas have cut off my rear end. People shouldn't go into water like that."

The two of them got up, and he took him into his house.

"Father-in-law, I'm hungry."

"Eat."

"Toast some manioc mash for my son-in-law."

When he was in the tree really hungry, the woolly monkeys were coming downstream. They were going to come upon the sloth's wife as she was waiting for him. The sloth's wife was waiting for him. As she was waiting for him, they came upon her right where she was sitting. Two of them were coming downstream, bowi, bowi.

"Look, there is someone sitting there."

"I'm sitting here."

"Oh." He came down to the ground. He came down to the ground, and grabbed her vagina.

"Look, he grabbed her vagina, and didn't have sex with her."

Then they had sex with her. She cried out. She was crying out as they were having sex with her. They were having sex with her one after another.

"When you are finished, call me."

They were having sex with her. They were gang raping her.

"Whew, I hear them coming downstream to my wife, who I am not seeing."

The sound of the noisemaker could be heard as they were coming downstream. Others were coming downstream. Others were gang raping the female sloth. Others were coming downstream, and they appeared. They appeared, and they did a bad thing. They wanted sex a lot, the ones that came downstream.

"Humph, you didn't spare the sloth."

"They attacked the sloth's rear end."

They were having sex with the sloth. Others were coming downstream.

"When do you think you will come back?" [said the sloth].

"Here is when I will come back. When this flooding that I have come downstream on goes

down and is gone. After the water floods again and goes down again, I will come back."

"Right, you come back."

They were having sex with her, and then the others got mad. They were upset, the ones who were having sex with her. They were having sex with them. They took them downstream, the ones they were having sex with. They took them downstream. They were upset because of them.

"Those naughty ones are going downstream. The darts to kill them will be ready. Let's make blowgun darts, all of us. They will be killed with blowguns, all of them. They will die."

They were planning against them so that they would die. The woolly monkeys went downstream and disappeared.

The tapir was starting up. The first tapir was starting to talk. "Where? Should I stay with the woolly monkeys? I don't know. Wait, let me try the tree. I will try the tree."

The tapir went up into the tree. He went up in the tree, and the tree bent over. The tree bent over, and the branch broke with him. He fell to the ground. He got up again, and went up in the tree again. He went way up high this time. Then his tail broke off. His tail isn't large. The tapir couldn't go up in the tree. Every time he climbed up, he fell down. His tail broke off, and he came back. He stayed standing on the ground. He couldn't go up in the tree, so he just stayed on the ground.

They went downstream and disappeared.

The others made blowguns. "I'm going to make a blowgun for myself. Let's kill them with blowguns. They took my wife downstream."

The high water came, and the water level went down. The water level went down, and then the flooding came again. "This is the flood that they were talking about."

Then they put poison on their darts. They put poison on the points of their darts. The poison on the darts was thick.

"The poison on the darts should be thick. It won't be good if they are hit with darts that don't have much poison."

Then they put a lot of poison on the darts. The coating of the darts was finished. "Let's go. Wait, was there a new moon?"

"Yes, there was a new moon. Yes, they will appear. They will hear them when they appear." They voices could be heard as they came upstream. There were many people. The voices of many people could be heard as they came upstream. They were coming back upstream.

"Are those their voices?"

They stuck leaves in the ground. They stuck palm leaves in the ground, and enclosed themselves. The woolly monkeys were in the trees as they were waiting for them. They were fighting over the fruits.

There were hunting blinds in many places. They had made blinds. They were all over. The woolly monkeys were coming upstream. The branches were moving. They came back. They arrived. "Siya, siya." They arrived at the tree full of fruits. The tree was bent over. "Siya, siya."

Fai saki. He cried out. Fai saki. They shot them with blowguns. They were shooting them with their blowguns, and they were crying out. They were looking around. The tamarin was with them, helping them. They had brought him. He saw something when he came. "Sibariri, sibariri," he said. The woolly monkeys left right away. They went away.

"He is making a lot of noise. Why don't you shoot him?"

Fai saki. "Kiii, kiii."

"There."

They killed the one who was helping them with their blowguns. They shot them with their blowguns, and they died. They are them. They live in the place where they went. You have never seen the place, Bao Bonito. They went away. They disappeared. They took away the female sloth

that they had had sex with. The sloth is there. They took the sloth away and went away. Wasn't it the male sloth who blowgunned them? They blowgunned them. The tamarin was helping them. His blowgunning was fast, the sloth. They had lots of darts, and almost all of them died. The tamarin saw the blowgun waving. Because the top of the blind was not opaque, the tamarin saw something. He saw something.

"Many of them went away, they didn't die. They took away my wife," the sloth said.

"Your wife is there with them. They took away your wife."

"I wanted to kill all of them, but the tamarin helped them and I am roasting him." He was speaking as he was roasting the tamarin.

"Why was he with them?"

"He was with them. He is one of them. We didn't see him. He went downstream and came back upstream."

They disappeared, and then there was silence. Then they ate them.

"They are fat."

They ate the fat as they roasted them. They were roasting them.

"It tastes good. I am eating the one that was eating."

They came. They stood there. "Where should we bathe? We will bathe where they bathed, in the big water."

"I'm going to bathe in a small stream. They say the piranhas are famished, and they will bite me."

They came. It was getting dark. "Take a bath. I'm going to hunt *yimo* tinamou with bow and arrow. We will eat *yimo*."

"Right, go ahead and kill a yimo so we can eat it."

He went into the forest. He went out with arrows in his hand.

A *yimo* was calling, "Hoo, hoo." He looked. "Isn't that a *yimo* calling nearby?" He looked. "Where is the *yimo*'s voice coming from? There is a *yimo* calling there."

When he looked, there was no *yimo*. Its voice started up again. "The *yimo* keeps calling nearby. There its voice is." He was going to turn into a *yimo*.

He went back. "We will say that a *yimo* is calling. There is a *yimo* coming. Come on, let's turn into animals. What are you going to be?"

"I am a *yimo*. You are going to be a *wayara* tinamou. You are a *wayara*, and my companion will be a *yowaki* squirrel."

"Right, I will be a yowaki, I will like vagina."

They were ready. They came. They arrived.

"Whew, what are you?"

"Huh? Yowaki squirrel."

"He is a yowaki."

"And the other one?"

"I am a yimo."

"He is a vimo."

"What about the other one? Is that all of you?"

"Yes. I am a wayara tinamou."

"Did you come just now?"

"We came just now. I was coming on ahead. Something made my vision bad, and I called out. He came after me as I was calling."

"I am with them now. I never saw people turn into animals."

"We are going to eat tree fruits. It is good to eat fruits. The two of us are going to eat fruits."

They left. They slept, so they could turn into animals the next day. They turned into animals the next day. They all turned into animals the next day. There was no one left, because they had all turned into animals.

He turned into a woodpecker. The sloth lived in their village. "I'm going to live here. I'm going to live here in our village. The tree with fruit is there for me to live near it. I'm going to live near the fruits."

Only the woodpecker was ready to leave, and he left. He went. He saw a tree, and he pecked at the tree. Because the sound of the tree was good, he came back and got his wife, and took his wife back there. They took their wives there.

They turned into animals. They all turned into animals. The agoutis, all the animals, the tamarins, the titis, and the white-fronted capuchins, the brown capuchins. They turned into animals right away. Also the sakis. The saki was jumping around, "Ho ho ho ho ho ho." He was jumping up and down.

"Come on, brother-in-law, I will turn you into an animal." So he grabbed his brother-in-law, and stepped on his brother-in-law's foot. He stepped on his brother-in-law's foot, and stretched him. "Oooo, oo, oo." He threw his brother-in-law upwards. He threw his brother-in-law up in a tree, and his brother-in-law went away. He grabbed his wife and also threw his wife upwards. "You have children." He threw them upwards.

They turned into animals. All of them turned into animals. The *yowaki* squirrel, the *noko* squirrel, the first *noko*. It was the first *noko*. Also the titis. They were the titis. They turned into animals, and they went away.

The agouti had dug up a manioc tuber, and he came back knawing on the manioc.

"Is that sweet manioc?"

"Yes, it's sweet manioc. There is sweet manioc growing there. I took out a tuber, and I'm eating it."

"Is it good to eat?"

"It's good to eat."

"Here, let me blow snuff into you."

"He's not going to blow snuff into me."

"There is no one here anymore, because of me. I gave them snuff, and they went away. They didn't go away on the ground. They went away up high. But you are going to stay on the ground."

He was chewing. He was chewing first on one side, then on the other of his mouth. When he was finished eating the manioc, "Whew, I'm going to eat manioc from now on. He won't let me live here."

He blew snuff into the agouti, hard, fiya, fiya, fiya. He grabbed him, and slid his hand on his front legs, doubling them over. He doubled his leg over, and slid his hands over his leg to make it thin. Then he made his face thin with his hands. When he hit him with a switch, he went away yelling, "Hee, hee, hee."

They knew a lot, the ones who turned into animals. They changed into animals. "Let them go."

He came back. "What animal am I going to be? Wait, I'm going to eat. The turning will come to me. My relatives are calling me to go with them. I guess I will go." He was getting ready to go, and he spoke. "Where should I go? I will stay at the edge of the streams. Bii, bii, bii, bii, bii. I'm the first curassow. I will swallow fruits."

He went along the bank of a stream. Then he found his wife. He turned into a curassow. All of them turned into animals together.

<sup>122</sup> He changed him into a saki monkey.

"Why did they turn each other into animals? There isn't going to be anyone left."

"They wanted to turn each other into animals, because they were mad at each other." He said they were mad at each other. "They said they wanted to turn into animals. Let them turn into animals. They ate wild fruits, even though it was difficult. Because they were eating wild fruits, they wanted to turn into animals."

"What animal should I be? I don't know. Wait, I will paint my throat red." He painted his throat red, to become the first guan. He painted his throat red, and painted his legs red, too. "They will see me." He painted his legs red, and he painted his body red, too. "There."

"Huh?"

"Wait, where is my grandfather, whose nose I was going to pierce?"

"Your grandfather and the others turned into animals."

"I myself will be pierced. There is a hole in my nose here. You pierce it here."

He pulled out a blowgun dart that was stuck in the roof. "Here, I will pierce it. Let's go. They turned into animals."

They turned into animals. The were ready. The other one pierced his nose. "There, did it hurt?" "It didn't hurt."

"It's because your nose isn't thick," he said. "Let's go. When we see their village, we will go up and stay there. We will look for and find wives for ourselves. They aren't coming here. They turned into animals."

One of them went to another branch. "Look at me."

Then his brother-in-law started to talk, "Naaki, naaki, naaki [sound of trumpeter]. Look at us. We have changed into animals."

They turned into animals. They liked turning into animals. They went. They went into the forest.

There was no one there. Their village was empty. They didn't look in the houses. They didn't look around at their village anymore. They found people over at another place. They found other people.

"Where are they?"

"They all turned into animals."

"Who are you?"

"I am a guan. I who am the guan and my brother-in-law the trumpeter are not going to sleep at your house. When you have toasted manioc mash and we have eaten the manioc mash, we will fly up into the trees."

He didn't turn into an animal. He spoke. "What animal should I turn into?"

"I don't know. When you know the name of the animal, I will call you that animal."

"I am black. I will be a spider monkey."

"Yes, you be a spider monkey."

"I will be a spider monkey, because I am black." They were going to turn into animals.

"Here, I will blow snuff into you," the guan said. "I will blow snuff into you. They blew snuff into us, when we were blowing snuff into each other. When I have turned back into a person, I will blow snuff into you. Spider monkey, are you a shaman?"

"I am not a shaman. No one ever initiated me as a shaman."

"Spider monkey, I am a shaman."

The guan sucked the shaman's stone out of his own arm. He sucked it out. "Look at my shaman's stone. It will turn you into an animal."

"Put it in me. May it turn me into an animal."

He put it in the tube. "Here, your nostril." Then he blew snuff into him. He blew snuff down

into him.

"Haa, the snuff is good. Is your snuff strong? I guess your snuff isn't strong."

"He says my snuff isn't strong. Wait, I will blow snuff into you again."

He blew snuff into him again. When he blew snuff into him again, his voice started. "Heh, heh, heheh, heheh [sound of drugged person; similar to sound of spider monkeys when excited]," he said, the spider monkey. They were turning into animals.

He was ready. "Don't throw me in the water. Set me there."

He set him on top of the log, and he lay there. He started talking. His wives came back.

The deer found an egg, and he brought the egg back. "Grandma."

"Huh?"

"Grandma, my egg here, you roast it. Roast the egg."

"I will roast your egg, but let your grandmothers come back first."

"What were they doing?"

"They went into the forest, to eat yoha fruits. They went out to eat yoha fruits."

They wouldn't let him go out, so he lay in a hammock. He lay in the hammock. "Grandma."

The ones who were turning into spider monkeys came back. "Ooo." They came back up high in the trees. They came back eating *yoha* fruits, my father used to say. My father used to tell about it, what his father said. They came back. They didn't sleep on the ground. They slept up high. They were sleeping.

The guan set him on the log. The guan blew snuff into him. The voice of the deer woke the guan up. 123

"Call my father," said the daughter of the spider monkey.

"Grandpa, Grandpa."

"Yes?"

"Grandpa, roast my egg."

"Here, give it to me."

His grandson gave him the egg so he could roast it. "Have the spider monkeys come back?"

"The spider monkeys are coming back. They are sleeping in the trees."

"I will roast the egg."

He went there. He lit a fire, and roasted the egg. The spider monkeys were snoring. Then there was a noise. There was a noise, tooo.

"Ee," the spider monkeys said. They cried out. What Boniwa said was funny. 124 Their faces were burned. They defecated, the ones who became spider monkeys. They were all burned. They went back to where they had eaten *yoha* fruits.

"Come on, let them go."

The one who they had blown snuff into and who was lying there was ready to leave. The one who the guan had blown snuff into came down from the house running. He came down from the house running, and pushed the guan away. He pushed the guan away, and went running into the forest, on the ground. He went up into the trees. He went to where his wives had gone.

"Well, I blew snuff into him and he pushed me away. He pushed me away and went to the others."

"What are they going to be like? We will eat them."

The deer was speaking. He passed his grandmother, my father used to say.

"Grandma, Grandma."

"Huh?"

<sup>123</sup> The guan had fallen asleep after blowing snuff into the deer. The talking of the drugged deer woke up the guan.

<sup>124</sup> That is, Boniwa thought the story was funny, when it was told a long time ago.

"Roast the egg. Call your grandfather, not me, deer."

"Grandpa, Grandpa."

"Yes?"

"Grandpa, roast my egg."

"I can't roast the egg. Wait while your grandmothers come back. I can't roast the egg. Let your grandmothers come back," the deer sang. The deer was singing. "The ones who are becoming female spider monkeys are coming back. They are sleeping in the trees," he said. He was singing a song as he was in the hammock.

"Grandma, my egg."

"Wait a minute."

"My grandmothers are sleeping. They are sleeping. The ones who are becoming spider monkeys are sleeping." He was singing the song as he lay in the hammock. "Grandpa, roast my egg. Hom, I'm asking you to roast my egg."

"Let your grandmothers come back, the spider monkeys, the ones who are becoming spider monkeys."

"They are coming back laughing. They are coming back laughing, the ones who are becoming spider monkeys," the deer said. The deer was singing the song. He was singing as he lay in the hammock. When the deer was singing in the hammock, the spider monkeys came back.

"Grandchildren, go back to sleep. The ones who were turning into spider monkeys came back. They came back," he said.

"Grandpa, we are going to sleep."

"You sleep."

They slept. Later he burned them. 125 He was going to burn them, and they slept when he sang the song about them. "The ones who are turning into spider monkeys," he said. He sang the song. "Grandpa, don't take a long time. Light the fire. They will get burnt."

He lit the fire. "Wait, I will light the fire right away." He lit the fire.

Then he did something bad, and his crotch got burnt. He forgot that he was roasting the egg, and he sat with his legs spread. His crotch is naked because his crotch got burnt. The crotch of a deer doesn't have any hair. The deer roasted the egg, fanning it. It exploded on the spider monkeys, burning them.

"Ee, ee, ee."

The deer also jumped up and jumped all over. He kept hitting the ground, because his scrotum was burnt. His penis was burnt. He jumped all around, and went running away. He turned into a deer right away. He went running away blowing, wisiyo, baoo, baoo, baoo.

The ones who had turned into spider monkeys, when they got burnt, went away. They went away to where their *yoha* tree with fruits was, and they didn't come back. They eat fruits of trees. They eat *waho* fruits. They eat *waho* fruits that are at another place.

# Interlinear Presentation

1	Ee	wafa	me ,	wafa	me
	ee	wafa	me	wafa	me
	yes	woolly monkey	3PL	woolly monkey	3PL.S
	interj	nm	pron	nm	pron

<sup>125</sup> At this point Siko says that what he had said before this point was incorrect, so it is understandable that the story is somewhat confused.

kisehemetemoneke

ka -risa -hemete -mone -ke go/come down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

'The woolly monkeys were coming downstream.'

fa fa varo 2 *Me* kisahaba kanaha me me -risa -haba me ka faha me faha me yaro kana+F go/come down FUT+F 3PL.S water 3PL water 3PL.S COMIT AUX start pron vi nf nf aux pron pron 771

me kisehemetemone

me ka -risa -hemete -mone 3PL.S go/come down FP.N+F REP+F

pron vi

'They made the water start so they could come downstream. They came downstream.'

Me me kisaha aba kakaba me me me me ka -risa+F me aba me aba me ka- kaba 3PL 3PL.S go/come down 3PL.S fish 3PL fish 3PL.O DUP eat pron vi pron nm pron nm toi kori toimetemone amake fa ya to- ha.NOM+F to- ha.NOM+F -mete ya faha kori -mone ama -ke ADJU CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F water naked+F be aux prt nf pn aux VC

haro

haaro

that one+F

dem

'They came downstream. They ate fish over a period of time, and then the water went away.'

4 Fa korikori

faha kori- kori
water DUP be naked
nf vi

'There was no water.'

Fa itarimetemone amake Foro haro ama -ke faha -ra.NOM+F -mete -mone Foro water be located NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F Purus that one+F vi sec npropf dem

'There wasn't water in the Purus River.'

Faya fa yaro kana nowati me me ya me faya faha yaro kana+F nowati me me me ya ADJU water 3PL.S start COMIT AUX 3PL.POSS after 3PL pron conj nf aux pron prt pron vt. pn wafa meteba me kisamakemetemone

wafa me -tee -ba me ka -risa -makI -mete -mone woolly monkey 3PL HAB FUT 3PL.S go/come down following FP.N+F REP+F nm pron vi

'The first woolly monkeys came downstream after the ones who made the water start.'

fa kisemetemone me -risa -makI faha ka -risa -hemete -mone me go/come down following 3PL.S water go/come down FP.N+F vi pron nf vi

'They came downstream.' The water came downstream.'

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8 Fa
           kisa
                              nafira
                                                 kerewe
   faha
           ka
                    -risa+F
                              nafi
                                      -ra+F
                                                 kerewe
   water
           go/come down
                              be big NEG
                                                 three-toed sloth
   nf
           vi
                              vi
                                                        famabise
kerewe
                    kerewe
                                        fati
                    kerewe
                                        fati
                                                        fama
                                                                  -bisa+M
kerewe
                   three-toed sloth
                                       3SG.POSS.wife
three-toed sloth
                                                        be with also
                                                        vi
nm
                    nm
kerewe
          fati
                          famabise
                                                 sirika
                                                                   bono
                           fama
                                   -bisa+M
                                                 sirika
kerewe
          fati
                                                                  bono
                                                 rubber tree sp
be slow
          3SG.POSS.wife
                          be with also
                                                                  fruit+M
vi
          nf
                           77 i
                                                 nm
                                                                  pn
sirika
                 bono
                           yama
                                          nematamonaka
sirika
                 bono
                           yama
                                          na -himata -mona -ka
rubber tree sp
                 fruit+M climb after
                                          AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                            vt
                                          aux
fati
                ati
                        ihi
fati
                ati
                        ihi
3SG.POSS.wife
                voice
                        because of+F
                        post
                pn
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'When there was not yet much water coming downstream, the two-toed sloth, who was with his wife, was going after *sirika* fruits, because his wife asked him to.'

9	Kerewe	sirika	bono	yama	tinahi
	kerewe	sirika	bono	yama	ti- na -hi
	three-toed sloth	rubber tree sp	fruit+M	climb after	2SG.S AUX IMP+F
	nm	nm	pn	vt	aux

<sup>&</sup>quot;Sloth, go up after sirika fruits."

10	Yama	yama	ona		•	fa	kisa		haro	
	yama	yama	0-	na+F		faha	ka	-risa+F	haaro	
	thing	climb	1SG.S	AUX		water	go/come	down	that one+F	
	nf	vt	aux			nf	vi		dem	

<sup>&</sup>quot;If I go up, the water is coming downstream."

11	Fa	kisahaba			awineni	
	faha	ka	-risa	-haba	awine	-ni
	water	go/come	down	FUT+F	seem+F	BKG+F
	nf	vi			sec	

<sup>&</sup>quot;The water will come downstream."

12	Fa	bayiraba		awineni		
	faha	bayi	-ra	-haba	awine	-ni
	water	be deep	NEG	FUT+F	seem+F	BKG+F
	nf	vi			sec	

<sup>&</sup>quot;The water won't be deep."

13	Faya	kerewe	tokomisematamonaka							
	faya	kerewe	to-	ka	-misa	-himata	-mona	-ka		
	so	three-toed sloth	away	go/come	up	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M		
	conj	nm	vi							
'So	'So the sloth went up the tree.'									

14 Tokomise to- ka

```
, tokomisawite
-misa+M to- ka -misa -witI
                            away go/come up out
  away go/come up
                            vi
                                                    , baka
tokomisawite
                          sirika
                                           bono
                                                               nρ
to- ka -misa -witI sirika
                                           bono
                                                       baka
                                                               na+M
away go/come up out
                          rubber tree sp fruit+M
                                                       break
vi
                          nm
                                           pn
                                                       vt
sirika
                                                    Aawa
                bono
                         koro
                                 kanise
sirika
                bono
                         koro
                                 ka- na -risa+M
                                                    a- awa
rubber tree sp fruit+M throw
                                 COMIT AUX down
                                                    DUP see
                pn
                         vt
                                 aux
                                                    vt
'He went up. He went up high. He broke off sirika fruits, and threw them down. "Take a look."'
            tinaho
  a- awa ti- na -ho
  DUP see 2SG.S AUX IMP+M
  vt aux
"Look at them."
16 Noko
                     ya
           wahi
                           noko
                                    wahi
                                              tinahi
          wahi.NOM ya
                           noko
                                    wahi.NOM
                                              ati ti- na -hi
  seed+M be ripe
                    ADJU seed+M
                                   be ripe
                                              say 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
                                    vi
                     prt
                           pn
"If the fruits are ripe, say they are ripe."
17 Fava
                   kefe
                                                      kefe
        noko
                          hikane
                                              noko
                   kefe hi- ka-
  faya noko
                                    na+M
                                              noko
                                                      kefe
                   open OC COMIT AUX
  so
        seed+M
                                              seed+M
                                                      open
                   vt
  conj pn
                          aux
                                                      77+
                                              ng
hikanematamonaka
hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka
OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux
'She opened a fruit.'
18 Noko
           kefe
                 hikane
                                                Faira
                                     ee
                 hi- ka-
  noko
           kefe
                           na+M
                                     ee
                                                 fahi -ra
                 OC COMIT AUX
          open
                                     (pause)
                                                 that NPQ
           vt
                 aux
                                     interj
'She opened the fruit. "Well?"
19 Faya
        Noko
                 wahire
  faya noko
                 wahi
                         -ra+M
  so
         seed+M be ripe NEG
  conj
        pn
                vi
"It's not ripe enough."
20 Noko
          fifiri
                                 ati
                                      nemetemone
          fi- firi
                                 ati
                                      na -hemete -mone
  noko
  seed+M DUP be very green
                                      AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                                 say
          vi
                                 vt
                                      aux
"The fruit is still green," she said.'
```

21 Noko fifiri ne
noko fi- firi na+M
seed+M DUP be very green AUX
pn vi aux

"The fruit is still green."

22 Faya , kisamebona Tikisamahi .
so go/come down back INT+M

conj vi

'He was going to come back down. "Come back down."

23 Kisamebona kisamebona fa me -hibona -risa -ma ka -risa -ma -hibona me faha go/come down back INT+M go/come down back INT+M 3PL water 77 i vi pron nf

kereweremetemoneamanikerewena -ra -hemete -moneama -nibe slowAUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+Fviauxsec

'He was going to come down. The water level was rising fast.'

24 Fa faha fowa -hemete -mone -ke ahi water swell FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then nf vi dem

'It was flooding.'

25 Kerewe fa tobokame ya oma me to- boka kerewe faha -ma+Mme ya oma away enter water back 3PL.S three-toed sloth water piranha ADJU nf νi prt nm pron

tobokamasa

hikabenamatamonaha

hi- kaba -hina -mata -mona -ha ' to- boka -ma -saa OC eat IRR+M FP.N+M REP+M DUP away enter water back still vt vi

nemanaha

na -himanaha AUX HYPOTH+M

'If the sloth had gone into the water, the piranhas would have eaten him.'

26 Kerewe tonamebona oma yo me kerewe to- na -ma -hibona oma уоо me three-toed sloth wade away AUX back INT+M piranha 3PL.S vi aux nm pron itemetemone ahi ahi awa me ka na mati ahi ita -hemete -mone ahi awa me kaa na+F mati be located FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S AUX 3PL.S then then tree chop pron dem nf pron vt aux

'The sloth wouldn't walk in the water, because the piranhas were on the bank cutting down trees.'

27 Faya kerewe tokomisame
faya kerewe to- ka -misa -ma+M
so three-toed sloth away go/come up back
conj nm vi

tokomisame to- ka -m away go/come up vi 'So the sloth went ba	back	Tokomihina to- ka away go/come vi ee. "I can't go back.			
28 Tokomihina to- ka away go/come vi "I can't go back."	-ma -hina back can		ra -ni EG BKG+F		
29 Yama abe tan yama abe tan creature be nf vi "There are many cre	many IP.E+	F DECL+F tha	ro t one+F	oma mati oma mat: piranha 3PL nm pro	i .
30 Oma me oma me piranha 3PL nm pro "There are many pir	n vi	-hara -ke IP.E+F DECL+	F		
nm pro , <i>tokomisamematan</i> to- ka	oma piranha n nm <b>nonaka</b> -misa -ma up back	pron vt -himata -mon FP.N+M REP+	comeha be fearsome a -ka M DECL+M	tokomisame to- ka away go/come vi	-misa -ma+M up back
32 Faya me faya me so 3PL.S conj pron hohori ho- hori DUP play by blo nf 'As they were coming	go/come do vi <b>ati</b> ati wing voice pn	kisemetemoneko ka -ri e go/come dow vi	N+F ADJU prt  csa -hemete .n FP.N+F	REP+F DECL+F	ahi . ahi then dem m.'
33 Iiiii     iiiiii     (sound of nos sound  nemetemoneke na -hemete -mo AUX FP.N+F REP aux	isemaker) one -ke P+F DECL+F	pron prt me kisahan me ka		vt <i>mati</i> , ani mati	Y
wafa woolly monkey	<pre>mati  me mati  me 3PL  3PL.S pron  pron</pre>	yoro yoro be together	aux	mati na+F mati I AUX 3PL.S pron	then dem

monkeys with them.'

```
34 Me
             ati
                    kisa
                                                   kerewe
                                      me
             ati
                    ka
                             -risa+F
                                      me
                                                   kerewe
                                                                      faha
   3PL.POSS
            voice
                    qo/come down
                                      3PL.POSS
                                                   three-toed sloth
                                                                      water
                                      pron
  pron
                    vi
                                                                      nf
nakome
                  ware
                                            Hoo
                                                      oka
na- komeha
                        -rI
                                                      0-
                                                                ka
                  waa
                                            hoo
CAUS be fearsome stand raised surface
                                                      1SG.POSS POSS
                                            whew
                                            interj
vt
                                                      prt
okaki
                         haha
                                   tina
                                               boko
                        ha- haa
0-
                                   ti-
                                               boko
      ka aki
                                         na
1SG.S POSS grandmother
                        DUP call
                                   2SG.S AUX
                                               vulture
                         vt
                                   aux
                                               nf
```

'They could be heard coming downstream. The sloth was in the tree, because he was afraid of the water. "Whew, call my grandmother, the vulture."'

35	Okaki			kakeke	ahi		
	0-	ka	aki	ka	-kI	-ke	ahi
	1SG.S	POSS	grandmother	go/come	coming	DECL+F	there
	nf			vi			dem

"My grandmother is coming there."

36	Okaki			owarake				ahi
	0-	ka	aki	0-	awa	-hara	-ke	ahi
	1SG.S	POSS	grandmother	1SG.S	see	IP.E+F	DECL+F	there
	nf			vt				dem

"I saw my grandmother there."

37	Okaki			kakeke	ahi		
	0-	ka	aki	ka	-kI	-ke	ahi
	1SG.S	POSS	grandmother	go/come	coming	DECL+F	there
	nf			vi			dem

"My grandmother is coming there."

38 Akii , akii aki grandmother nf

"Grandmother, Grandmother."

39 *Heee* heee

(cry of vulture) interj

"Heee."

40	40 Haha hina ,		Aki	tikematahi
	ha- haa	hi- na+F ´	aki	ti- ka -kI -mata -hi
	DUP call	OC AUX	grandmother	2SG.S go/come coming short time IMP+F
	vt	aux	nf	V

<sup>&#</sup>x27;He called her. "Grandmother, come here a minute."

41 *Aki* tikematahi

> ti- ka -kI -mata -hi 2SG.S go/come coming short time IMP+F grandmother

"Grandmother, come here a minute."

42 *Yama* owa ti karawini

yama tii owa kana -rawa -ni thing 1SG.O cut through COMIT AUX F.PL BKG+F pron vt nf aux

"The creatures are cutting me down."

bakara 43 *Moni* nemetemoneke ihi oma me moni bakara na -hemete -mone -ke ihi oma me

crack sound AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS because of+F piranha νi aux nm pron post

ahi

ahi

then

'The tree was making a cracking sound, because of the piranhas.'

44 Sirika mete me tirokosemetemone

sirika -kosa -hemete -mone mete me tiro 3PL.S cut a section off middle FP.N+F rubber tree sp base+M

pron vt pn

me amake

ama -ke me 3PL.S SEC DECL+F

sec

'They were cutting deeply into the base of the sirika tree.'

45 Sirika mete me tirokosa me

sirika mete me tiro -kosa+F me 3PL.S cut a section off middle rubber tree sp base+M 3PL.S pron

pn pron vi

boko kakemetemone amake -kI -hemete -mone ama -ke vulture go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F

'They were cutting into the base of the sirika tree. The vulture came.'

46 *Kake* boko kakemetemoneke ahi

ka -kI boko ka -kI -hemete -mone -ke ahi go/come coming vulture go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then nf vi

'She came. The vulture came.'

47 *Aki* kakake kakake raba raba -kI -kI aki ka- ka na -raba ka- ka na -raba AUX a bit AUX a bit

DUP go/come coming DUP go/come coming grandmother nf νi aux νi

tinahi

na -hi ti-2SG.S AUX IMP+F

"Grandma, come slowly."

48 <i>Kokobo</i> ko- kobo  DUP arrive  vi "'Land softly."	raba na -raba AUX a bit aux	<pre>kabote na -kabote AUX quickly aux</pre>		-hi IMP+F	
49 <i>Kokobo</i> ko- kobo  DUP arrive  vi 'She landed softly.'	raba na -raba AUX a bit aux		-mone -ke REP+F DECL+	F	
50 Kokobo  ko- kobo  DUP arrive vi  ti ?  ti- 2SG.S prt 'She landed softly."	raba na -raba AUX a bit aux  Grandma, are y	aux p	a aki	tikita ti- other 2SG.S vi	
1IN.S see pron vt	rong 1SG.S pron g."'	awine oni awine o- seem+F 1S sec pr	ni G.S BKG+F		
"I don't know."  53 <i>Owayori</i> o- iyo 1SG.POSS sho pn "Push a little on my	oulder DUP vt	ko kana yoko ka- push COMIT aux		na -hi AUX IMP+F	
iyori i	houlder pu n vt	ko hi- ka-		ah e -mone ah REP+F th de	i en
55 <i>Aki</i> aki grandmother nf "Grandma, you're r	tikita ti- kita 2SG.S be s vi not strong."'		na -ke S AUX DECL+F	-re NEG+F	
56 <i>Okakoko</i> o- ka	koko	<b>ta</b> taa	<i>titima</i> a ti-	to- iti	-ma

1SG.POSS go/come father-in-law contrast 2SG.S away take out back

prt vt

nm	ka S go/come get my father		in-law c	a aa ontrast ort			
vi	-ka d DECL+M ing over ther	dem	winah wina e+M live vi	-haari		· e+M	
58 <i>Owa</i> owa 1SG.0	<i>tai</i> tai	tikasar ti- n 2SG.S aux	to- ka- CH COMI			-yahi DIST.IMP+E	· ?
hine		ti- n	a -hi .UX IMP+F	·			
	yana get up vi		.UX				
to-	go/come }		mete -mon N+F REP+				
vi nemetemon na -hen	ka ogo/come leneke mete -mon	-ma+F yoack D	UP get up i <b>ahi</b> ahi	raba na -r AUX a aux		-kabote quickly	
aux	off, taking o		then dem				
vi	ka go/come l	-ma+F t back a	<b>okomemetemo</b> o- ka way go/co i	-ma		-mone -ke REP+F DECL+	<i>ahi</i> ahi -F then dem
'She went	off.'						
64 Kokon kokon 3SG.I		er-in-la	, koko koko 3SG nm	ori	her-in-l	<i>afi</i> afi aw bathe vi	ne na+M AUX aux

hiwasimaki hi- to- wasi -mai OC away find foll vt 'She came on his father-	kI+M , ka lowing go v:	o/come c i	-kI coming	go/come d vi	-kI	-hemete -mone FP.N+F REP+F
65 Kake  ka -kI  go/come coming  vi  'She came, and landed.'	kobo na	X FP.N+F	e -mone	-ke DECL+F	ahi ahi then dem	
66 Tika  ti- ka 2SG.POSS POSS prt  "Your son-in-law called	noti noti son-in-law nm for you."	tiwa tiwa 2SG.O pron	ati ati call for vt		nare P.E+M	tini ti- ni 2SG.O BKG+F prt
ti- ka 2SG.POSS POSS prt  wari waa -rI.NOM stand raised surfa vi ""Your son-in-law, who to  68 Hibakari who+M interrog ""Who?"	dem	me me 3PL.S pron .	ti tii cut thre vt ere in the	ough OC aux	- ka- COMIT	na+M AUX
69 Kerewe kerewe three-toed slot nm ""It's the three-toed slot	nm	ed sloth	amane ama -r be BB vc	ne KG+M		
70 <i>Oka</i> o- ka 1SG.POSS POSS prt "'He's my son-in-law."'	noti noti son-in-law nm	amane ama -ne be BKG vc				
71 <i>Koka</i> koka woodpecker sp	yana to- 1	<i>atamona</i> na -him AUX FP.N	nata -mo: I+M REP			ahi ahi then dem

'The woodpecker took off.'

72 *Koka* 

Kokayanatone,kokakokayanato-na+MkokawoodpeckerspstartCHAUXwoodpeckerspnmviauxnm

tokomematamonaka ahi fofofofofo -ma -himata -mona -ka t.o- ka ahi fofofofofo away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (sound of bird flying) then vi dem sound fofofofofo fofofofofo fofofofofo fofofofofo fofofofofo fofofofofo (sound of bird flying) (sound of bird flying) (sound of bird flying) sound sound sound fofofofofo fofofofofo wakii fofofofofo fofofofofo wakii (sound of bird flying) (sound of bird flying) (sound of bird landing) sound sound sound 'The woodpecker left. It flew, fofofofofo. It arrived, wakii.' 73 *Hoo* heei heei oof hoo oofheei heei yoohoo whew hoo yoohoo interj interj interj interj "Whew, hey, hey." 74 *Ahi* ahi koko ahi koko ahi ahi ahi ahi ahi koko ahi koko ahi here here here father-in-law here father-in-law here dem dem dem dem "Here, here, Father-in-law, here." 75 *Koko* kakake raha tina koko ka- ka -kIt.ina -raha na DUP go/come coming AUX a bit 2SG.S AUX father-in-law 77 i aux allx "Father-in-law, come slowly." 76 *Koko* kakake raba tinahi ka- ka -kI tikoko na -raba na -hi DUP go/come coming AUX a bit 2SG.S AUX IMP+F father-in-law aux aux "Father-in-law, come slowly." 77 Totoka raba nematamonaka to- to- ka na -raba na -himata -mona -ka DUP away go/come AUX a bit AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux fofofofofo fofofofofo fooo fofofofofo fooo fofofofofo (sound of bird flying) (sound of bird stopping) (sound of bird flying) sound sound sound fooo fooo (sound of bird stopping) sound 'He went slowly, fofofofofo, fooo.' 78 *Koko* kokobo tinahi raba koko ko- kobo -raba tina na father-in-law DUP arrive AUX a bit 2SG.S AUX IMP+F aux

"Father-in-law, land softly."

	Kokobo ko- kobo DUP arri vi	ve AUX a	tinah -raba ti- a bit 2SG aux ahi	na -	hi MP+F	kerewe kerewe three-to nm	ed sloth	<i>ati</i> ati say vt
aux	K FP.N+M	-mona - REP+M Di	ECL+M the dem	n				
80	awa mo	vi	eha+F fearsome	<b>okowarine</b> o- ka 1SG.S CO vt		-rI d raised		-ne CONT+F
prt	ke G.S DECL+	ko- F DUI vi	- kobo :	AUX a bi aux	aux	ADJU prt		
81	<i>Wanakabot</i>	e -kabo hed quick	tinahi tte ti- tly 2SG.S aux	na -hi			·	
	Wanakabot wana be attac vi rab on quich	-kabo hed quick	tinahi tte ti- tly 2SG.S aux	na -hi AUX IMP	+F			
	nm	ti			a ti- C 2SG.S	?		
	Okita o- ki 1SG.S be vi es, I am stro	strong	owa awa owa awa 1SG.O see pron vt	a -ra+M				
	yana t start C vi a	H AUX F	<b>aka</b> nimata -mon P.N+M REP		ahi ahi M then dem	•		
'He	was ready.							
86	yana t start C	o- na+M	hinaka hinaka 3SG.POSS pron		weye weye law carı vt	e na -	-misa+M	,

kitaremona he towakamematamonaka to- ka- ka kita -ra -himona hee -ma -himata -mona -ka away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M be strong NEG REP+M 3SG.O vi pron vt fofofofofo fofofofofo ahi fofofofofo fofofofofo fofofofofo fofofofofo ahi (sound of bird flying) (sound of bird flying) (sound of bird flying) then sound dem sound sound fofofofofo fofofofofo fofofofofo fofofofofo (sound of bird flying) (sound of bird flying) sound sound 'He was ready. He put his son-in-law on his back. He had said he wasn't strong, but he carried him off, fofofofofo.' 87 *Koko* totokomiro tinahi koko to- toka -ma -ro t.ina -hi father-in-law DUP away go/come back without stopping 2SG.S AUX IMP+F vi aux "Father-in-law, go without stopping." 88 Totokomiro tinahi -ma -ro tina -hi to- to- ka DUP away go/come back without stopping 2SG.S AUX IMP+F aux "Go without stopping." 89 *Kobo* tiriyahi ti- na -ra -yahi arrive 2SG.S AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F 77 i aux "Don't land." 90 *He* towakame mama ihi to- kaka -ma+M ma- maa ihi away COMIT go/come back 3SG.O DUP be tired victim of+F pron vt nf toehibanoho ahi to- ha -hiba -no -ho ahi CH be FUT+M IP.N+M DUP 'He took him. Then he became exhausted.' 91 *Fa* witi yokana kerewe faha witi yokana kerewe three-toed sloth water edge true nf adj nm pn kabokematamonaka ahi taawaa -himata -mona -ka ka- boka ahi taawaa COMIT enter water FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (sound of falling in water) then dem sound vt.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;He fell with the sloth into the water almost at the edge, taawaa.'

92 Yotohoti me oma me vai hinematamona hi- na -himata -mona votohoti me oma me yai OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M rear part 3PL piranha 3PL.S bite off pron nm pron vt aux pn votohoti kokote nati ko- kote na.CONT+M -tee.NOM votohoti DUP piece AUX HAB rear part pn vi aux 'The piranhas cut off his rear end, that's why his rear end is short.' 93 Yotohoti yai hinematamona faya oma me yotohoti hi- na -himata -mona  $\circ$ ma me yai faya piranha bite off rear part 3PL.S OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M SO pron aux nm vt conj votohoti kokote te amaka yotohoti ko- kote na -tee ama -ka rear part DUP piece AUX HAB SEC DECL+M vi aux sec 'Because the piranhas cut off his rear end, his rear end is short.' Hoo 94 *Fava* oof hoo oof faya whew hoo so interi interi coni "Whew, oof." 95 *Fava* himise horo koro ya hi- na koro horo -misa.NOM+M faya ya OC AUX up so drag throw ADITI conj vt allx prt 77 t hinisematamonaka hi- na -risa -himata -mona -ka OC AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux 'He pulled him onto the land and left him there.' 96 *Oko* votohoti oma me vai ke haro ka yotohoti oma me yai na -ke haaro 1SG.POSS POSS rear part piranha 3PL.S bite off AUX DECL+F that one+F pron vt prt "The piranhas have cut off my rear end." 97 Faha bokaboka e. na va e rama faha na+F boka- boka na -rama ee ya ee DUP water be similar AUX ADJU 1IN.S enter water AUX unusual nf vi aux pron vi aux prt rimetemone na -ra.NOM+F -mete -mone FP.N+F REP+F AUX NEG aux "People shouldn't go into water like that." tokana hekimisame yana yana me to- kana+F hi- to- kaka -misa -ma+M

OC

vt

away COMIT go/come up

3PL.S

pron

start

vi

CH

aux

COMIT AUX

'The two of them got up, and he took him into his house. "Father-in-law, I'm hungry."

99 Titafahi

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

100 01

tisirahi 100 *Oka* noti ka iyawaba ka noti ka iyawa -ba t i sira -hi  $\circ$ 1SG.POSS POSS son-in-law POSS manioc mash FUT 2SG.S toast IMP+F nm prt nf vt

"Toast some manioc mash for my son-in-law."

101 *Fimi* ihi wafa toheno kaweno fimi ihi to- ha -hino ka--hino wafa waa hunger victim of+F CH be IP.N+M COMIT stand IP.N+M woolly monkey vi VC kisa kerewe fati he me me -risa+F me ka me kerewe fati hee 3PL.S go/come down 3PL.S three-toed sloth 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.0 vi pron nm nf pron pron noki wasiaba mati ahi na me wasi -haba noki na+F mati ahi me wait for 3PL.S find FUT+F 3PL.S t.hen XIIX pron vt pron dem aux

'When he was in the tree really hungry, the woolly monkeys were coming downstream. They were going to come upon the sloth's wife as she was waiting for him.'

102 Kerewe fati hee noki kerewe fati hee noki three-toed sloth 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.O wait for nm nf pron vt

nemetemoneke

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

'The sloth's wife was waiting for him.'

103 *He* noki fara iti wafa fara na ya hee noki na+F fara fara ita.NOM+F wafa ya 3SG.O wait for AUX same+F same+F sit ADJU woolly monkey pron vt dem dem vi aux prt nm

me hiwasiemetemoneke
me hi- wasi -hemete -mone -ke

3PL.S OC find FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

pron vt

'As she was waiting for him, they came upon her right where she was sitting.'

104 Me kakisimetemoneke me ka- ka -risa.NOM+F -mete -mone -ke ahi
3PL.S COMIT go/come down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then pron vi dem

bowi

bowi

```
bowi
                             bowi
(noise of leaves shaking)
                              (noise of leaves shaking)
sound
                              sound
bowi
                              bowi
bowi
                             bowi
(noise of leaves shaking)
                              (noise of leaves shaking)
                              sound
sound
bowi
                             bowi
bowi
                             bowi
(noise of leaves shaking)
                             (noise of leaves shaking)
sound
                              sound
bowi
                             bowi
bowi
                             bowi
(noise of leaves shaking)
                             (noise of leaves shaking)
sound
                              sound
bowi
(noise of leaves shaking)
'Two of them were coming downstream, bowi, bowi.'
105 Aa
              hinamati
                         itaro
                                      haro
                         ita -haaro
   aa
              hinamati
                                      haaro
                         sit look+F
    (pause)
              someone
                                      that one+F
    interj
              nf
                         vi
                                      dem
"Look, there is someone sitting there."
106 Owitine
                        oni
   o- ita -ne
                        \circ
                              ni
   1SG.S sit CONT+F
                        1SG.S BKG+F
                        prt
"I'm sitting here."
107 Haa
   haa
    oh
    interj
"'Oh."'
108 Kisakimatamonaka
                                                    ahi
         -risa -kI -himata -mona -ka
                                                    ahi
    go/come down coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                                    then
'He came down to the ground.'
109 Kisaki
                               heto
                                                hinehemetemoneke
            -risa -kI+M
                               heto
                                                hi- na -hemete -mone -ke
   ka
                               stroke vagina OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
    go/come down coming
   vi
                                                aux
                               vt.
ahi
ahi
then
'He came down to the ground, and grabbed her vagina.'
```

110 *Heto* hinaha tini vori ati ti- na -ni hi- na+F yori OC AUX say 2SG.S AUX BKG+F have sex with stroke vagina aux vt hiraharo hi- na -ra -haaro OC AUX NEG IP.E+F aux "Look, he grabbed her vagina, and didn't have sex with her." 111 *Faya* yori hinemetemone me hi- na -hemete -mone faya me yori so 3PL.S have sex with OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F conj pron vt aux 'Then they had sex with her.' 112 *Kiya* nemetemoneke ahi kiya na -hemete -mone -ke ahi yell AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then vi aux dem 'She cried out.' 113 *Kiya* nemetemoneke me yori hinaharo na -hemete -mone -ke hi- na -haaro kiva me vori yell AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S have sex with OC AUX IP.E+F vi aux pron vt aux ahi ahi t.hen

'She was crying out as they were having sex with her.'

114 Me yori hinemetemoneke

me yori hi- na -hemete -mone -ke

3PL.S have sex with OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

pron vt aux

'They were having sex with her.'

dem

115 Me yori hina me me yori hi- na+F me me 3PL.S have sex with OC AUX 3PL.S pron vt aux pron

totowanamakiemetemonekeahito- to- wana -makI -hemete -mone -keahiDUP away be attached following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+Fthenvidem

'They were having sex with her one after another.'

116	Te	hawa	toi	ya	owa	te	haha	owa
	tee	hawa	to- ha.NOM+F	ya	owa	tee	ha- haa	owa
	2PL.S	be finished	CH AUX	ADJU	1SG.0	2PL.S	DUP call	1SG.0
	pron	vi	aux	prt	pron	pron	vt	pron
to	ha	nahi						

te ha nahi
tee haa na -hi
2PL.S call AUX IMP+F
pron vt aux

"When you are finished, call me."

```
117 Faya
         me
                vori
                              hinemetemone
                yorl
yori
   fava me
                              hi- na -hemete -mone
         3PL.S have sex with OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F
   conj pron vt
                               aux
'They were having sex with her.'
118 Me
          hikanatamemetemoneke
                                                       ahi
          hi- ka- na- tama -hemete -mone -ke
   me
                                                       ahi
         OC COMIT CAUS be many FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
   3PL.S
                                                       then
   pron
          vt
'They were gang raping her.'
119 Me
                                    Hoo
                                           , oko
o- ka
                                                             vibote
          hikanatama
          hi- ka- na- tama+F
                                    hoo
                                                            yibote
   me
                                    whew 1SG.POSS POSS wife interj prt nf
   3PL.S OC COMIT CAUS be many
   pron vt
                                         kisineke
                ni ya
                                    ati
                          me
                          me
o- awa -ra+F ni ya
                                    ati
                                          ka
                                                   -risa -ne
                                                                -ke
1SG.S see NEG to ADJU 3PL.POSS voice go/come down CONT+F DECL+F
                prt prt pron pn vi
"They were gang raping her. "Whew, I hear them coming downstream to my wife, who I am not seeing."
120 Hohori
                        ati
                              saihemetemoneke
   ho- hori
                              sai -hemete -mone -ke
                        ati
   DUP play by blowing voice be heard FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                        ng
                              vi
'The sound of the noisemaker could be heard.'
121 Hohori
                       ati
                               kisamake
                                                          me
                              ka -risa -makI
   ho- hori
                       ati
                                                          me
   DUP play by blowing voice go/come down following
                                                          3PL.S
   nf
                              77 i
                       pn
                                                          pron
kisamakemetemone
ka -risa -makI
                       -mete -mone
go/come down following FP.N+F REP+F
'The sound of the noisemaker could be heard as they were coming downstream.'
122 Me
          kisamake
                                  me
                                            me
                                                   one
          ka
                 -risa -makI
                                  me
                                            me
                                                   one
   3PL.S go/come down following 3PL.S
                                            3PL.S other+F
   pron
          vi
                                   pron
                                            pron
                                                   adj
                 mahika
                               nemetemone
kerewe
                 mahika
                               na -hemete -mone
kerewe
three-toed sloth consume a lot AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                 vt
                                aux
'Others were coming downstream. Others were gang raping the female sloth.'
123 Fava
         me
                kisamake
                ka
                       -risa -makI
   faya me
                                         me
        3PL.S go/come down following 3PL.S
   so
                vi
   conj pron
                                         pron
fotomakemetemoneke
                                      ahi
foto -makI
                -hemete -mone -ke
                                      ahi
appear following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
```

'Others were coming downstream, and they appeared.'

124	Me	fotomake		yama	yehehemetemone	amani	
	me	foto	-makI	yama	yehe -heme	ete -mone ama -	-ni
	3PL.S	appear	following	thing	be a problem FP.N-	-F REP+F SEC I	BKG+F
	pron	vi		nf	vi	sec	

'They appeared, and they did a bad thing.'

125 Yama yama noko nofarawemetemone amani yama yama noko nofa -rawa -hemete -mone ama -ni thing vagina want F.PL FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F nf vt nm sec

kisarawaharo

ka -risa -rawa -haaro go/come down F.PL IP.E+F vi

'They wanted sex a lot, the ones that came downstream.'

126 *Hoo* kerewe te kasomakere hoo kerewe tee ka- soma -ke -re humph three-toed sloth 2PL.S COMIT let go DECL+F NEG+F interj nf pron

"Humph, you didn't spare the sloth."

127 Kerewe yototi me katomini
kerewe yotohoti me katoma -ni
three-toed sloth rear part 3PL.S attack BKG+F
nf pn pron vt

"They attacked the sloth's rear end."

128 Kerewe me vori na me kerewe me yori na+F me three-toed sloth 3PL.S 3PL.S have sex with AUX pron vt aux pron

kisamakewa me Hibaka hibaka yama va -risa -makI -waha+F hibaka hibaka yama ya go/come down following change 3PL.S where where time ADJU vi pron interrog interrog nf prt

foreba tiwati ama tiri tiati forI -haba ama tigive a sure word FUT+F 2SG.POSS voice SEC 2SG.POSS CQ+F pn vi sec prt

tikama
ti- ka -ma+F tiwa
2SG.S go/come back 2SG.S
vi pron

'They were having sex with the sloth. Others were coming downstream. "When do you think you will come back?"'

129	Owati		foreba				owa	awine	oke	
	0-	ati	forI			-haba	owa	awine	0-	ke
	1SG.POSS	voice	give a	sure	word	FUT+F	1SG.POSS	seem+F	1SG.POSS	DECL+F
	pn		vi				pron	sec	prt	

<sup>&</sup>quot;Here is when I will come back."

```
, fa
130 Fa
                     sai
                                haha
                                        fa
                                                okisaki
                                        faha
                     sai.LIST haaha
                                               o- ka
                                                           -risa -kI.NOM
    faha
              faha
                                         water 1SG.S go/come down coming
   water
              water
                     be empty
                                this+F
   nf
              nf
                     vi
                                dem
                                         nf
                                                vi
              saiha
                         ahabateba
ka
       fa
                                                  ha
                                             ama
               sai+F
                         ahaba -tee -haba
ka
       faha
                                             ama
                                                  haa
              be empty
                         end
                              HAB FUT+F
                                             SEC
                                                  DEM
which
       water
       nf
               vi
                         vi
prt
                                             sec
"'When this flooding that I have come downstream on goes down and is gone."'
131 Haha
            fa
                   fowamakeha
                                      ai
                                            fa
                                                   fowamakeha
                                                                      ahi
                                      ahi
                                                    fowa -makI+F
   haaha
            faha
                   fowa -makI+F
                                            faha
                                                                      ahi
                                     then
   this+F water
                   swell following
                                            water
                                                    swell following
                                                                      then
            nf
                   vi
                                                    vi
                                      dem
                                            nf
sai
          va
                 okomabana
                                               oke
                               -ma -habana o-
sai.NOM
          ya
                 o- ka
                                                     ke
be empty
          ADJU 1SG.S go/come back FUT+F
                                               1SG.S DECL+F
vi
          prt
                 vi
"After the water floods again and goes down again, I will come back."
             tikamiya
132 Ee
             ti- ka
                             -ma -yahi
   ee
              2SG.S go/come back DIST.IMP+F
   yes
   interi
"Right, you come back."
                yama noko
133 Fava
                                                     narawemetemone
          me
                              yama
                                     yori
                  yama noko
                                     yori
                                                     na -rawa -hemete -mone
                              yama
   faya
          me
          3PL
                  vagina
                              thing have sex with AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F
   SO
                  nm
   conj
        pron
                              nf
                                     vt
                                                     allx
           ihi
amani
                         yawarawabana
                         yawa -rawa -habana
ama -ni
           ihi
SEC BKG+F result of+F be upset F.PL FUT+F
           pn
                         vi
'They were having sex with her, and then the others got mad.'
                                                                 , me
134 Me
           yawemetemoneke
                                            ahi
                                                  me
                                                        one
           yawa -hemete -mone -ke
                                            ahi
                                                  me
                                                        one
           be upset FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                                            then
                                                  3PL
                                                        other+F
                                                                    3PL.S
   pron
                                            dem
                                                  pron adj
yori
               kanikima
                                       yori
                                                       kanikima
                               me
                                       yori
yori
               na -kanikima
                               me
                                                       na -kanikima
                                                                       na+F
have sex with AUX scattered
                                3PL.S
                                       have sex with
                                                      AUX scattered AUX
               aux
                               pron
                                       vt
                                                       aux
mati
       ahi
mati
       ahi
3PL.S then
       dem
pron
'They were upset, the ones who were having sex with her.'
135 Me
                                  hina
           me
                                             me
                                                        me
                                                               me
   me
           me
                  yori
                                  hi- na+F
                                                        me
                                             me
    3PL.O 3PL.S have sex with OC AUX
                                                        3PL.O
                                             3PL.O
                                                               3PL.S
   pron pron
                  vt
                                  aux
                                             pron
```

pron

hekisemetemoneke me me									
hi- to- ka-	ka	-risa	-hemete	-mone	-ke	me	me		
OC away COMIT	go/come	down	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	3PL.0	3PL.S		
vt						pron	pron		
ai	hina	mati							
ahi	hi- na+F	' mati	L						
have sex with	OC AUX	3PL.	. 0						
vt	aux	pror	l						
tml		. 201	1 1	1		11	1		

'They were having sex with them. They took them downstream, the ones they were having sex with.'

136	Me	m	ie l	hekisi	a					me	,	me		
	me	m	e l	ni-	to-	ka-	ka	-ri	.sa+F	me		me		
	3PL.	0 3	PL.S (	C	away	COMIT	go/come	dow	'n	3PL.O		3PL.POS	S	
	pron	р	ron v	νt						pron		pron		
ihi			yawa		me		Me	kaka	si		raba		ra	
ihi			yawa+	F	me		me	ka-	kasi		na	-raba	na	-ra+F
res	ult c	of+F	be up	set	3PL	.POSS	3PL.S	DUP	be na	ughty	AUX	a bit	AUX	NEG
pn			vi		pro	n	pron	vi			aux		aux	
me	1	tokisin	e				me		tahiba		haw	а		
me	1	to-	ka	-1	risa	-ne	me		tahi	-ba	haw	a		
3PL	.S &	away	go/com	e do	own	CONT+F	3PL.PC	SS	kille	r FUT	be	finished	b	
pro	n v	νi					pron		pn		vi			
tohib	banara	ke												

to- ha+F -bana -hara -ke
CH AUX FUT IP.E+F DECL+F

'They took them downstream. They were upset because of them. "Those naughty ones are going downstream. The darts to kill them will be ready."  $^{\prime\prime}$ 

137	Sare	e	siri	naba	eke	e	nafi
	sarehe	ee	siri	na -haba	ee -ke	ee	nafi
	blowgun dart	1IN.S	scrape	AUX FUT+F	1IN.S DECL+F	1IN.POSS	all
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	pron	pn

"Let's make blowgun darts, all of us."

138	Me	fora	nibanarani				
	me	fora	na+F -bana -hara -ni				
	3PL.S	shoot with blowgun	AUX FUT IP.E+F BKG+F				
	pron	result	aux				

"They will be killed with blowguns."

139	Me	fora	nibanarani				me	nafi
	me	fora	na.NOM+F	-bana	-hara	-ni	me	nafi
	3PL.S	shoot with blowgun	AUX	FUT	IP.E+F	BKG+F	3PL.POSS	all
	pron	result	aux				pron	pn

"They will be killed with blowguns, all of them."

140	Me	ahabibana	ahabibanarake								
	me	ahaba+F	-bana	-hara	-ke						
	3PL.S	die	FUT	IP.E+F	DECL+F						
	pron	vi									
'''Th	"They will die."										

141	Me	ababone	me	me	wati	hikana	me
	me	ahaba -habone	me	me	wati	hi- ka- na+F	me
	3PL.S	die INT+F	3PL.O	3PL.S	plan against	OC COMIT AUX	3PL.S
	pron	vi	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron

tokisa to- ka away go/com vi	-risa+F e down	me 3PL.S	<i>fawa</i> fawa disapp vi	oear	na na- AUX aux	+F m K 3	ne PL.S Pron	, aw aw ta nm	i pir	<i>awi</i> awi tapir nm
yana tobise yana to- start CH vi aux		awitebo A awi tapir nm	-tee	-ba FUT	,	awitel awi tapi nm	-tee	-ba FUT	ati ati voice pn	<i>yana</i> yana start vi

tonematamona

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

'They were planning against them so that they would die. They went downstream and disappeared. The tapir was starting up. The first tapir was starting to talk.'

142 *Hibaka*hibaka
where
interrog
""Where?""

143 Osawibana wafa me ni va -bana wafa sawi me ni ya 1SG.S be present FUT woolly monkey 3PL to ADJU pron prt prt

"Should I stay with the woolly monkeys?"

144 E awarini
ee awa -ra -ni
1IN.S see NEG BKG+F
pron vt

"I don't know."

"I will try the tree."

145 Awa hiba awa totomi omateya o- na -mate awa hiba awa to- tomi DUP try 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F now tree wait tree interj nf nf vt aux "Wait, let me try the tree."

146 Awa totomi omatibe

awa to-tomi o- na -mata -be

tree DUP try 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F

nf vt aux

147 Awi tokomisematamonaka

awi to- ka -misa -himata -mona -ka tapir away go/come up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M nm vi

'The tapir went up into the tree.'

148 Tokomise awa bawi
to- ka -misa+M awa bawi
away go/come up tree be bent over
vi nf vi

#### towitiemetemoneke

to- na -witI -hemete -mone -ke away AUX out FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux

'He went up in the tree, and the tree bent over.'

149	Awa	bawi			towi	tia			awa		baka	!	tokan	ıe		,
	awa	bawi			to-	na	-witI+	-F	awa		baka	a	to-	ka-	na+M	
	tree	be be	ent ov	er	awa	y AUX	out		tree	:	brea	ak	СН	COMIT	' AUX	
	nf	vi			aux				nf		vt		aux			
bao	•	nise			•	wamisan	ne			tok	komis	sama	tase			
bac	)	na	-ris	a+M		waa	-misa	-m	a+M	to	-	ka		-misa	-ma	-tasa+M
cor	ne down	a AUX	down			stand	up	ba	ck	aw	ay	go/d	come	up	back	again
vi		aux				vi				vi	-					
	hikehike		tokomi	isaba							ne		rama		tasa	waha
,	hike-	hike	to-	ka		-misa	-baa				na-	+M	rama	ì	tasa	waha
	DUP	far	away	go/	come	up	at a	di	stanc	e	AU	X	unus	sual	again	now
	nf		vi								aux	X	prt		prt	prt

'The tree bent over, and the branch broke with him. He fell to the ground. He got up again, and went up in the tree again. He went way up high this time.'

150	Faya	yifori	baka	tonematamon		
	faya	yifori	baka	to- na -	himata	-mona
	so	tail	break	CH AUX F	'P.N+M	REP+M
	conj	pn	vt	aux		

'Then his tail broke off.'

151	Yifori ,	nafitere			amak	a	bisa
	yifori	nafi	-tee	-ra+M	ama	-ka	bisa
	tail	be big	HAB	NEG	SEC	DECL+M	also
	pn	vi			sec		prt
1							

tokomisi

'His tail isn't large.'

awi

152 *Faya* 

	-																		
f	aya	aw	'i	to	<b>–</b> ]	кa		-m	isa.NF	IN	watc	-r	a+M	yaı	ma	ya	.ma	na+M	
S	0	ta	pir	aw	ay q	go/	come/	up			know	I NE	G	th	ing	cl	imb	AUX	
C	onj	nm	l	vi							vt			nf		vt		aux	
fare		soson	ıa	1	ne		yifori		baka	ton	e		kaka	ıme					
fare		so-	sona	r	na+M		yifor	i	baka	to	- na	+M	ka-	]	кa		-ma+	-M	
same+	-M	DUP	fall	7	XUA		tail		break	СН	AU	X	COM	IT q	go/co	me	back	2	
dem		vi		ć	aux		pn		vt	au	X		vt						
wame			tokoi	misi	i					watoi	e			waw	awa				
waa	-n	na+M	to-	k	κa		-mis	sa.	NFIN	wato	-ra	a+M	,	wa-	waa		-waha	a	
stand	d ba	ack	awa	у с	go/c	ome	e up			knov	NE(	G		DUP	star	nd	chan	ge	
vi			vi							vt				vi					

watore

yama

yama

ne

#### toematamona

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

'The tapir couldn't go up in the tree. Every time he climbed up, he fell down. His tail broke off, and he came back. He stayed standing on the ground. He couldn't go up in the tree, so he just stayed on the ground.'

153	Me	tokisa			me ,	me	fawa	tonisa		
	me	to-	ka	-risa+F	me	me	fawa	to-	na	-risa+F
	3PL.S	away	go/come	down	3PL.S	3PL.S	disappear	away	AUX	down
	pron	vi			pron	pron	vi	aux		

	e one	e ka her+F bl	raboa araboha Lowgun	<i>kini</i> kini. wrap vt	LIST		Oko o- 1SG.POSS prt	ka POSS	<pre>karaboaba karaboha blowgun nf</pre>	-ba FUT
<i>kinikini</i> kini- kini DUP wrap	-	<b>e</b> a- na OMIT AUX	-waha	-mate	+:m0	TMD4				
vt wrap	aux	OMII AUX	Change	SHOLL	cine.	IMET	-r			

'They went downstream and disappeared. The others made blowguns. "I'm going to make a blowgun for myself."'

154 *Me* fora nibe e me ee fora na -he AUX IMMED+F 1IN.S shoot with blowgun 3PL.O pron pron vt aux

"Let's kill them with blowguns."

155 *Oko* yibote me towakisa ama 0ka yibote me to- kaka -risa+F me ama 1SG.POSS POSS wife 3PL.S away COMIT go/come down 3PL.S SEC pron pron

"They took my wife downstream."

156 Fa fowe faha fowe fowa+F sai+F sai -hemete -mone swell be empty be heard FP.N+F REP+F of vi vi

'The high water came, and the water level went down.'

157 *Fa* fa fowamake Haha ati sai me sai.LIST fowa -makI.LIST ati faha haaha faha me swell following this+F 3PL.POSS water be empty water voice nf nf vi dem vi pron pn fori ka fa ama haro forI.NOM ka faha ama haaro give a sure word which water be that one+F prt nf VC dem

'The water level went down, and then the flooding came again. "This is the flood that they were talking about."'

fori 158 *Me* ati ka fa ha ama me ati forI.NOM ka faha ama haa 3PL.POSS voice DEM give a sure word which water be pron pn vi prt nf VC dem

"This is the flood they were talking about."

159 *Sare* nemetemoneke ahi me were na -hemete -mone -ke ahi sarehe me were blowgun dart 3PL.S coat AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then pron aux dem vt

'Then they put poison on their darts.'

160	Sare	me	were	na	me	sare	ini	me
	sarehe	me	were	na+F	me	sarehe	ini	me
	blowgun dart	3PL.S	coat	AUX	3PL.S	blowgun dart	point+F	3PL.S
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	nf	pn	pron

sare sarehe blowgun dart nf  were nemetemone were na -hemet coat AUX FP.N+F vt aux 'They put poison on the		me we 3PL.S copron vt	ere na ere na+F oat AUX aux	, sare sarehe blowgun dart nf	<pre>ini    me ini    me point+F    3PL.S pn    pron</pre>
161 <i>Sare</i> sarehe blowgun dart nf 'The poison on the dan	ini ini point+F pn rts was thick.	imama ima be thick vi	-ma DUP		
162 <i>Sare</i> sarehe blowgun dart nf "The poison on the da	<pre>ini   ini   point+F   pn arts should be</pre>	<pre>ime   ime   material   pn e thick."'</pre>	fofota fo- fota DUP be b vi		nahi na -hi AUX IMP+F aux
163 Sare sarehe blowgun dart nf ""It won't be good if the	ini ini point+F pn ey are hit wit	pn	me ka 3PL.S su pron vt		-
164 Faya sare faya sarehe so blowgus conj nf  ihi ihi because of+F post 'Then they put a lot of	ir n dart be vi			emete -mone me	L.POSS on
165 Sare sarehe blowgun dart nf 'The coating of the dan		ni na.NFIN AUX t aux ed."Let's go.	end vi	, Hima . hima let's go interj	

166	Hiba .	abariko	towitar	maki		ne	?
	hiba ´	abariko	to-	ita	-makI.LIST	na+M	
	wait	moon	away	sit	following	AUX	
	interj	nm	vi			aux	

"Wait, was there a new moon?"

167	Ee ,	abariko	towitamakiareka								
	ee	abariko	to-	ita	-makI	-hare	-ka				
	yes	moon	СН	sit	following	IP.E+M	DECL+M				
	interj	nm	vi								

"Yes, there was a new moon."

168	Ee	, me	fotomaba		me a	ımani	, me	
	ee	me	foto -ma	-haba		ama -ni	me	
	yes	3PL.S		FUT+F	3PL.S	SEC BKG+F	3P1	L.S
	interj	pron	vi		pron s	sec	pro	on
foton		yama		itabone		mati .		
fot		4			-habone	mati		
	ear bacl		=	MIT hear	INT+F	3PL.S		
vi '''Vo	. +b.~ill	nf	pron vt	ruda om tla or		pron		
res	s, mey wiii	appear. 11	hey will hear them	when they	y appear.			
169	Me	ati	katimemetemoi	neni			e	tamabote
	me	ati	ka -t:	ima -	hemete -n	none -ni	ee	tama -bote
	3PL.POS	S voice	e go/come up	stream F	P.N+F RE	EP+F BKG+F	IIN	be many very
	pron	pn	vi				pron	adj
The	<b>:</b>			T	g			
The	y voices co	ouid be nea	rd as they came u	pstream. 1	nere were m	iany people.		
170	_	nabote		katimemete		,		amake
				ka	-tima	-hemete		ama -ke
		many ve	<del>=</del>		upstream	F.H.N+E ]		SEC DECL+F
	pron ad	נן	pn	vi				sec
<i>ihi</i> ahi	•							
ini the:	n							
dem.								
		many naon	le could be heard	oc thou cor	no unetroom	. •		
1110	voices of i	шапу реор	de could be fleatu	as they can	ne upstream	l•		
171	Me	katimama		me	, me			
	me	ka	-tima -ma-		, me			
	3PL.S	go/come	upstream bacl	c 3PL.	S 3PI	J.S		
	pron	vi		pron	ı pro	on		
katin	namemeten	none		•				
ka			ma -hemete -	mone				
-	come ups	stream b	ack FP.N+F R	EP+F				
vi The	v were cor	ning back ı	ınstream '					
	-							
172	Afa	me	ati am	•				
	afa	me	ati am	a				
	this+F	3PL.POS						
11 A	dem	pron	pn vc					
Are	e those the	eir voices?"						
173	Yama	me i	wasa	neme	temoneke		ahi	Ī
- , 5			wasa	na		-mone -ke	ah.	· ·
	thing		stick in grou			REP+F DECI		
	nf		vt	aux			de	m
The	y stuck lea	ves in the	ground.'					
174	Yama	me	wasa	na	hine	me	wasa	
		me	wasa	na+F	' hine	me	wasa	
	thing		stick in grou		3.REFL	3PL.S	enclose	
	nf		vt	aux	pron	pron	vt	
kane	metemone	ke		ahi				
ka-	na -	-hemete	-mone -ke	ahi				
COM	IT AUX 1	FP.N+F	REP+F DECL+F	then				
				dom				

dem

aux

'They stuck palm leaves in the ground, and enclosed themselves.'

175	Me	me	hikarayawa	me	me kawemetemoneke				
	me	me	hi- karayawaha+F	me	ka- wa	aa -hemete	e -mone	-ke	
	3PL.O	3PL.S	OC wait for	3PL.S	COMIT st	tand FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	
	pron	pron	vt	pron	vi				
<i>ahi</i> ahi									

then dem

'They were in the trees as they were waiting for them.'

176	Awa	boni	awa	boni	me	kayawei	metemone			ahi
	awa	boni	awa	boni	me	ka-	yawa	-hemete	-mone	ahi
	tree	fruit+F	tree	fruit+F	3PL.S	COMIT	be upset	FP.N+F	REP+F	then
	nf	pn	nf	pn	pron	vt				dem

'They were fighting over the fruits.'

177	Wawasa	itakanikima	nematamonaka	ahi
	wa- wasa	ita -kanikima	na -himata -mona -ka	ahi
	DUP enclose	sit scattered	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	then
	nm	vi	aux	dem

'There were hunting blinds in many places.'

178	Yama	me	wasa	kana		me,	me	nafi	naho
	yama	me	wasa	ka-	na+F	me	me	nafi	naho
	thing	3PL.S	enclose	COMIT	AUX	3PL.S	3PL.POSS	all	stand
	nf	pron	vt	vi		pron	pron	pn	vi

rama ahi
rama ahi
unusual then
prt dem

'They had made blinds. They were all over.'

179	Katimaraw	emetemone	amake	ahi			
	ka	-tima	-rawa	-hemete	-mone	ama -ke	ahi
	go/come	upstream	F.PL	FP.N+F	REP+F	SEC DECL+F	then
	vi					sec	dem

'They were coming upstream.'

180	Awa	feori		neme	rtemone		amake	ahi
	awa	feo	-ri	na	-hemete	-mone	ama -ke	ahi
	tree	move	DISTR	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	SEC DECL+F	then
	nf	vi		aux			sec	dem

'The branches were moving.'

181	Me	kama		me		me	kamemetemoneke					
	me	ka	-ma+F	me	,	me	ka	-ma	-hemete	-mone	-ke	
	3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S		3PL.S	go/come	back	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	
	pron	77 i		pron		pron	77 i					

ahi

ahi then

dem

'They came back.'

182 <i>Me</i>	kama		me	kobo	nan	emetem	oneke			ai
me 3PL.S pron	ka go/come vi	-ma+F back	me 3PL.S pron	kobo arriv vi	na re AUX aux			-mone - REP+F D		ahi then dem
siya siya (call of w sound siya siya	coolly mor	nkey)	s <b>iya</b> siya (call of sound s <b>iya</b> siya	f wool	ly mon	key)	<pre>siya siya (call of sound siya siya</pre>	woolly	monkey	)
(call of w sound siya siya (call of w sound 'They came ba	oolly mor	nkey) nkey)	(call of sound siya siya (call of sound sound				(call of sound .	woolly	monkey	)
183 Me  me  3PL.S  pron  ahi  ahi then dem  'They arrived	kobo kobo arrive vi	AUX FP aux	emete -n .N+F RE	none EP+F	ahi ahi then dem	awa awa tree nf	<pre>boni boni fruit+F pn</pre>	kawa ka- COMIT vi	waa+F stand	<i>ya</i> ya ADJU prt
awa tree	<i>bawi</i> bawi be bent o vi <b>bent over.</b> '	to over a	witiemetem o- na way AUX ıx	-witI	-heme FP.N+		one -ke P+F DECL+:	<i>ahi</i> ahi F then dem		
185 <i>Siya</i> siya (call o	of woolly	monkey	siya siya (cal soun	l of v	woolly	monke	<i>siya</i> siya y) (call sound		olly mon	key)
siya siya (call of w sound "'Siya, siya."'	oolly mor	nkey)	s <b>iya</b> siya (call of sound	E wool	ly mon	key)	siya siya (call of sound	woolly	monkey	
	fai saki (sound of blowgun arrow) sound									
kiya yell	kanematama ka- na COMIT AUX aux '	-himat	ta -mona M REP+M							

188 Fai saki

fai saki
(sound of blowgun arrow)
sound

'Fai saki.'

'They shot them with blowguns.'

190	<i>Me</i> me	<i>me</i> me	<i>fora</i> fora			<i>hina</i> hi- na+F	<i>me</i> me	<i>kiyari</i> kiya -ri	<i>na</i> na+F
	-	-						-	
	3PL.0	3PL.S	shoot	with	blowgun	OC AUX	3PL.S	yell DISTR	AUX
	pron	pron	vt			aux	pron	vi	aux
me		yama	me	ki	na	me	. wisi	me	
me	,	yama	me	kii	na+F	me me	wisi	me	
3PL	.S	thing	3PL.S	look	at AUX	3PL.S	tamar	in 3PL.O	
pro	n	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	nm	pron	
hika	somemete	emone			wisi	, wisi	sawi	ihari	
hi-	ka-	soma -	-hemete	-mone	wisi	wisi	saw	√i -haa	ri .
OC	COMIT	help E	FP.N+F	REP+F	tamarin	tama:	rin be	present IP.E	+M
vt.					nm	nm	νi		

'They were shooting them with their blowguns, and they were crying out. They were looking around. The tamarin was with them, helping them.'

191 <i>Wisi</i>	S	awibise			wafa	i		me	ni	ya		
wis	i s	awi	-b	isa+M	waf	a		me	ni	ya		
tam	arin b	e pre	sent al	.so	WOO	lly monk	еу	3PL	to	ADJU		
nm	V	i			nm			pron	prt	prt		
sawibise			me	hekat	timame							noko
sawi	-b:	sa+M	me	hi-	ka-	ka	-t	ima	-m	a+M	,	noko
be pres	sent als	0	3PL.S	OC	COMI	r go/com	e up	strea	m ba	ck		eye+M
vi			pron	vt								pn
awematan	nonaka			kamak	iari				ahi			
awa -hi	imata -r	nona	-ka	ka	-r	nakI	-ha	ari	ahi			
see FP.	.N+M RI	EP+M	DECL+M	go/co	ome fo	ollowing	IP.	E+M	then			
vi				vi					dem			

'The tamarin was with them. They had brought him. He saw something when he came.'

192	Sibariri	sibariri	sibariri	ati
	sibariri	sibariri	sibariri	ati
	call of tamarin	call of tamarin	call of tamarin	say
	sound	sound	sound	vt

nematamonaka

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

"Sibariri, sibariri," he said.'

193	Wafa	me	tisawehemetemoneke							
	wafa	me	tisa	-waha	-hemete	-mone	-ke	ahi		
	woolly monkey	3PL.S	leave right away	change	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then		
	nm	pron	vi					dem		

<sup>&#</sup>x27;The woolly monkeys left right away.'

tokomemetemoneke

to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke

away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

194 *Me* 

me

```
'They went away.'
                     raba
195 Ateate
                                re
   ate- ate
                     na -raba na -ra+M
   DUP make noise AUX a bit AUX NEG
                     aux
                                 aux
"He is making a lot of noise."
196 Tikaraboaramako
                                                      amane
                           -ra -mako
   ti- karaboha
                                                      ama -ne
   2SG.S shoot with blowgun NEG for this reason+M SEC BKG+M
                                                      sec
"Why don't you shoot him?"
197 Fai saki
   fai saki
    (sound of blowgun arrow)
'Fai saki.'
198 Kiii
                                  kiii
                                  kiii
    (monkey crying out in pain)
                                  (monkey crying out in pain)
   sound
                                  sound
"Kiii, kiii."
199 Ahi
   ahi
   there
   dem
"There."
200 Faya
         me
                 hikaraboematamona
                                                         fahi
                                                                   mera
                                   -himata -mona
   faya me
                 hi- karaboha
                                                         fahi
                                                                   mera
          3PL.S OC shoot with blowgun FP.N+M REP+M
                                                         then
   conj pron vt
                                                         dem
kasomari
ka- soma -haari
COMIT let go IP.E+M
'They killed the one who was helping them with their blowguns.'
201 Fava
                        fora
                                              hina
          me
                 me
   faya me
                        fora
                                              hi- na+F
                 me
          3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun OC AUX 3PL.S
   conj pron pron vt
                                              aux
                                                        pron
ahabemetemoneke
                             faro
ahaba -hemete -mone -ke
                             faaro
die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                             that+F
vi
'They shot them with their blowguns, and they died.'
```

202 *Me* me hikabemetemoneke hi- kaba -hemete -mone -ke me me eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F OC 3PL.O 3PL.S pron pron vt 'They ate them.' 203 *Me* me tokomimete ka me towinama -ma.NOM+F -mete me me to- ka ka me to- wina -ma+F 3PL 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F LOC 3PL.S away live back pron pron vi vi prt pron te winine Bao Bonito ka yama awehene me wina -ne Bao Bonito yama tee awa -hene me ka see IRR+F place 2PL.S 3PL.S live CONT+F (name of place) LOC pron npropf pron vt vi prt 'They live in the place where they went. You have never seen the place, Bao Bonito.' 204 Fava tokoma fawa tonakosama me faya me to- ka -ma+Fme fawa to- na -kosa -ma+F so 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S disappear CH AUX middle back pron pron aux yori kerewe me kerewe me me kerewe me kerewe me yori three-toed sloth 3PL.S three-toed sloth 3PL.S have sex with 3PL.S pron pron pron hina kerewe totikosamemetemone me hi- na+F kerewe to- iti -kosa -ma -hemete -mone me OC AUX 3PL.S away take out middle back FP.N+F three-toed sloth pron allx vt 'They went away. They disappeared. They took away the female sloth that they had had sex with.' 205 Kerewe sawiwaineni -waha -ne kerewe sawi -ni be present change CONT+F BKG+F three-toed sloth nf vi 'The sloth is there.' 206 Kerewe totikosama me kerewe to- iti -kosa -ma+F me three-toed sloth 3PL.S away take out middle back 3PL.S nf vt pron pron tokomemetemoneke -ma -hemete -mone -ke away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 'They took the sloth away and went away.' 207 Fava kerewe kerewe amare me amare faya kerewe ama -ra+M kerewe ama -ra+M me three-toed sloth be NEG 3PL three-toed sloth be NEG SO nm conj VC pron nm VC. fora namatamona ai mera mera na.NOM+M -mata -mona ahi shoot with blowgun 3PL.O AUX FP.N+M REP+M then

aux

'Wasn't it the male sloth who blowgunned them?'

dem

200	Me	ma	ford	•		hina	wi	ci	me
	me ,	<i>me</i> me	for			hi- na+F	,	s. Lsi	me
	3PL.O				blowgun	OC AUX			3PL.O
	pron	pro		JOC WICH	DIOWGUII	aux			
L:I-a	-	_	II VC			aux	nr	.L	pron
	<b>somemetem</b> ka- s		hemete		•				
OC	COMIT h	-							
vt	COMIT	erb r	E • IN   I.	KEFIF					
-	v hlowguni	ned the	m The ta	marin was	helping then	m '			
1110	y blowguiii	ica the	iii. The tu	marm was	neiping their				
209	Hinaka	yam				ni	hahata		
	hinaka	yan	na fo	ra			ha- h		
	3SG.POSS				blowgun	AUX	DUP b	e fast	
	pron	nf	re	sult		aux	vi		
nem	etemone		kerew	re	•				
na	-hemete	-mone	e kere	we					
AUX	FP.N+F	REP+1	F thre	e-toed s	sloth				
aux			nm						
'His	blowgunni	ng was	fast, the s	sloth.'					
210	Sare		noki	fotine		ramah	а	me	
210	sarehe				NOM+F -ne			me	
	blowgun	dart					al DUP		
	nf		pn	vi		prt		pron	
ahar	enehe		1			1		1 -	
	ba -ra -	hene	-he						
	NEG T	RR+F							
die	NEG I	RR+F	DOI						
die vi	NEG I y had lots o			ost all of th	nem died.'				
die vi 'The	y had lots o	of darts,	and almo			ann a l		. aka	
die vi 'The	y had lots o <i>Wisi</i>	of darts, <i>karal</i>	and almo	weo na	wahi		imatamoi		
die vi 'The	y had lots o <i>Wisi</i> wisi	of darts, <i>karab</i> kara	and almo	<b>weo na</b> weho na	w <b>ahi</b> a -waha.N	IFIN awa	-himat	a -mona	
die vi 'The	y had lots o <i>Wisi</i> wisi  tamarin	of darts, karab kara blow	and almo	weo na weho na wave AU	w <b>ahi</b> a -waha.N JX change	IFIN awa see	-himat	a -mona	-ka I DECL+M
die vi 'The	y had lots of Wisi wisi tamarin	of darts,  karab  kara  blow  nf	and almo	weo na weho na wave AU vi au	w <b>ahi</b> a -waha.N JX change	IFIN awa	-himat	a -mona	
die vi 'The	y had lots o <i>Wisi</i> wisi  tamarin	of darts,  karab  kara  blow  nf	and almo	weo na weho na wave AU vi au	w <b>ahi</b> a -waha.N JX change	IFIN awa see	-himat	a -mona	
die vi 'The 211	y had lots of Wisi wisi tamarin	of darts,  karab  kara  blow  nf	and almo	weo na weho na wave AU vi au	w <b>ahi</b> a -waha.N JX change	NFIN awa see vt wa siwara	-himat FP.N+M	a -mona	
die vi 'The 211	y had lots of Wisi wisi tamarin nm tamarin sa Wawasa wa- wasa	karab karab blow nf w the b	and almo	weo na weho na wave AU vi au waving.'	wahi a -waha.N JX change ax ka yam ka yam	NFIN awa see vt na siwara na siwan	-himat FP.N+M ra cara	a -mona REP+M <b>kawi</b> ka-	I DECL+M na -waha.NOM+1
die vi 'The 211	y had lots of Wisi wisi tamarin nm tamarin sa Wawasa wa- wasa	karab karab blow nf w the b	and almo	weo na weho na wave AU vi au waving.'	wahi a -waha.N JX change ax ka yam ka yam	NFIN awa see vt na siwara na siwan	-himat FP.N+M ra cara	a -mona REP+M <b>kawi</b> ka-	I DECL+M
die vi 'The 211	y had lots of Wisi wisi tamarin nm tamarin sa Wawasa wa- wasa	karab karab blow nf w the b	and almo	weo na weho na wave AU vi au waving.'	wahi a -waha.N JX change ax ka yam ka yam	NFIN awa see vt  na siwara na siwara ng not o	-himat FP.N+M ra cara ppaque	a -mona REP+M <b>kawi</b> ka- COMIT aux	I DECL+M na -waha.NOM+1
die vi 'The 211 'The	y had lots of  Wisi wisi tamarin nm tamarin sa  Wawasa wa- wasa DUP encl	karab karab blow nf w the b	and almo	weo na weho na wave AU vi au waving.'	wahi a -waha.N UX change ux  ka yam ka yam LOC thi prt nf nok	NFIN awa see vt  na siwara na siwara na siwara ny not o	-himat FP.N+M  ra cara cara opaque  atamonak	a -mona REP+M  kawi ka- COMIT aux	I DECL+M  na -waha.NOM+: AUX change
die vi 'The 211 'The 212	y had lots of  Wisi wisi tamarin nm tamarin sa  Wawasa wa- wasa DUP encl nm wis	karab karab blow nf w the b	and almo  boa  aboha  gun  blowgun  bari  bari  outer  pn  kamaka	weo na weho na wave AU vi au vaving.' surface -maki	wahi a -waha.N JX change ix  ka yam ka yam LOC thi prt nf nok	a siwara na siwara na siwar not o vi to awem ko awa	-himat FP.N+M  ra cara cara opaque  atamonak	a -mona REP+M <b>kawi</b> ka- COMIT aux	I DECL+M  na -waha.NOM+1  AUX change .
die vi 'The 211 'The	y had lots of  Wisi wisi tamarin nm tamarin sa  Wawasa wa- wasa DUP encl nm wis	karab karablow nf w the b	and almo  boa  aboha  gun  blowgun  bari  bari  outer  pn  kamaka	weo na weho na wave AU vi au vaving.' surface -maki	wahi a -waha.N UX change ux  ka yam ka yam LOC thi prt nf nok	a siwara na siwara na siwar not o vi to awem ko awa	-himat FP.N+M ra cara ppaque atamonak -himata	<pre>a -mona REP+M  kawi ka- COMIT aux a a -mona</pre>	I DECL+M  na -waha.NOM+1  AUX change .
die vi 'The 211 'The	y had lots of  Wisi wisi tamarin nm tamarin sa  Wawasa wa- wasa DUP encl nm  wis wi ause ta	w the b	and almo  boa  aboha  gun  blowgun  bari  bari  outer  pn  kamaka	weo na weho na wave AU vi au vaving.' surface -maki	wahi a -waha.N JX change ix  ka yam ka yam LOC thi prt nf nok	a siwara na siwara na siwar not o vi to awem ko awa	-himat FP.N+M ra cara ppaque atamonak -himata	<pre>a -mona REP+M  kawi ka- COMIT aux a a -mona</pre>	na -waha.NOM+ AUX change -ka

213	Faya faya so conj	noko noko eye+M pn	<i>awe</i> awa+M see vi	Me I me 3PL. pron		tokotoko toko- DUP vi	to-	ka go/come	-ma back	raba na AUX aux	-raba a bit
ri			me	abene		mati					
na	-ra.N	OM+F	me	ahaba	-hene	mati					
AUX	NEG		3PL.S	die	IRR+F	3PL.	S				
aux			pron	vi		pron					

'He saw something. "Many of them went away, they didn't die."

```
214 Oko
                    vibote
                             me
                                      towakamawake
                                                                                  waha
          ka
                                      to- ka- ka
    0-
                    yibote
                             me
                                                           -ma -waha -ke
                                                                                  waha
                   wife
                                     away COMIT go/come back change DECL+F
    1SG.POSS POSS
                              3PL.S
                                                                                  now
                    nf
                              pron
                                                                                  prt
   prt
   kerewe
                       ati
                             nematamona
                       ati
                             na -himata -mona
   kerewe
   three-toed sloth
                       sav
                             AUX FP.N+M REP+M
                       vt
"They took away my wife," the sloth said.'
215 Tika
                    yibote
                              sawine
                                                   fa
                    yibote
    ti-
              ka
                              sawi
                                          -ne
                                                   faa
                              be present CONT+F
    2SG.POSS POSS
                    wife
                                                   that
    prt
                    nf
                              vi
                                                   dem
"Your wife is there with them."
216 Tika
                    yibote
                              me
                                      towakamake
    t.i-
              ka
                    yibote
                              me
                                      to- ka-
                                                  ka
                                                           -ma -ke
    2SG.POSS POSS
                    wife
                              3PL.S
                                      away COMIT go/come back DECL+F
                     nf
                              pron
"They took away your wife."
217 Me
                      otihabone
               tomi
                                                        onaha
                                                me
                                                                          me
                      o- iti
                                      -habone
                                                        ati o-
               tomi
                                                me
                                                                   na+F
                                                                          me
                      1SG.S pick up INT+F
                                                        say 1SG.S AUX
    3PL.POSS
               all
                                                3PL.O
                                                                          3PL.O
                                                pron
    pron
                      vt
                                                                          pron
               pn
                                                        vt
wisi
                                     oyokawahine
                  kasome
          mera
                                     o- yoka
wisi
                  ka- soma+M
                                                            -waha -ne
          mera
          3PL.O
                  COMIT help
                                     1SG.S roast on coals change CONT+F
tamarin
          pron
                                     77 T
                  vt.
oni
      ni
\circ
1SG.S BKG+F
prt
"I wanted to kill all of them, but the tamarin helped them and I am roasting him."
218 Wisi
              voke
                                ati
                                        saihimatamonaka
    wisi
              yoka+M
                                ati
                                        sai
                                                  -himata -mona -ka
              roast on coals
                                voice
                                        be heard FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                pn
                                        vi
'He was speaking as he was roasting the tamarin.'
219 Himatabiyo
                 sawihita
                                                  ?
                                       amara
    himatabiyo
                 sawi
                             -hita
                                       ama -ra
    why
                 be present RP.N+M
                                       SEC CQ+M
    interrog
                 vi
                                       sec
"Why was he with them?"
220 Sawihita
                         ama
                -hita
    sawi
                         ama
    be present RP.N+M
                         SEC
    vi
"He was with them."
```

221 Fara me abe *abe* abe amake fara me ama -ke same+F 3PL.POSS creature+F be DECL+F dem pron pn VC "He is one of them." E awehimata
ee awa -himata 222 **E** 1IN.S see FP.N+M pron vt "We didn't see him." 223 Tokisawitimata katimama to- ka -risa -witI -himata ka -tima -ma.CONT+M away go/come down out FP.N+M go/come upstream back vi "He went downstream and came back upstream." 224 *Faya* me 10.00 3PL.S disappear me 3PL.S disappear CH AUX middle back 3PL.S conj pron vi aux pron pron tonakosamayamayamato- na -kosa -ma+F yamayama fawafawa to- na -kosa -ma+F yama yama rama -CH AUX middle back thing thing DUP disappear nf nf vi nemetemoneke na -hemete -mone -ke AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 'They disappeared, and then there was silence.' 225 *Me* hikabemetemoneke me ahi hi- kaba -hemete -mone -ke me me ahi 3PL.O 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F t.hen pron pron vt dem 'Then they ate them.' 226 Me watakake wataka -ke me 3PL.S be fatty DECL+F pron vi "They are fat." 227 Me watakake haro wataka -ke me haaro 3PL.S be fatty DECL+F that one+F pron vi dem "They are fat." 228Yahamekabehemetemonekemeyahamekaba -hemete -mone -keme *me* me

fat 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill

nf pron vt

tabasi

pron pron

hina mati
hi- na+F mati
OC AUX 3PL.O
aux pron

'They ate the fat as they roasted them.'

Kabi amosaka 229 *Me* me tabasi hina hi- na+F me me tabasi kaba.NFIN amosa -ka 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill OC AUX eat be good DECL+M pron pron vt aux result vi

hari

haari

that one+M

dem

"They were roasting them. "It tastes good.""

230 Tafi nofehino okobawahine oni
tafa nofa -hino o- kaba -waha -ne o- ni
eat recently IP.N+M 1SG.S eat change CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
vi prt vt prt

"I am eating the one that was eating."

231 Faya me , kakamakebisa me faya me , ka- ka -makI -bisa+F me so 3PL.S conj pron vi pron

kakamakebisa kamakia me me -bisa+F -makI+F ka- ka -makI me ka me COMIT go/come following also 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S vi pron pron

Hibaka naomake va afi ribeya afi naho -makI hibaka na -ri -be ya ee AUX CQ+F IMMED+F now stand following where 1IN.S bathe ADJU interrog prt pron vi aux

"They came. They stood there. "Where should we bathe?"

232 **E** afi naba eke ahi me afi ni afi na -haba ee -ke ahi me afi na.NOM+F 1IN.S bathe AUX FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F there 3PL.S bathe AUX vi aux pron dem pron

"We will bathe where they bathed, in the big water."

233 *Fa* bite afi okobe va faha bite afi na -ke -be ya 0small+F bathe 1SG.S AUX DECL+F IMMED+F ADJU adj prt vi aux

"I'm going to bathe in a small stream."

234 *Oma* kitamone me oma me nakori nako -ri kita me oma me piranha 3PL piranha 3PL.POSS be famished PN be strong REP+F vi pron nm pron pn

me	ati	na	<i>owa</i> owa	me	wai	nibe		
me	ati	na+F	owa	me	wai	na	-be	
3PL.S	say	AUX	1SG.0	3PL.S	bite	AUX	IMMED+F	
pron	vt	aux	pron	pron	vt	aux		

"They say the piranhas are famished, and they will bite me."

235	Me	kamakia		me	kamakia		me	Oof	
	me	ka	-makI+F	me	ka	-makI+F	me	oof	
	3PL.S	go/come	following	3PL.S	go/come	following	3PL.S	hoo	
	pron	vi		pron	vi		pron	interj	

'They came. Hoo.'

236 Yama , yama sokirisemetemoneke

yama yama soki -risa -hemete -mone -ke thing be dark down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F nf vi

'It was getting dark.'

237 Yama sokirisa , Afi tinahi

yama soki -risa+F afi ti- na -hi thing be dark down bathe 2SG.S AUX IMP+F nf vi vi aux

'It was getting dark. "Take a bath."'

238 Yimo sa okomateya o- ka- na -mate

tinamou sp shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time.IMP+F now nm vt aux

"I'm going to hunt yimo tinamou with bow and arrow."

239 Yimo sa okomateya

yimo saa o- ka- na -mate -ya tinamou sp shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time.IMP+F now nm vt aux

"I'm going to hunt yimo tinamou with bow and arrow."

240 Yimo e kabibeya

yimo ee kaba -be -ya tinamou sp 1IN.S eat IMMED+F now nm pron vt

"We will eat yimo."

interj nm pron vt nm vt

tikana

ti- ka- na 2SG.S COMIT AUX

aux

"Right, go ahead and kill a *yimo* so we can eat it."

242 Tokematamonaka

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

'He went into the forest.'

243 *Wati* 

tama

```
ka- na.NFIN to- ka+M , toke
   wati
           tama
                                                        to- ka+M
   arrow hold onto COMIT AUX
                                      away go/come
                                                        away qo/come
                      aux
                                      vi
                                                        vi
                                   nematamonaka
vimo
            ho
                                   na -himata -mona -ka
vimo
            hoo
tinamou sp call of yimo tinamou AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
            vi
                                   aux
Hoo
                            hoo
hoo
                            hoo
(call of yimo tinamou)
                           (call of yimo tinamou)
                            sound
'He went out with arrows in his hand. A yimo was calling, "Hoo, hoo."
244 Yama
           ki
                    nematamonaka
   yama
           kii
                    na -himata -mona -ka
           look at AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
   nf
           vt
                    aux
'He looked.'
245 Yama
           ki
                    ne
                              Yimo
                                           hike
                                                 vari
                                                          vimo
           kii
                              yimo
                    na+M
                                           hike
                                                 yari
                                                           yimo
   thing look at AUX
                              tinamou sp
                                          far
                                                 not far
                                                          tinamou sp
   nf
           vt
                    aux
                                           nf
                              nm
                                                 prt
hoho
                           re
ho- hoo
                           na -ra+M
DUP call of yimo tinamou AUX NEG
'He looked. "Isn't that a yimo calling nearby?"'
246 Yimo
                hike
                      yari
                                hoho
                hike
                                ho- hoo
                      yari
                                                            na
                      not far DUP call of yimo tinamou
                                                            AUX NEG
   tinamou sp far
                nf
                       prt
                                vi
                                                            aux
"Isn't that a yimo calling nearby?"
247 Yama
           ki
                    ne
                              Hibaka
                                       yimo
                                                    ati
                                                            kake
                                       yimo
   yama
           kii
                    na+M
                              hibaka
                                                    ati
                                                            ka
    thing look at AUX
                              where
                                       tinamou sp voice
                                                            go/come coming
           vt
                    aux
                              interrog nm
                                                    pn
'He looked. "Where is the yimo's voice coming from?""
248 Yimo
                ho
                                                            ahi
                                       nareka
   yimo
                hoo
                                       na -hare -ka
                                                            ahi
   tinamou sp call of yimo tinamou
                                       AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
                                                            there
                vi
                                                            dem
                                       aux
"There is a yimo calling there."
249 Yimo
                                       nareka
                                                            ahi
                                       na -hare -ka
                hoo
                                                            ahi
                call of yimo tinamou
                                       AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
   tinamou sp
                                                           there
                vi
                                       aux
"There is a yimo calling there."
```

ki ne ya
kii na.NOM+M ya 250 Yama vimo wawata yimo wa- wata vama ADJU tinamou sp DUP exist look at AUX thing nf vt aux prt vi rematamonaka ahi na -ra -himata -mona -ka ahi AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then dem 'When he looked, there was no yimo.' 251 Yimo wata -ra+M yimo watare yimo watarematamona amaka yimo wata -ra -himata -mona ama -ka tinamou sp exist NEG tinamou sp exist NEG FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M vi vi nm sec ahi ahi then dem 'There was no yimo.' yana 252 Ati tonamatase Yimo to- na -ma -tasa+M ati yana yimo voice start CH AUX back again tinamou sp near vi pn aux yimo hoho re raba ayata na -raba na -ra+M ho- hoo yimo ayata AUX a bit AUX NEG DUP call of yimo tinamou tinamou sp near allx nm aux hoho raba re ho- hoo na -raba na -ra+M DUP call of yimo tinamou AUX a bit AUX NEG aux aux 'Its voice started up again. "The yimo keeps calling nearby." 253 *Hari* efe atikara haari efe ati -kara that one+M this+M voice ?+M dem "There its voice is." , yimo 254 *Faya* hinahiyebano yimo hi- to- na- hiya -hiba -no faya OC CH CAUS be different FUT+M IP.N+M so tinamou sp conj nm vt 'He was going to turn into a yimo.' 255 *Yimo* hinahiyebanoho yimo hi- to- na- hiya -hiba -no -ho tinamou sp OC CH CAUS be different FUT+M IP.N+M DUP vt 'He was going to turn into a *yimo*.' 256 Tokomematamonaka

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

vi 'He went back.'

```
yimo ,
257 Tokome
                                         hoho
   to- ka -ma+M
                                         ho- hoo
                                         DUP call of yimo tinamou
                          tinamou sp
   away qo/come back
                                         vi
                          nm
na -himona ee ati
AUX REP+M
                         nibe
                    ati
                         na -be
AUX REP+M 1IN.S say
                         AUX IMMED+F
            pron vt
                         aux
'He went back. "We will say that a yimo is calling."
258 Yimo
               kamaki
                                   ha
   yimo
               ka
                       -makI+M
                                  haa
   tinamou sp go/come following DEM
               vi
"There is a yimo coming."
            e tohiyibeya
ee to- hiya
259 Hiya
                                   -be
   come on 1IN.S CH be different IMMED+F now
   interj pron vi
"Come on, let's turn into something else."
260 E
          tohiyibeya
          to- hiya
                           -be
                                   -va
   1IN.S CH be different IMMED+F now
   pron
          vi
"Let's turn into animals."
261 Himata
            tiharibe
                                        ha
                                             tiwa
            ti- to- ha -ri -be
   himata
                                             tiwa
                                        haa
            2SG.S CH be CQ+F IMMED+F
                                        DEM
                                             2SG
   interrog vc
                                        dem pron
"What are you going to be?"
        owa yimo
262 Ha
                         ama oke
                                             vimo
                          ama
   haa
        owa
             yimo
                                     ke
                                             yimo
   DEM 1SG
             tinamou sp be
                               1SG.S DECL+F
                                             tinamou sp
   dem
        pron nm
                         VC
                             prt
"I am a yimo."
263 Yimo
   rimo
yimo
              ama oni
               ama o-
                         ni
   tinamou sp be 1SG.S BKG+F
   nm
               vc prt
"I am a yimo."
264 Wayaraba
                   ama tini
                                      wayara
              -ba ama ti- ni
   wayara
                                      wayara
   tinamou sp FUT be
                         2SG.S BKG+F tinamou sp
                         prt
                   VC
                                      nm
"You are going to be a wayara tinamou."
265 Wayara
               tiha
                                  hehi
                                                 ota owa
               ti- to- ha+F
                                  hehi
                                                 ota owa
   tinamou sp 2SG.S CH be
                                  that one+M
                                                1SG.POSS.affinal relative
               VC
                                   dem
```

vowaki toebanaka vowaki to- ha -hibana -ka vowaki vowaki CH be FUT+M DECL+M squirrel sp squirrel sp "You are a wayara, and my companion will be a yowaki squirrel." 266 Yowakiba ama hari ota owa yowaki -ba ama haari ota owa that one+M 1SG.POSS.affinal relative squirrel sp FUT be VC dem "'My companion will be a *yowaki*."' 267 *Ee* yowakiba oke yama noko ama ke yama noko yowaki -ba ama  $\circ$ ee squirrel sp FUT be 1SG.S DECL+F vagina yes interj nm prt nm nofa -tee -haba owa 1SG.S like HAB FUT+F 1SG.S pron "Right, I will be a yowaki, I will like vagina." 268 *Faya* yana me tona kamakia me me me -makI+F faya me vana to- na+F me ka me me go/come following 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S 3PL.S pron conj pron vi aux vi pron pron kamakiemetemoneke -hemete -mone -ke -makT go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 77 i 'They were ready. They came.' 269 *Me* kamakia me kobo namakia me Oof -makI+Fna -makI+F me ka me kobo me oof AUX following go/come following 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive 3PL.S hoo pron vi pron vi aux pron interj himata ama tiri himata ama tiri what? be 2SG.S CQ+F interrog vc prt 'They came. They arrived. "Whew, what are you?" 270 *Haa* haa huh? interj ""Huh?"" 271 Yowaki yowaki squirrel sp nm

"Yowaki squirrel."

```
272 Yowaki
yowaki
              ama
                    nanoho
                   na.NOM+M -no -ho
               ama
                    AUX IP.N+M DUP
               be
   squirrel sp
   nm
               VC
                    aux
"He is a yowaki."
273 Owa
   owa
   other+M
   adj
"And the other one?"
274 Yimo
              ama oni
              ama oni
ama o- ni
   yimo
   tinamou sp be 1SG.S BKG+F
   nm
              vc prt
"I am a yimo."
275 Yimo
              ama nanoho
   yimo
              ama na.NOM+M -no -ho
   tinamou sp be
                   AUX IP.N+M DUP
                   aux
"He is a yimo."
276 Owara
         -ra
   owa
   other+M NPQ
   adj
"What about the other one?"
277 Fara
                           ama ?
          me
                    te
                     tee
   fara
          me
                           ama
   same+F 3PL.COMPL 2PL.S be
   dem pron pron
                           VC
"Is that all of you?"
278 Ee
   ee
   yes
   interj
"Yes."
279 Ha
       owa wayara
                       ama oke
   haa owa wayara
                       ama o- ke
   DEM 1SG tinamou sp be 1SG.S DECL+F
   dem pron nm
                       vc prt
"I am a wayara tinamou."
280 Wayarabisa
                    ama o
   wayara -bisa ama o-
   tinamou sp also
                   be 1SG.S
                    VC
                        prt
   nm
"I am a wayara."
```

9

kamakini

281 Hibati

va

te

```
hibati
                 ya
                       tee
                               ka
                                        -makI
                                                   -ni
                               go/come following BKG+F
                       2PL.S
    right away
                ADJU
    nf
                 prt
                       pron
                               vi
"Did you come just now?"
282 Ee
              hibati
                                          kamakia
                                                               tai
                           ya
                                  ota
                                                   -makI+F
                                                               tai
    ee
              hibati
                           ya
                                  otaa
                                          ka
              right away
                                          go/come following
                           ADJU
                                 1EX.S
                                                               be ahead
    yes
             nf
                           prt
                                          vi
                                                               vi
    interj
                                  pron
                                           onoko
ohamake
                           yama
                                   owa
o- to-ha -makI
                           yama
                                   owa
                                           \circ
                                                    noko
1SG.S CH AUX following
                                           1SG.POSS eye
                          thing 1SG.0
                                   pron
aux
                           nf
                                           pn
tonahiya
                         ho
                                                 ona
                                                        na+F
to- na-
        hiya+F
                         hoo
                                                 \circ
CH CAUS be different
                         call of yimo tinamou
                                                 1SG.S AUX
vt.
                         vi
ho
                        ona
                                     oko
                                                      ho
hoo
                        0-
                              na+F o-
                                               ka
                                                      hoo
call of yimo tinamou
                        1SG.S AUX
                                     1SG.POSS POSS
                                                     call of yimo tinamou
                        aux
                                     prt
                                                      vi
                                      ha
ni
         naki
                                 ama
na.NFIN
         na-
               ka
                        -kI+M
                                 ama
                                      haa
AUX
          CAUS go/come coming
                                 SEC
                                      DEM
                                 sec dem
aux
"We came just now. I was coming on ahead. Something made my vision bad, and I called out. He came after
me as I was calling."
283 Afa
                         otabawahine
            me
                  va
                                                             0
                                                                     waha
                                            -waha -ne
                         o- taba
                                                             0-
    afa
            me
                  ya
                                                                     waha
            3PL ADJU
                        1SG.S be together change CONT+F
                                                             1SG.S
    this+F
                                                                     now
            pron prt
    dem
                         vi
                                                             prt
                                                                     prt
"I am with them now."
284 E
              rarabika
                              te
                                      aawa
                                                raba
                                                            nofara
               ra- rabika
                              tee
                                      a- awa
                                                na -raba
                                                            na nofa
    1IN.POSS
              DUP be crazy
                              2PL.S
                                      DUP see
                                                AUX a bit
                                                            AUX recently NEG
   pron
              pn
                              pron
                                      vt
                                                aux
                                                            prt
       amake
te.
tee
       ama -ke
2PL.S
       SEC DECL+F
pron
       sec
"I never saw people turn into animals."
285 Awa
          boni
                                      kitibe
                    ota
                            vome
                            yome
                                      na -ke
                                                  -tee -be
    awa
          boni
                    otaa
                                      AUX DECL+F HAB IMMED+F
    tree fruit+F
                    1EX.S
                            swallow
                    pron
                            vt
          pn
                                      aux
"We are going to eat tree fruits."
286 Awa
          boni
                              boni
                                                  ni
                                                            etote
                       awa
                                        vome
    awa
          boni
                       awa
                              boni
                                        yome
                                                  na.NFIN
                                                            eheto
                                                                     -tee
    tree
          fruit+F
                       tree
                              fruit+F swallow
                                                  AUX
                                                            be good HAB
    nf
                       nf
                                        result
                                                            vi
          pn
                              pn
                                                  aux
```

awareawaneawa-ra+Mawa-neseeNEGseem+MBKG+Mvtsec"It is good to eat fruits."

yome 287 Awa boni kihe ota awa boni otaa vome kana -be tree fruit+F 1EX.S swallow COMIT AUX IMMED+F pron nf pn vt aux

"The two of us are going to eat fruits."

288 *Faya* me yana na me amo na me me amo na+F faya me yana me amo na+F me me amo 3PL.S AUX 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep SO get up conj pron vi aux pron vi aux pron pron vi tohiyaminaba mati me me nafi na+F me to- hiya -mina -haba mati me nafi AUX 3PL.S CH be different morning FUT+F 3PL.S 3PL.POSS all pron vi pron pn

'They left. They slept, so they could turn into animals the next day.'

289 Me tohiyaminemetemoneke

me to- hiya -mina -hemete -mone -ke 3PL.S CH be different morning FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron vi

'They turned into animals the next day.'

290 *Me* tohiyamina nafi me me to- hiya -mina+F me me nafi me CH be different morning 3PL.POSS 3PL.S 3PL.S a 1 1 pron 77 i pron pron ng

tohiyaminemetemoneni

to- hiya -mina -hemete -mone -ni
CH be different morning FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
vi

'They turned into animals the next day. They all turned into animals the next day.'

291 *Me* ka owa watawarematamonaka me nafi ka owa wata -waha -ra -himata -mona -ka me nafi of one+M exist change NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.POSS all pron prt adj vi pron pn

tohiyi karo
to- hiya.NOM+F karo
CH be different because
vi prt

'There was no one left, because they had all turned into animals.'

292 Koka koka koka tohiya koka koka koka to- hiya.LIST CH be different woodpecker sp woodpecker sp woodpecker sp nm νi kerewe tabori ya fara fara me me kerewe tabori fara me fara me ya three-toed sloth same+F 3PL same+F 3PL.POSS place+F ADJU dem dem pron pron pn prt

kerew	-			<i>ntamona</i> -himata		ama				
kere		d sloth	_	FP.N+M	REP+N					
nm	e-10e	a sioth	vi	L E • IN   IM	KELL	sec				
	ırned i	nto a woo	dpecker. I	The sloth	lived in		ige.'			
293 <b>(</b>	Owinab	ana		oke						
	o <b>–</b>		habana	0-	ke					
		live F	UT+F	1SG.S	DECL+F	1				
	√i 	. 1: . 1	. ""	prt						
ı m	going t	o live here	e. · · ·							
294 <b>(</b>	Owinab		_	oke		fara	e		taboro	ya
-		wina -		0-	ke	fara			taboro	ya 
		live F	UT+F		DECL+F		+F 1IN		-	ADJU
	vi going t	o live her	e in our vi	prt llage '''		dem	pro	n	pn	prt
1 111 8	gomg	o nve ner	c III Our vi	nage.						
	Owinah		,		okowina				oni	
	) <b>-</b>		haba f			-	wina -h		oni 	
	rsg.s vi	live F		ame+F em	vt	COMIT	live FU		ruit+F	
kawin			har	-	VC			p:	11	
numin	E			,	•					
ka-	waa	-ne	haa	ro						
ka- COMI	waa T sta		haa +F tha		£					
_		ne -ne Ind CONI		it one+1	F					
COMI vi	T sta	ind CONT	:+F tha	it one+1 1		""				
COMI vi ""The	T sta	ind CONT	ethere for	it one+l n me to live		···	oke			
COMI vi ""The	T sta tree w 4wa	ith fruit is	ethere for	nt one+1 me to live	e near it.	"" -haban	<i>oke</i> a 0-	ke		
COMI vi "The	T sta tree w <b>4wa</b> awa	ind CONT ith fruit is boni boni	C+F that dem there for okowi	nt one+l me to live nabana ka-	e <b>near it.</b> wina	-haban	a o-	ke S DECL <sup>.</sup>	+F	
COMI vi "The	T sta tree w <b>Awa</b> awa tree nf	ith fruit is  boni  boni  fruit+  pn	there for  okowi  o-  F 1SG.  vt	me to live mabana ka- S COMIT	e <b>near it.</b> wina	-haban	a o-	_	+F	
COMI vi "The 296 A	T sta tree w <b>Awa</b> awa tree nf	ith fruit is  boni  boni  fruit+  pn	there for  okowi  o-  F 1SG.	me to live mabana ka- S COMIT	e <b>near it.</b> wina	-haban	a o- 1SG.	_	+F	
COMI vi ""The 296 A t t""I'm	T sta  tree w  4wa awa tree af going t	ith fruit is  boni  boni  fruit+  pn	there for  okowi  o-  F 1SG.  vt  r the fruit	me to live mabana ka- S COMIT	e <b>near it.</b> wina	-haban FUT+F	a o- 1SG.	S DECL-	+F	yana
COMI vi "The 296 A t t T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T	T sta  tree w  4wa awa tree af going t	ith fruit is  boni boni fruit+ pn to live nea	there for  okowi  o-  F 1SG.  vt  r the fruit	me to live  mabana ka- S COMIT	e near it. wina live	-haban FUT+F	a o- 1SG. prt <i>ka</i>	S DECL		<i>yana</i> yana
COMI vi "The 296 24 t r ""I'm ;	T sta  tree w  4wa awa tree nf going t	ith fruit is  boni boni fruit+ pn to live nea	there for  okowi  o-  F 1SG.  vt  r the fruit	me to live  mabana ka- S COMIT  s."'  ta ta	e near it. wina live	-haban FUT+F	a o- 1SG. prt	S DECL	ta	yana
COMI vi ""The 296 A t t ""I'm;	T sta  tree w  Awa awa tree af going t  Faya faya	ith fruit is  boni boni fruit+ pn to live nea  koka koka wood nm	there for  okowi  o-  F 1SG.  vt  r the fruit	me to live me to live mabana ka- S COMIT  s."'  ta  sp co pr	e nearit. wina live a	-haban FUT+F	a o- 1SG. prt ka oka oodpecke	S DECL	<i>ta</i> taa	yana
COMI vi ""The 296 26 t t""I'm 12 297 In 15 8	T sta  tree w  Awa awa tree nf going t  Faya faya so conj	ith fruit is  boni boni fruit+ pn to live nea  koka wood nm  toke	there for  okowi  o-  F 1SG.  vt  r the fruit	me to live me to live mabana ka- S COMIT  s."'  ta ta sp co pr maka	e near it.  wina live  a ntrast	-haban FUT+F , <b>ko</b> ko wo	a o- 1SG. prt  ka bka bka bodpecke	s DECL r sp	<i>ta</i> taa contrast	yana start
COMI vi "The 296 25 5 5 5 5 5 6 5 6 5 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 6	T sta  tree w  Awa awa tree af going t  Faya faya so conj na+M	ith fruit is  boni boni fruit+ pn to live nea  , koka koka wood nm , toke to-	there for  okowi  o-  F 1SG. vt  r the fruit	me to live me to live mabana ka- S COMIT  s."'  ta ta sp co pr  maka -hir	e near it.  wina live  a ntrast t	-haban FUT+F , <b>ko</b> ko wo nm	a o- 1SG. prt  ka bka bodpecke	s DECL r sp hi hi	<i>ta</i> taa contrast	yana start
COMI Vi ""The 296 A t t""I'm;	T sta  tree w  Awa awa tree nf going t  Faya faya so conj	ith fruit is  boni boni fruit+ pn to live nea  , koka koka wood nm , toke to- awa	there for  okowi  o-  F 1SG.  vt  r the fruit	me to live me to live mabana ka- S COMIT  s."'  ta ta sp co pr  maka -hir	e near it.  wina live  a ntrast t	-haban FUT+F , <b>ko</b> ko wo nm	a o- 1SG. prt  ka bka bodpecke  a. a. CL+M t	r sp hi hi hen	<i>ta</i> taa contrast	yana start
COMI vi "The 296 A t ""I'm; 297 If s tone to- CH aux	T sta  tree w  Awa awa tree af going t  Faya faya so conj na+M AUX	boni boni fruit+ pn to live nea  , koka koka wood nm , toke to- awa vi	there for  okowi  o-  F 1SG. vt  r the fruit	me to live me to live mabana ka- S COMIT  s."'  ta ta sp co pr maka —hir me FP.1	e near it.  wina live  a ntrast t nata -r	-haban FUT+F , <b>ko</b> ko wo nm nona -k	a o- 1SG. prt  ka bka bodpecke  a. a. CL+M t	s DECL r sp hi hi	<i>ta</i> taa contrast	yana start
COMI vi "The 296 A t "'I'm 297 I f s tone to- CH aux 'Only	tree w  Awa awa tree nf going t  Faya faya so conj na+M AUX  the wo	boni boni fruit+ pn to live nea  , koka koka wood nm , toke to- awa vi	there for  okowi  o-  F 1SG. vt  r the fruit  adpecker  chimatamon ka y go/co  was ready	me to live  mabana ka- S COMIT  s."'  ta  sp co pr  maka —hir me FP.1	e near it.  wina live a ntrast t nata -r N+M RE	-haban. FUT+F  , ko ko ko nn nona -k EP+M DE	a o- 1SG. prt  ka bka bodpecken a a CL+M t	r sp hi hi hen em	<i>ta</i> taa contrast prt	yana start
COMI vi "The 296 A t ""I'm 297 If f s tone to- CH aux 'Only 298 If	tree w  Awa awa tree nf going t  Faya faya so conj na+M AUX the wo	boni boni fruit+ pn to live nea  , koka koka wood nm , toke to- awa vi  podpecker	there for  okowi  o-  F 1SG. vt  r the fruit  addpecker  chimatamon ka  y go/co  was ready	me to live  mabana ka- S COMIT  s."'  ta sp co pr  maka —hir me FP.1	e near it.  wina live  a ntrast t  nata -r N+M RE , and he  awe	-haban FUT+F  , ko ko wo nn nona -k EP+M DE left.'	a o- 1SG. prt  ka bka bodpecken a a CL+M t d	r sp hi hi hen em	ta taa contrast prt teo	yana start
COMI vi "The 296 A t ""I'm 297 If f s tone to- CH aux 'Only 298 It	tree w  Awa awa tree nf going t  Faya faya so conj na+M AUX the wo	ith fruit is  boni boni fruit+ pn to live nea  , koka koka wood nm , toke to- awa vi  podpecker	there for  okowi  o-  F 1SG. vt  r the fruit  addpecker  chimatamon ka  y go/co  was ready  , awa awa	me to live me to live maka- s COMIT  s."  ta sp co pr maka —hir me FP.1	e near it.  wina live a ntrast t nata -r N+M RE , and he awe	-haban FUT+F  , ko ko nm mona -k EP+M DE left.' no -hino	a o- 1SG. prt  ka bka bodpecken a a CL+M t d	r sp hi hi hen em  awa awa	ta taa contrast prt  teo teo	yana start
COMI vi ""The 296 A t tr ""I'm \$ 297 If s tone to- CH aux 'Only	tree w  Awa awa tree af going t  Faya faya so conj na+M AUX the wo	boni boni fruit+ pn to live nea  , koka koka wood nm , toke to- awa vi  podpecker	there for  okowi  o-  F 1SG. vt  r the fruit  adpecker  chimatamon ka  y go/co  was ready  , awa awa tre	me to live me to live maka- s COMIT  s."  ta sp co pr maka —hir me FP.1 v to leave a awa ee tree	e near it.  wina live  a ntrast t  N+M RE , and he  awe awa e see	-haban FUT+F  , ko ko wo nn nona -k EP+M DE left.'	a o- 1SG. prt  ka bka bka bodpecke a a CL+M t d  ya ya M ADJU	r sp hi hi hen em  awa awa tree	ta taa contrast prt  teo teo hit	yana start
COMI vi "The 296 2 a t t T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T T	tree w  Awa awa tree nf going t  Faya faya so conj na+M AUX the wo	ith fruit is  boni boni fruit+ pn to live nea  , koka koka wood nm , toke to- awa vi bodpecker	there for  okowi  o-  F 1SG. vt  r the fruit  addpecker  chimatamon ka  y go/co  was ready  , awa awa	me to live me to live maka- s COMIT  s."  ta sp co pr maka —hir me FP.1	e near it.  wina live a ntrast t nata -r N+M RE , and he awe	-haban FUT+F  , ko ko nm mona -k EP+M DE left.' no -hino	a o- 1SG. prt  ka bka bka bodpecke a a CL+M t d  ya ya M ADJU prt	r sp hi hi hen em awa awa	ta taa contrast prt  teo teo	yana start

AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (sound of hitting) (sound of hitting)

sound

sound

'He went. He saw a good tree, and he pecked at the tree.'

```
299 Awa
           moni
                   amosimakoni
                                                  kame
                                                           -ma+M
    awa
           moni
                   amosa
                            -makoni
                                                  ka
                   be good for this reason+F
                                                  go/come back
    tree
           sound
    nf
           pn
                                                  vi
kame
                     ya
                            fati
                                              itime
                                                               fati
         -ma.NOM+M
                             fati
                                              iti
                                                       -ma+M
                                                               fati
ka
                     ya
go/come back
                     ADJU
                             3SG.POSS.wife
                                              pick up back
                                                               3SG.POSS.wife
                     prt
vi
                             nf
                                                               nf
                                              vt
towakamematamonaka
to- ka-
           ka
                           -himata -mona -ka
                      -ma
away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vt
'Because the sound of the tree was good, he came back and got his wife, and took his wife back there.'
```

300 <i>Fati</i>	į		towa	kame				me	ka	yibote	me
fat	i		to-	ka-	ka	-ma+M	. 1	me	ka	yibote	me
350	.POS	S.wif	e awa	y COMIT	go/co	me back		3PL	POSS	wife	3PL.O
nf			vt					pron	prt	nf	pron
me	totow	akamei	netemon	e				a	hi		
me	to-	to-	ka-	ka	-ma	-hemete	-moi	ne a	hi		
3PL.S	DUP	away	COMIT	go/come	back	FP.N+F	REP-	+F t	hen		
pron	vt							d	em		

'He took his wife there. They took their wives there.'

301 Me	me tohiya	n	ne me				
,	me to-hiya	+F m	ne me				
3PL 3	-		BPL.S 3PL.	S			
	pron vi		oron pron				
tohiyemetemone	Pron vr	me	nafi		namatebana		
-	-homoto -r		<i>naji</i> nafi			-hana	,
to- hiya	-hemete -n				nama -tee		
	erent FP.N+F RE	EP+F 3PL.PG			gouti HAB	FUT	
vi		pron	pn	nm nm			
bani me	nafi me	, wisi	mati	mayawari n	netebana		
bani me	nafi me	wisi	mati	mayawari n	ne -tee -	-bana	
animal 3PL.	.POSS all 3P	L tamar	in 3PL	titi 3	BPL HAB E	TUT	
nm pron	n pn pr	on nm	pron	nm p	oron		
ahi , kiso		kis	0		mati	ha	
ahi , kis	50	, <i>ki</i> s	SO		mati ,	haa	
then whi	te-fronted capu	chin wh	ite-fronte	d capuchin	3PL	DEM	
dem nf		nf			pron	dem	
vowi	hibati		iyemetemone		-	me	ama
yowi yowi	hibati		- hiya	-hemet		me me	ama
-			-			-	
brown capuch	-	3PL.S CH		rent FP.N+F		3PL.S	be
nm	nf	pron vi				pron	VC
fa .							
faa							
that							
dem							

They turned into animals. They all turned into animals. The agoutis, all the animals, the tamarins, the titis, and the white-fronted capuchins, the brown capuchins. They turned into animals right away.'

302 Tamakori	tamakori	mati
tamakori	tamakori	mati
saki	saki	3PL
nm	nm	pron
'Also the sakis.'		

303 Tamakor		, katoma	hiri	ne	, tamakorite		1-
tamako: saki	ri -tee -ba HAB FU		hiri act make		tamakor saki	i -tee · HAB I	-ba FUT
nm	HAD FO.	nf	vt	aux	nm	IIAD .	LOI
katoma	hiri n	ematamona	Ho	4421	ho		
katoma		ia -himata -m			ho		
violent ac	t make A			nd of sak	xi) (sound	d of sak	(i)
nf	vt a	ıux	sound	d	sound		
ho	ho		ho		ho		
10	ho		ho		ho		
(sound of			(sound of	saki)	(sound of	saki)	
sound	sou	nd	sound		sound		
10 10	•						
sound of	saki)						
sound	Saki,						
	iumping arou	nd, "Ho ho ho ho h	no ho ho."'				
	<i>J</i> 1 0	,					
304 <i>Iso</i>	korokoro	kana	nematamoi	ıa	ahi	•	
iso	koro- koro			nata -mon			
leg+M	DUP thro			I+M REP+			
pn Hawaa iumn	vt ing up and day	aux	aux		dem		
не was jump	ing up and do	wn.					
05 <i>Iso</i>	korokoro	kana	nematamoi	naka		ahi	
iso	koro- koro			nata -mon	a -ka	ahi .	
leg+M	DUP thro	ow COMIT AUX			M DECL+M	then	
pn	vt	aux	aux			dem	
He was jump	ing up and do	wn.'					
206 <b>U</b> ina	a owa		tiwa				
806 <i>Hiya</i> hiya	, eowa eowa	,	<i>uwu</i> tiwa				
come of		ner-in-law	2SG.O				
interj	VOC		pron				
nahiyibeya							
	na- hiya	-be	-ya				
	CAUS be di	fferent IMMED	+F now				
7t "C 1		T 311 to	1				
come on, br	otner-in-law,	I will turn you into	an animai.'''				
307 <b>Tiwa</b>	onahiyibeya						
		na- hiya	-be	-ya	•		
tiwa		CAUS be diffe	erent IMME	-			
tiwa 2SG.O							
2SG.O pron	vt						
2SG.O pron	$\begin{array}{c} {\rm vt} \\ {\rm turn\ you\ into} \end{array}$	an animal.'''					
2SG.O pron "I'm going to	turn you into	an animal.'''					
2SG.O pron "I'm going to	turn you into wabori	an animal."'		<i>wabori</i>			wate
2SG.O pron "I'm going to 808 <i>Faya</i> faya	turn you into wabori wabori		wata+M	wabori	hrother-i	7	wata
2SG.O pron "I'm going to 808 Faya faya so	turn you into wabori wabori 3SG.POSS bi	an animal."' rother-in-law	wata+M catch	wabori 3SG.POSS	brother-i	n-law (	wata
2SG.O pron "I'm going to 808 Faya faya so conj	turn you into wabori wabori	rother-in-law wahori	wata+M catch	wabori		n-law (	wata
2SG.O pron "I'm going to 808 Faya faya so conj	turn you into wabori wabori 3SG.POSS bi		wata+M catch vt	wabori 3SG.POSS	teme	n-law (	wata
2SG.O pron "I'm going to 808 Faya faya so conj wabori	turn you into wabori wabori 3SG.POSS bi	rother-in-law , <i>wabori</i> wabori	wata+M catch vt	wabori 3SG.POSS nm	teme teme	n-law o	wata

kanematamonaka

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

'So he grabbed his brother-in-law, and stepped on his brother-in-law's foot.'

309 Wabori teme tai kane hoka wabori teme tai kana+M hoka 3SG.POSS brother-in-law foot+M COMIT AUX yank step on ng vt. aux 77

hirematamonaka *Oooooooo* 

hi- na -rI -himata -mona -ka 0000000

AUX raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (expression of pain) aux

interj

00 00 00 00

(expression of pain) (expression of pain)

interj interj

'He stepped on his brother-in-law's foot, and stretched him. "Oooo, oo, oo."

310 Wabori wabori koro wabori wabori koro 3SG.POSS brother-in-law 3SG.POSS brother-in-law throw

ahi tomisematamonaka

to- na -misa -himata -mona -ka ahi away AUX up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M t.hen dem

'He threw his brother-in-law upwards.'

311 Wabori koro tomise wabori wabori to- na wabori koro -misa+M away AUX up 3SG.POSS brother-in-law 3SG.POSS brother-in-law throw vt. aux nm

tokematamona

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

'He threw his brother-in-law up in a tree, and his brother-in-law went away.'

312 *Fati* itikabote fati koro fati iti -kabote fati koro 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife pick up quickly throw vt nf

himisamakia Te kahiwatiya hi- to- na -misa -makI+F ka- hiwa -tee -yahi tee OC away AUX up following 2PL.S COMIT have children HAB DIST.IMP+F aux pron vi

'He grabbed his wife and also threw his wife upwards. "You have children."

313 *Faya* were tomise me mera were faya were to- na -misa+M mera were away AUX up so 3PL.O throw 3PL.O throw conj pron vt aux pron vt

tomisematamonaka
to- na -misa -himata -mona -ka fahi
away AUX up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
aux dem
'He threw them upwards.'

314 *Bani* tohiva nafi me me to- hiya+F nafi bani me me me animal 3PL 3PL.S CH be different 3PL.S all vi nm pron pron pron pn

tohiyemetemoneke ahi noko yowaki to- hiya -hemete -mone -ke ahi yowaki noko CH be different FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then squirrel sp squirrel sp vi dem nm nm

nokotebanaahinoko-tee-banaahisquirrelspHABFUTthennmdem

'They turned into animals. All of them turned into animals. The *yowaki* squirrel, the *noko* squirrel, the first *noko*.'

315 Nokotebamatamonaka ahi mayawari mati -tee -ba -mata -mona -ka ahi mayawari mati squirrel sp HAB FUT FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M titi 3PL then dem nm pron

'It was the first noko. Also the titis.'

316 Mayawari memetemone amake me mayawari me -mete ama -ke -mone me titi 3PL FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S be DECL+F nm pron VC pron

'They were the titis.'

317 *Me* sinama tohiya me toka me sinama ka+F to- hiya+F me tome sinama sinama CH be different 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S agouti agouti pron pron vi pron vi

fowa bore kaneno kame fowa hahawi bore kana -hino ka -ma+M fowa ha- hawi manioc pull out COMIT AUX IP.N+M go/come back manioc DUP gnaw nm vt aux vi nm vt

tosi nematamonaka

to- na -sii na -himata -mona -ka CH AUX slowly along the way AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux

'They turned into animals, and they went away. The agouti had dug up a manioc tuber, and he came back knawing on the manioc.'

318 *Fowa* hahawi Fowa kabe tosi ne ha- hawi -sii fowa kabe fowa to- na na+M sweet manioc DUP gnaw СН AUX slowly along the way AUX manioc nm vt aux aux nm

ama ?
ama
be

'He came back gnawing the manioc. "Is that sweet manioc?""

319 Ee fowa kabe amane
ee fowa kabe ama -ne
yes sweet manioc be BKG+M
interj nm vc

"Yes, it's sweet manioc."

320 Fowa kabe wate ahi vanahari ahi fowa kabe wata+M ahi yana -haari ahi sweet manioc stand there grow IP.E+M there vi dem vi dem

"There is sweet manioc growing there."

321 *Habo* habo okobine oti oni 0-0habo iti+M habo o- kaba -ne ni root+M 1SG.S take out root+M 1SG.S eat CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F vt pn vt prt

"I took out a tuber, and I'm eating the tuber."

322 Kabi eto
kaba.NFIN eheto+M
eat be good
result vi

"Is it good to eat?"

323 Kabi etoka

kaba.NFIN eheto -ka
eat be good DECL+M
result vi

"It's good to eat."

324 Hiya tiwa afo obe

hiya tiwa afo o- na -be come on 2SG.O blow snuff into 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F interj pron vt aux

"Here, let me blow snuff into you."

325 Owa afo narihe

owa afo na -harihe 1SG.O blow snuff into AUX ?+M pron vt aux

"He's not going to blow snuff into me."

326 *Me* me watawatama owehene ra me me wata- wata na -ra+F 0ehene -ma 3PL 3PL.S DUP exist back AUX NEG 1SG.POSS because of pron vi pn aux

"There is no one here anymore, because of me."

327 **Sina** hisisi ahi me oniha toki hisi -si oto- ka.NOM+F sina me niha- na+F me ahi snuff sniff DUP 1SG.S CAUS AUX away go/come 3PL.O 3PL.S there nf pron vt dem aux pron vi

<sup>&</sup>quot;I gave them snuff, and they went away."

328 Me tokarara bofe ya
me to- ka -ra -hara bofe ya
3PL.S away go/come NEG IP.E+F ground ADJU
pron vi nf prt

"They didn't go away on the ground."

329 *Me* ahi ya ahi toki neme to- ka.NOM+F me ahi neme ya ahi 3PL.S away go/come there ADJU there up prt pron vi dem nf

"They went away up high."

330 *Bofe* tiwabana tike ha tiwa ya ti- waa -habana ti- ke bofe ya haa tiwa ground ADJU 2SG.S stand FUT+F 2SG.S DECL+F DEM 2SG nf prt vi prt dem pron

"But you are going to stay on the ground."

331 Faya waiwai nematamonaka

faya wai- wai na -himata -mona -ka so DUP bite AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M conj antip aux

'He was chewing.'

332 Waiwai nematamonaka ahi
wai-wai na -himata -mona -ka ahi
DUP bite AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
antip aux dem

'He was chewing.'

333 Waiwai tonikima nematamonaka

wai- wai to- na -kima na -himata -mona -ka
DUP bite CH AUX two AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
antip aux aux

'He was chewing first on one side, then on the other of his mouth.'

fowa 334 Makoni kabi hawa toe va kaba.NFIN hawa makoni fowa to- ha.NOM+M ya eat for this reason manioc be finished CH AUX ADJU nm vt. vi aux prt

Hoo fowa okobatibana owa aawa tira hoo fowa o- kaba -tee -bana owa a- awa tina -ra+F whew manioc 1SG.S eat HAB FUT 1SG.O DUP see 2SG.S AUX NEG interj nm vt pron vt

'When he was finished eating the manioc, "Whew, I'm going to eat manioc from now on."

335 Fowa okobatibana owa aware tiwahi
fowa o- kaba -tee -bana owa awa -ra+M ti- awa -hi
manioc 1SG.S eat HAB FUT 1SG.O see NEG 2SG.S see IMP+F
nm vt pron vt vt

"I'm going to eat manioc from now on."

336 Tiwinabisahi atiati re

ti- wina -bisa -hi ati- ati na -ra+M 2SG.S live also IMP+F DUP say AUX NEG

"He won't let me live here."

nematamonaka

na -himata -mona -ka

AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

ahi

ahi

then

337 *Fava* 

faya

ka-

aux

(yell of agouti)

(yell of agouti)

COMIT AUX

yell

sound

vi

hee

hee

hee

na.NFIN

to- ka

(yell of agouti)

(yell of agouti)

vi

hee

hee

hee

sound

sound

away go/come FUT+M

so

me

me

3PL

sinama

sinama

agouti

afo

afo

blow snuff into

```
pron
                                                                               dem
    conj
'He blew snuff into the agouti.'
338 Sinama
             afo
                                 tonisematamonaka
    sinama
             afo
                                 to- na -risa -himata -mona -ka
             blow snuff into
                                 away AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
    nm
             vt
                                 aux
fiya
                       fiya
                                              fiya
fiva
                       fiva
                                              fiya
                       (sound of blowing)
(sound of blowing)
                                              (sound of blowing)
sound
                       sound
                                              sound
fiya
                       fiya
                                              fiya
fiya
                       fiya
                                              fiya
(sound of blowing)
                       (sound of blowing)
                                              (sound of blowing)
sound
                       sound
                                              sound
fiya
                       fiya
                                              fiya
fiya
                       fiya
                                              fiya
(sound of blowing)
                       (sound of blowing)
                                              (sound of blowing)
                       sound
                                              sound
'He blew snuff into the agouti, hard, fiya, fiya, fiya.'
339 Itikahote
                                        hikanakematamona
                        iso
                                tani
             -kabot.e
                                tani
                                        hi- ka- na -kI
                                                                 -himata -mona
    i + i
                        iso
                                slide
                                        OC COMIT AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M
    pick up quickly
                       leg+M
                                vt.
                                        allx
                       pn
'He grabbed him, and slid his hand on his front legs, doubling them over.'
340 Iso
                    hikanake
            tani
                                              mano
                                                      tani
            tani
                                    -kI
    iso
                    hi- ka-
                                na
                                              mano
                                                      tani
                    OC COMIT AUX coming
            slide
                                                      slide
    leg+M
                                              arm+M
    pn
            vt
                    aux
                                              pn
hikawite
                                 noko
                                           noko
                                                    tamo
                     -witI
          ka-
                 na
                                 noko
                                           noko
                                                    t.amo
                                           face+M
    away COMIT AUX out
                                 face+M
                                                    rub
aux
                                           pn
hiwawiti
                                              kosi
                                                      hikanare
                                    ya
hi- to- na
              -waha
                       -witI.NOM
                                    ya
                                              kosi
                                                      hi- ka-
                                                                  na
                                                                      -rI
    away AUX change out
                                    ADJU
                                              flail
                                                      OC
                                                           COMIT AUX raised surface
                                    prt
aux
                                                      aux
                        tokebana
                                                  ahi
                                                            hee
       kani
```

sound 'He doubled his leg over, and slid his hands over his leg to make it thin. Then he made his face thin with his hands. When he hit him with a switch, he went away yelling, "Hee, hee, hee."

-hibana

hee

hee

hee

hee

sound

ahi

then

dem

(yell of agouti)

(yell of agouti)

hee

sound

hee

hee

sound

(yell of agouti)

(yell of agouti)

341 Te awa hari
tee awa haari
2PL.S see that one+M
pron vt dem
'Look at him.'

342Yamamewatowatorabanatoaremetemoneyamamewato- watona -rabanato- ha -ra -hemete -monething3PL.SDUP knowAUX a bit AUXCH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+Fnfpronvtauxauxmeamanimeto- hiya+Fmati3PL.SSEC BKG+F3PL.SCH be different3PL.Spronsecpronvipron

'They knew a lot, the ones who turned into animals.'

343 Me toiya me toiya , Hine me no to-hiya+F me to-hiya+F no to-hiya+F no to-hiya+F no only 3PL.S only pron vi pron pron

toki

to- ka.NOM+F away go/come

"They changed into animals. "Let them go."

344 Kamematamonaka

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

'He came back.'

345 Kame , Himata baniba ama ori go/come back vi interrog nm vc prt

'He came back. "What animal am I going to be?""

346 Hiba , otafamate , mata hiba o- tafa -mate , mata wait 1SG.S eat short time.IMP+F for now interj vi prt

"Wait, I'm going to eat."

347 Yama owa wasiaba owa awine oke
yama owa wasi -haba owa awine o- ke
thing 1SG.O find FUT+F 1SG.O seem+F 1SG.O DECL+F
nf pron vt pron sec prt

"The turning will come to me."

348 Ota one owa me hima nini , ati otaa one owa me hima na -ni ati our relatives 1SG.O 3PL.S call to go AUX BKG+F say nf pron pron vt aux vt

#### nematamona

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

aux

"My relatives are calling me to go with them."

349 Aa ota one hima ke owa mρ aa otaa one owa me hima na -ke our relatives 1SG.O 3PL.S call to go AUX DECL+F (pause) pron interj nf pron v/t prt

"My relatives are calling me to go with them."

350 Okomakeba owa awine oke

o- to- ka -makI -haba owa awine o- ke 1SG.S away go/come following FUT+F 1SG seem+F 1SG.S DECL+F vi pron sec prt

"I guess I will go."

351 *Faya* yana yana toneba toneba ati to- na -hiba yana to- na -hiba ati faya yana start CH AUX FUT+M start CH AUX FUT+M voice conj vi aux vi aux

tonematamonaka

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

'He was getting ready to go, and he spoke.'

352 *Ati* Oof yana hibaka okahaba tone o- to- ka to- na+M yana oof hibaka ati -haba voice start CH AUX 1SG.S away go/come FUT+F hoo where interj interrog vi vi aux

'He spoke. "Where should I go?"'

353 Owabasabana oke

o- waa -basa -habana o- ke 1SG.S stand edge FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F vi prt

"I will stay at the edge of the streams."

354 *Bii* , *bii* , *bii* bii

(sound of curassow) (sound of curassow) (sound of curassow) sound sound

bii

bii

(sound of curassow)

sound

"Bii, bii, bii, bii."

355 Maseteba ama oke mase

"I'm the first curassow."

-tee -haba

na

ama

ama

oke

0-

ke

oteba

0-

356 Yama

vama

kokora

ko- kora

```
DUP swallow whole
                                 1SG.S AUX HAB FUT+F
                                                                1SG.S DECL+F
    thing
                                                          SEC
    nf
            vt
                                 aux
                                                                prt
                                                          sec
"I will swallow fruits."
357 Fava
          tokobasawame
                                                tokobasawame
                         -basa -waha
                                                               -basa -waha
    faya
          to- ka
                                        -ma+M
                                                to- ka
                                                                             -ma+M
    so
          away go/come edge change back
                                                away go/come edge change back
          vi
                                                vi
    conj
tokobasawame
                                        faya
                                               fati
              -basa -waha -ma+M
to- ka
                                        faya
                                               fati
away go/come edge change back
                                               3SG.POSS.wife
                                        so
vi
                                        conj
                                               nf
fatiteba
                           wasi
                                       mase
                                                  tohiyematamona
               -tee -ba
fati
                           wasi+M
                                       mase
                                                  to- hiya
                                                                     -himata -mona
                                                  CH be different FP.N+M REP+M
3SG.POSS.wife HAB FUT
                           find
                                       curassow
                           vt.
                                       nm
                                                  vi
ahi
ahi
then
'He went along the bank of a stream. Then he found his wife. He turned into a curassow.'
358 Me
                         tohiyemetemone
            ohari
                                                             me
            ohari.NFIN
                         to- hiya
                                            -hemete -mone
                                                             me
    me
    3PL.S
            be one
                         CH be different FP.N+F REP+F
                                                             3PL.S
                                                             pron
    pron
                         vi
            77 i
tohiya
                    me
                               me
                                       tohiya
                                                           me
                                                                    me
to- hiya+F
                                       to- hiya+F
                    me
                               me
                                                           me
                                                                   me
CH be different
                                       CH be different
                               3PL.S
                    3PL.S
                                                           3PL.S
                                                                    3PL.S
                                                           pron
νi
                               pron
                                       vi
                    pron
                                                                   pron
tohiya
                    me
                               Himata
                                            hiyamataha
                                                             himata
                                                                       himata
                                                                                 me
to- hiya+F
                    me
                               himata
                                            hiyamataha
                                                             himata
                                                                       himata
                                                                                 me
CH be different
                    3PL.S
                               what?
                                            what?
                                                             what?
                                                                       what?
                                                                                 3PL.S
                    pron
                               interrog
                                            interrog
                                                             interrog interrog pron
ebe
                                     abe
                                             tonahiyineri
          na
                 me
                         me
ebe
          na+F
                 me
                          me
                                     abe
                                             to- na- hiya
                                                                      -ne
purpose
          AUX
                 3PL
                          3PL.POSS
                                     RECIP
                                             CH CAUS be different CONT+F CQ+F
          aux
                 pron
                          pron
                                     pn
                                             vt
'All of them turned into animals together. They turned into animals. "Why did they turn each other into
animals?"
359 Me
               abe
                       tonahiyinimakoni
                                                                             me
               abe
                       to- na- hiya
                                                -ni
                                                        -makoni
                                                                             me
    3PL.POSS
               RECIP
                       CH CAUS be different IP.N+F for this reason+F
                                                                             3PL.POSS
    pron
               pn
                                                                             pron
                       vt
abe
        tonahiyineke
        to- na- hiya
                                -ne
                                        -ke
abe
        CH CAUS be different CONT+F DECL+F
RECIP
"There isn't going to be anyone left."
                       tonahiyinima
               abe
                                                           nofa
                                                                           me
                       to- na- hiya
    me
               abe
                                                -nima
                                                           na nofa+F
                                                                           me
                                                                           3PL.POSS
               RECIP
                       CH CAUS be different about to
                                                           AUX recently
    3PL.POSS
    pron
               pn
                       vt
                                                           prt
                                                                           pron
```

mati

me	toabone		me	ati	nofamone			hine m	e
	pron	pn	vt			vt	aux	nm	pron
	3PL.POSS	RECIP	be angry	with	REP+F	say	AUX	animal	3PL.COMPL
	me	abe	kaako		-hamone	ati	na+M	bani	me
361	Me	abe	kakoamone			ati	ne ,	Bani	me
'"Th	ey wanted to t	urn each o	other into an	imals,	because they	were	mad at each	other."'	
sec		pron	pn	vt			nf		
SEC	DECL+F	3PL.PG	OSS RECI	P be	angry wi	th	3SG.POSS.r	nother	
ama	-ke	me	abe	ka	.ako+F		mati		

kakoa

abe

me to- ha -habone me ati na nofa -hamone hine me
3PL.S CH be INT+F 3PL.S say AUX recently REP+F only 3PL.S
pron vc pron vt prt pron pron

tonahiyineke

amake

to- na- hiya -ne -ke CH CAUS be different CONT+F DECL+F

me

'He said they were mad at each other. "They said they wanted to turn into animals. Let them turn into animals."

```
362 Awa
                  kabi
         boni
                             nawaha
                                                        boni
                                                                 kabi
                                                  awa
         boni
                  kaba.NFIN nawaha+F
                                                                 kaba.NFIN
                                                  awa
                                                        boni
   tree fruit+F eat
                            take a long time
                                                 tree
                                                        fruit+F
                                                                 eat
         pn
   nf
                 result
                             vi
                                                 nf
                                                                 result
                                                        pn
nawaha
                        kaba
                                                boni
                                                         kabi
                 me
                                me
                                          awa
nawaha+F
                                                         kaba.NFIN
                        kaba+F
                               me
                                                boni
                 me
                                          awa
take a long time
                                3PL.S
                                          tree
                3PL.S eat
                                               fruit+F eat
                                pron
                                          nf
77 i
                 pron
                        vt
                                                         result
                                                pn
ihi
                    tohiyabone
             me
                                              me
                                                     ati
                                                          nofamone
                                     -habone
                    to- hiya
                                                                    -hamone
             me
                                              me
                                                     ati
                                                          nofa
             3PL.S CH be different INT+F
                                                          recently REP+F
because of+F
                                              3PL.S
                                                     say
post
             pron
                    vi
                                              pron
                                                     vt
                                                          prt
 me
         amake
         ama -ke
  3PL.S SEC DECL+F
```

"They are wild fruits, even though it was difficult. Because they were eating wild fruits, they wanted to turn into animals."

```
363 Himata
            baniteba
                                   ori
                                                ha
                                                     owa
                                                          ?
                              ama
   himata
            bani -tee -ba
                              ama
                                   0-
                                         ri
                                                haa
                                                     owa
   what?
            animal HAB FUT
                              be
                                   1SG.S CQ+F
                                               DEM
                                                     1SG
   interrog nm
                              VC
                                   prt
                                                dem pron
```

"What animal should I be?"

365 Aa hiba , onamiti mawa aa hiba o- namiti mawa (pause) wait 1SG.POSS throat paint red interj interj pn vt

```
okomate
```

o- ka- na -mate 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time.IMP+F aux

"Wait, I will paint my throat red."

366 Namiti mawa kanematamonaka namiti ka- na -himata -mona -ka mawa paint red COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M neck pn vt aux tafotebana ahi -tee -bana ahi tafo Spix's guan HAB FUT then dem

'He painted his throat red, to become the first guan.'

367 Namiti mawa kane mawa na.LIST namiti mawa kana+M iso mawa kaneck paint red COMIT AUX leg+M paint red COMIT AUX vt aux pn aux

'He painted his throat red, and painted his legs red, too.'

368 Owa me awibe
owa me awa -be
1SG.O 3PL.S see IMMED+F
pron pron vt

"They will see me."

369 *Iso* mawa kana hine mawa kana.LIST hine mawa.LIST iso mawa COMIT AUX 3.REFL paint red leg+M paint red vt aux pron vt

'He painted his legs red, and he painted his body red, too.'

#### 370 *Haro*

haaro that one+F dem

"There."

### 371 *Haa* ?

haa huh? interj

""Huh?""

372	Hiba		oki	ti			witi	moto	onebon	a	
	hiba	,	0-		ka	iti	witi	moto	0-	na	-hibona
	wait		1S0	G.POSS	POSS	grandfather	nose	pierce	1SG.S	AUX	INT+M
	interj		nm				pn	vt	aux		
e		1	a		?						
ee		r	na	-ra							
(qu	estion)	I	XUA	CQ+M							

<sup>&</sup>quot;Wait, where is my grandfather, whose nose I was going to pierce?"

373 <i>Iti</i> iti 2SG.POSS grandfathe nm "'Your grandfather and the oth	me to- er 3PL.S CH pron vi	be different	-hamone REP+F	-ke DECL+F	
374 Moto obe  moto o- na pierce 1SG.S AUX result aux "I myself will be pierced.""	-be haa i	owa owa 1SG oron			
	IMMED+F now DI	owa . aa owa EM 1SG em pron			
witi hotone on nose hole+M 19 pn pn pn pn pn tita ahi	- witi h	noti nake noti na nole+F exist nn vi	-kI coming	ahi , aya ahi ay here th	a is
ti- ita ahi 2SG.S pierce here vt dem "There is a hole in my nose he	ere. You pierce it her	e."'			
377 <b>Sare</b> sare sarehe blowgun dart blowd	wanan ne wana gun dart be at vi	-hani		nake na -kI out AUX com aux	
nf nf					
nf nf nf hiya , moto o-	na -be G.S AUX IMMED+: x		l pierce it."	,	
nf nf  Hiya , moto obe hiya moto o- come on pierce 1S interj vt au 'He pulled out a blowgun dart  378 E towakamakibeya ee to- ka-	na -be G.S AUX IMMED+: x that was stuck in the	e roof. "Here, I wil -be -y	ra	•	
nf nf  Hiya , moto obe hiya moto ocome on pierce 1S interj vt au 'He pulled out a blowgun dart  378 E towakamakibeya ee to-ka- 1IN.S away COMIT pron vi "'Let's go."'  379 Me tohiyakeni me to-hiya	na -be G.S AUX IMMED+; x that was stuck in the ka -makI	eroof. "Here, I wil -be -y ng IMMED+F no	ra	•	

owa		moto	ne	, Hima	,	komini	?	
		moto	na+M	hima		koma ·		
other+M				let's	_	hurt 1	BKG+F	
adj		vt		inter		vi <b>J</b> l.:	!!Tl	
They turne	ea mto ai	iiiiais. The	were read	iy. The othe	er one pier	cea ms	nose. Thei	e, did it hurt?'''
381 <b>Komak</b> koma hurt vi ""It didn't h	-ke DECL+F	-re NEG+F						
	-ra -r NEG B							
	-hene IRR+F	amake ama -ke SEC DEC sec						
384 Tiwiti		hanin	makoni				amaka	
504 <i>Tiwiii</i> ti-	wi	<i>bayırı</i> ti bayi.		a -makon	i		amake ama -ke	•
2SG.E		se be t				on+F	SEC DECI	+F
pn		vi					sec	
'''It's becau	se your n	ose isn't th	ick."'					
385 <i>Tiwiti</i> ti-2SG.E	wi POSS no	ti bayi	emenehe -h hick HY					
'''Your nose	isn't thi	ck.'''						
386 <i>Tiwiti</i> ti- 2SG.E				ra -makon G for th		on+F	moto moto pierce result	ni na.NFIN AUX aux
komarineke				ne ,	Hima	,	hima	me
koma -ra					hima	**	hima	me
hurt NEG vi	CONT+.	F DECL+F	-	AUX aux	let's q		let's go interj	
tabori	e	awi	ya	e	$e^{\frac{1}{2}}$			P-011
tabori	ee	awa.NO	•		, e			
place+F				JU 1IN.		IN.S		
pn	pron	vt	pri	-	p	ron		
<i>towakimisal</i> to- ka-		-mis	sa -haha	<i>ereni</i> a ere	-ni	<b>e</b> ee	<i>yoro</i> yoro	
away COM			FUT+E		BKG+F	1IN.S	-	
vi	_	-		pron		pron		
nareba		_	neme	•				
na -rI	ad	-hak		-				
AUX rais	ea sur:	Lace FUT	-F up	ADJU				

<sup>&</sup>quot;Your nose isn't thick," he said. "Let's go. When we see their village, we will go up and stay there."

prt

nf

```
e siba
ee siba
387 Fava
         vama
                                 ni
                                                      ka
                                           va
                                                 e
                                           ya e ya ee
   faya yama
                                 na.NOM+F
                                                             vibote -ba
                                                       ka
         thing 1IN.S look for AUX
                                           ADJU 1IN POSS
                                                            wife FUT
   conj nf
                                           prt
               pron vt
                                 aux
                                                  pron prt
                                                             nf
      wasiaba
                   ere
P
      wasi -haba
ee
                   ere
1IN.S find FUT+F
                   1IN.S
pron
                   pron
"We will look for and find wives for ourselves."
388 Me
          kamakia
                             me
                                    kamakirineke
                                    ka -makI -ra -ne -ke
                  -makI+F
                             me
   me
          ka
   3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S go/come following NEG CONT+F DECL+F
   pron
          vi
                             pron
                                    vi
ahi
ahi
here
dem
"They aren't coming here."
389 Me
                            me
me
          tohiya
                                   awineke
                                                  bisa
          to- hiya+F
                                   awine -ke
                                                  bisa
   3PL.S CH be different 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
   pron
                            pron
          vi
                                   sec
                                                  prt
"They turned into animals."
390 Owa
          kobo
                  tomisematamona
                                                foree
                  to- na -misa -himata -mona foree
          koho
   one+M arrive away AUX up FP.N+M REP+M (call of guan)
                                                sound
   adj
          νi
                  aux
foree
               foree
                               foree
                                               foree
foree
               foree
                               foree
                                               foree
                               (call of guan)
(call of guan) (call of guan)
                                               (call of quan)
               sound
                               sound
                                               sound
'One of them went to another branch.'
391 Owa
          te
          tee
                 awahi
                 awa -hi
   1SG.O 2PL.S see IMP+F
          pron
   pron
                 vt
"Look at me."
392 Faya
         wabori
                                  ati
                                         yana
                                                kabote
                                         yana
                                                na -kabote
   faya wabori
                                  ati
   so
         3SG.POSS brother-in-law
                                  voice start AUX quickly
   conj nm
                                  pn
                                         vi
                                                aux
nematamona
                                       naaki
                   naaki
na -himata -mona naaki
                                       naaki
AUX FP.N+M REP+M (call of trumpeter)
                                        (call of trumpeter)
aux
                   sound
                                       sound
naaki
                    naaki
                                         naaki
                    naaki
                                         naaki
(call of trumpeter) (call of trumpeter) (call of trumpeter)
sound
                    sound
                                         sound
```

```
naaki
naaki
                                                naaki
naaki
                        naaki
                                                naaki
(call of trumpeter)
                        (call of trumpeter)
                                                (call of trumpeter)
sound
                        sound
                                                sound
naaki
naaki
(call of trumpeter)
"Then his brother-in-law started to talk, "Naaki, naaki, naaki."
393 Ota
            te
                    awa
    otaa
            tee
                    awa
            2PL.S
    1EX.S
                    see
    pron
            pron
                    vt.
"Look at us."
394 Ota
            tohiyake
    otaa
            to- hiya
                                -ke
    1EX.S
            CH be different DECL+F
    pron
            vi
"We have changed into animals."
395 Fava
           me
                   tohiya
                                        me
                                                   me
                   to- hiva+F
    faya
           me
                                        me
                                                   me
    so
           3PL.S
                   CH be different
                                        3PL.S
                                                    3PL.S
           pron
                                        pron
                   vi
    conj
                                                   pron
totohiyihina
                                                   toemete
                                raba
                                             na
to- to- hiya
                        -hina
                                na -raba
                                                   to- ha
                                                             -hemete
                                             na
CH CH be different can
                                AUX a bit
                                                   CH AUX FP.N+F
                                             AUX
                                aux
                                             aux
                                                   aux
'They turned into animals. They liked turning into animals.'
396 Faya
                   tohiya
                                        me
                                                towakamakia
                                                                                   me
                   to- hiya+F
    faya
           me
                                        me
                                                to- ka-
                                                             ka
                                                                       -makI+F
                                                                                   me
                   CH be different
                                                away COMIT go/come following
           3PL.S
                                        3PL.S
                                                                                   3PL.S
           pron
                   vi
                                        pron
                                                vi
                                                                                   pron
fawa
            tokasamakia
                                                             wahaba
                                                     me
             to- ka-
                        na -kosa
                                    -makI+F
                                                     me
                                                             waa
                                                                     -haba
disappear
            CH COMIT AUX middle following
                                                     3PL.S
                                                             stand FUT+F
            aux
                                                     pron
watari
wata
      -ra.NOM+F
exist NEG
vi
'They turned into animals. They went. They went into the forest. There was no one there.'
397 Me
               tabori
                             kamokamoni
               tabori
                             kamo- kamoni
    me
    3PL.POSS
                             DUP
                                    feel sad
               place+F
                             vi
    pron
               pn
'Their village was empty.'
398 Me
               tabori
                          kamokamoni
                                                    me
                                                               faya
                                                                      me
                                             na
```

tabori

place+F

pn

3PL.POSS

pron

kamo- kamoni

feel sad

DUP

vi

na+F

AUX

aux

me

3PL.S

pron

faya

conj

SO

me

pron

3PL.POSS

tabori siba remetemoneni me tabori me siba na -ra -hemete -mone -ni AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F place+F 3PL.S look for pron vt aux pn

'Their village was empty. They didn't look in the houses.'

ya 399 *Me* tabori hikehike me awamara me me tabori me awa -ma -ra+F me hike- hike va place+F 3PL.POSS 3PL.S see back NEG 3PL.S DUP far ADJU pn pron pron nf pron v/t prt hiwasia me one me me me one me me one me hi- wasi+F me me one me find 3PL.O other+F 3PL.S OC 3PL.O 3PL.O other+F 3PL.S pron pron adj vt. pron pron adj pron hiwasiemetemoneke fahi hi- wasi -hemete -mone -ke fahi OC find FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then vt dem

'They didn't look around at their village anymore. They found people over at another place.'

400 *Me* ? one me hiwasia Fa me me mera hi- wasi+F me one me me me faa me -ra other+F 3PL.S OC find 3PL.O 3PL that 3PL.S NPQ adi pron vt pron pron dem pron

'They found other people. "Where are they?"'

401 *Me* tohiyarake nafi to- hiya nafi me

-ke -hara all CH be different IP.E+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS vi pn pron

"They all turned into animals."

402 Hibake ama tiri ha tiwa hibake ama tiri haa tiwa 2SG.S CQ+F 2SG who+M be DEM interrog vc prt dem pron

"Who are you?"

403 *Tafo* ama oni

tafo ama 0ni Spix's guan be 1SG.S BKG+F nm VC prt

"I am a guan."

404 *Tafo* ota owa rarawa tafo ota owa rarawa

Spix's guan 1SG.POSS.brother-in-law pale-winged trumpeter

nm

toha tiwa ni ota amo karaba ota va to- ha.LIST tiwa ni ya otaa amo kana -raba otaa CH be 2SG 1EX.S COMIT AUX a bit 1EX.S to ADJU sleep VC pron prt prt pron vi aux

amani

ama -ni SEC BKG+F

<sup>&</sup>quot;I who am the guan and my brother-in-law the trumpeter are not going to sleep at your house."

```
405 Ota
          ka
                 ivawaba
                                   tisira
                                                  iyawa
                                                                ota
                                                                        kabi
                iyawa -ba
    otaa ka
                                  ti- sira+F
                                                  iyawa
                                                                otaa
                                                                        kaba.NOM+F
          POSS manioc mash FUT
    1EX
                                   2SG.S toast
                                                  manioc mash 1EX.S
                                                                        eat
   pron prt
                 nf
                                   vt
                                                  nf
                                                                pron
                                                                        vt
ya
         ota
                 towakimisaba
                                                   otani
                 to- ka- ka
                                     -misa -haba
                                                   otaa
ya
         otaa
                                                         -ni
ADJU
         1EX.S
                 away COMIT go/come up
                                         FUT+F
                                                   1EX.S BKG+F
prt
         pron
                 vi
                                                   pron
""When you have toasted manioc mash and we have eaten the manioc mash, we will fly up into the trees."'
406 Faya
          tohiyarematamona
                                                 fari
         to- hiya
                            -ra -himata -mona
                                                 faari
    faya
    so
          CH be different NEG FP.N+M REP+M
                                                 that one+M
    conj vi
                                                 dem
'He didn't turn into an animal.'
407 Tohiyare
                                ati
                                        yana
                                               tone
                                                             Himata
                                                                       baniba
    to- hiya
                      -ra+M
                                ati
                                        yana
                                               to- na+M
                                                             himata
                                                                       bani
                                                                               -ba
    CH be different NEG
                                voice start CH AUX
                                                             what?
                                                                       animal FUT
                                        vi
                                               aux
                                                             interrog nm
                                pn
ama oriva
           -ri -ya
     1SG.S CQ+F now
'He didn't turn into an animal. He spoke. "What animal should I turn into?"
408 E
           awakere
           awa -ke
                       -re
    1IN.S see DECL+F NEG+F
           vt
   pron
"I don't know."
409 Bani
            ino
                     tiwato
                                      ya
                                                bani
                                                        aate
                     ti-
   bani
            ino
                           wato.NOM
                                      ya
                                                bani
                                                        a- ate
            name+M 2SG.S know
                                      ADJU
    animal
                                                animal
                                                        DUP ask
            pn
                     vt
                                      prt
                                                nm
                                                        vt
obeva
     na -be
1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
"When you know the name of the animal, I will call you that animal."
410 Sosoki
                 oke
    so- soki
                 0-
                       na -ke
    DUP be dark
                 1SG.S AUX DECL+F
   τzi
                  aux
"I am black."
411 Sosoki
                 oke
```

so- soki

vi

"I am black."

na -ke

0-DUP be dark 1SG.S AUX DECL+F

aux

bivo

ama

0

412 Biyoba

```
biyo
                   -ba
                         ama
                               0-
                                       biyo
    spider monkey FUT
                         be
                               1SG.S
                                       spider monkey
    nf
                               prt
                                       nf
                         VC
"I will be a spider monkey."
413 Biyoba
                               oni
                         ama
                                      ni
    biyo
                   -ba
                         ama
                               0-
    spider monkey FUT
                         be
                               1SG.S BKG+F
    nf
                         VC
                               prt
"I will be a spider monkey."
414 Ee
               biyo
                                tihahi
              biyo
                                ti-
                                      to- ha -hi
    ee
               spider monkey
                                2SG.S CH be IMP+F
    yes
    interj
               nf
                                VC
"Yes, you be a spider monkey."
415 Biyoba
                         ama
                               oke
                                                  sosoki
                                                                 ona
                                                                               owa
                   -ba
                         ama
                               0-
                                      ke
                                                  so- soki
                                                                 0-
    biyo
                                                                               owa
    spider monkey FUT
                         be
                               1SG.S DECL+F
                                                  DUP be dark
                                                                 1SG.S AUX
                                                                               1SG
                                                  vi
                               prt
                                                                 aux
                                                                               pron
"I will be a spider monkey, because I am black."
416 Faya
          me
                      tohiyabone
                                                         ni
                                                                        Hiya
                                                   me
                                                              ya
          me
                      to- hiya
                                         -habone
                                                                        hiya
    faya
                                                   me
                                                         ni
                                                              ya
           3PL.S
                      CH be different INT+F
                                                   3PL
                                                             ADJU
                                                                        come on
    SO
                                                         t.o
    conj pron
                      vi
                                                   pron prt prt
                                                                        interj
tiwa
       afo
                                                               ati
                           obe
                                                 tafo
                                  na -be
        afo
tiwa
                           0-
                                                 tafo
                                                               ati
                           1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
2SG.O blow snuff into
                                                 Spix's guan
                                                               say
                           aux
pron
       vt
                                                 nm
                                                                vt
nematamona
na -himata -mona
AUX FP.N+M REP+M
'They were going to turn into animals. "Here, I will blow snuff into you," the guan said.'
417 Tiwa
            afo
                               obeva
    tiwa
            afo
                                      na -be
    2SG.O
           blow snuff into
                               1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
    pron
            vt
                               aux
"I will blow snuff into you."
418 Ota
                    afo
                                                      amake
                                                                            ibe
            me
                                       na
                                              ota
                                                                    ota
    otaa
            me
                    afo
                                       na+F
                                              otaa
                                                      ama -ke
                                                                    otaa
                                                                            ibe
    1EX.O 3PL.S
                   blow snuff into
                                       AUX
                                              1EX.O
                                                      SEC DECL+F
                                                                    1EX.O
                                                                            RECIP
    pron
                                                                    pron
            pron
                    vt
                                       aux
                                              pron
                                                      sec
                                                                            pn
afo
                   na
                          ota
afo
                   na+F
                          otaa
blow snuff into
                   AUX
                          1EX.O
                   aux
                          pron
```

"They blew snuff into us, when we were blowing snuff into each other."

tiwa

afo

onataminawahamatasa

'The guan sucked the shaman's stone out of his own arm.'

419 *Owa* 

```
o- na- tamina -waha -ma -tasa+F
   owa
                                                    tiwa
                                                            afo
   1SG.O 1SG.S CAUS be good change back again
                                                    2SG.O blow snuff into
   pron vt
                                                    pron
                    oni
obana
o- na.NOM -bana
                    0-
                         ni
1SG.S AUX FUT
                    1SG.S BKG+F
                    prt
"When I have turned back into a person, I will blow snuff into you."
420 Bivo
                             tiwa
                     yama
                                           ama
                                               ti-
                      yama
                             ti-
                                   awa+F
   biyo
                                           ama
   spider monkey
                      thing
                            2SG.S see
                                           SEC
                                                2SG.S
   nf
                      nf
                             vt
                                           sec
                                                prt
"Spider monkey, are you a shaman?"
421 Yama
           owa
                      okare
   yama
           0-
                 awa o-
                            ka
                                 -re
   thing 1SG.S see
                     1SG.S DECL NEG+F
           vt
                      prt
"I am not a shaman."
422 Owa
           me
                  afoafo
                                         tera
                  afo- afo
                                         na -tee -ra+F
   owa
           me
   1SG.O 3PL.S DUP blow snuff into AUX HAB NEG
   pron pron
                  vt
                                         aux
"No one ever initiated me as a shaman."
           , siba
423 Hoo
                            okare
                                                   haro
                                                                tafo
                            o- na ka -re
   hoo
             siba
                                                   haaro
                                                                tafo
            be all right 1SG.S AUX DECL NEG+F
   humph
                                                   that one+F
                                                                Spix's guan
   interj
             vi
                            aux
                                                   dem
                                                                nm
"I am a shaman, guan."
                                          , siba
424 Haa
           Biyo
                          biyo
   haa
          biyo
                          biyo
                                            siba
           spider monkey spider monkey
                                            be all right
   interj nf
                          nf
                                             vi
okere
                         haro
o- na -ke -re
                         haaro
1SG.S AUX DECL+F NEG+F
                         that one+F
'No, "Spider monkey, I am a shaman."
425 Tafo
                 tafo
                                     kakitimatamonaka
                              yama
   tafo
                 tafo
                              yama
                                     ka- iti
                                                     -himata -mona -ka
   Spix's guan Spix's guan thing COMIT take out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                              nf
                 nm
                                      vt
ahi
ahi
then
dem
```

```
Oko
426 Yama
           kakiti
                                            vama
                                                    tiwa
                            o- ka
          ka- iti+M
   vama
                                            yama
                                                    ti-
                                                          awa
   thing COMIT take out
                           1SG.POSS POSS thing
                                                    2SG.S see
   nf
           vt
                            prt
                                            nf
'He sucked it out. "Look at my shaman's stone."
427 Tiwa
           tonahiyaba
                                                haro
                                          ama
          to- na- hiya -haba
CH CAUS be different FUT+F
   tiwa
                                  -haba
                                          ama
                                                haaro
   2SG.O
                                          SEC
                                                that one+F
   pron
                                          sec
                                                dem
"It will turn you into an animal."
428 Yoko
          tinahi
   yoko ti- to- na -hi
   push 2SG.S CH AUX IMP+F
   vt
          aux
"Put it in me."
429 Owa
           tonahiyibe
                          -be
           to- na- hiya
   1SG.O CH CAUS be different IMMED+F
"May it turn me into an animal."
430 Yama
           tafo
                         voko
                               tokane
                                                    Hiva
                                                                tiwiti
   yama
                         yoko
                               to- ka- na+M
                                                    hiya
           tafo
                                                                 ti-
                                                                         witi
   thing Spix's guan push
                               CH COMIT AUX
                                                    come on
                                                                 2SG.POSS nose
           nm
                         vt
                                aux
                                                    interj
                                                                 pn
hoti
hoti
hole
nf
'He put it in the tube. "Here, your nostril."
431 Faya
          afo
                            hine
                                          afo
   faya
          afo
                            hi- na+M
                                          afo
          blow snuff into OC AUX
                                          blow snuff into
   so
                            aux
hinisematamonaka
                                            ahi
hi- to- na -risa -himata -mona -ka
OC away AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                           then
'Then he blew snuff into him. He blew snuff down into him.'
432 Afo
                      hinise
                                                Haa
                                                                            sina
   afo
                     hi- to- na -risa+M
                                                haa
                                                                            sina
   blow snuff into OC away AUX down
                                                 (expression of pleasure)
                                                                            snuff
   vt
                     aux
                                                interj
owa ni
         etoke
                -ke
         eheto
owa ni
1SG to be good DECL+F
pron prt vi
```

'He blew snuff into him. "Haa, the snuff is good."

433 Sina tika sina ti- snuff 2SG.POS nf prt		sinakomaawinesinakoma+Fawinesnuffhurtseem+nfvisec		
"Is your snuff strong?"				
434 <i>Tika</i> ti- ka 2SG.POSS POSS prt "'I guess your snuff isn't	nf	komaraawinekekoma -ra+Fawinehurt NEGseem+Fvisec	-ke DECL+F	
1 guess y our circuit ion (				
435 <i>Oko</i> o- ka 1SG.POSS POSS prt "'He says my snuff isn't	nf	komaramone koma -ra -hamone at hurt NEG REP+F sa vi vt	ti na+M ay AUX	
aux	nf -tasa ng again	koma -ra -hamone hi hurt NEG REP+F wa vi in -mata -be short time IMMED+F	ba tiwa iba tiwa ait 2SG.O nterj pron	<pre>afo afo blow snuff into vt</pre>
"He says my snuff is no	t strong. W	ait, I will blow snuff into you	ı again."'	
437 <i>Afo</i> afo blow snuff int	hinam hi- i	na -makI , afo	w snuff into	<pre>hinamaki hi- na -makI.NOM OC AUX following aux</pre>
ya ati yana ya ati yana ADJU voice star prt pn vi 'He blew snuff into him	ka- t COMIT aux	atamonaka na -himata -mona - AUX FP.N+M REP+M Dien he blew snuff into him aga	ECL+M then dem	rted.'
438 <i>Heh</i> heh (sound of drug	ged pers	, <b>heh</b> heh son) (sound of dru sound	ugged person)	,
heh heh (sound of drugged sound heh heh (sound of drugged		, heh heh (sound of drugged sound , heheh heheh		
sound heheh heheh	person)	(sound of drugged sound ati nematamona ati na -himata -m	biyo	,

bivoteba tohiyateba mati me biyo -tee -ba me to- hiya -tee -haba mati CH be different HAB FUT+F spider monkey HAB FUT 3PL.S 3PL.S pron vi

"Heh, heh, heh, heheh, heheh," he said, the spider monkey. They were turning into animals."

439 *Me* kamarikosara ati me mе me ati me ka -ma -ri -kosa -ra+F me 3PL.POSS voice 3PL.S go/come back DISTR middle NEG 3PL.S pron pron vi pron ng toka kamarini me ka+F t.ome kа -ma -ra -ni go/come back NEG BKG+F away go/come 3PL.S vi vi

vi pron vi '''Most of them came back from various directions. But some of them went and didn't come back.'''<sup>126</sup>

440 Afa wao tonakara me me afa waho me to- naka -ra+F me this+F tree sp 3PL.S away CAUS go/come NEG 3PL.S dem pron pron kamine ha -ma -ne haa go/come back CONT+F DEM dem

"They went after waho fruits and came back."

441 *Me* nowati hinarabikibe ya me hi- na- rabika nowati -he me ya me behind 3PL.O OC CAUS be crazy IMMED+F 3PL.POSS ADJU pron pn prt pron vt

"After they left he will turn them into animals."

442 *Faya* yana tonematamona fahi faya yana to- na -himata -mona fahi so start СН AUX FP.N+M REP+M then conj vi aux dem

'He was ready.'

443 *Owa koro tiferiyahi*owa koro ti- na -fI -ra -yahi
1SG.O throw 2SG.S AUX water NEG DIST.IMP+F
pron vt aux

"Don't throw me in the water."

444 Owa tibarihi ahi
owa ti- iba -rI -hi ahi
1SG.O 2SG.S set down raised surface IMP+F there
pron vt dem
"Set me there."

445 Owa tibarihi
owa ti- iba -rI -hi
1SG.O 2SG.S set down raised surface IMP+F
pron vt
"Set me there."

<sup>126</sup> The tense of this sentence, along with the following two, indicate that they are quotes, but it is unclear who the speaker is.

```
446 Faya
         hibarimise
                                                      fore
   faya hi- to- iba -rI
                                          -misa+M
                                                      forI
            away set down raised surface up
                                                      lie on top
                                                      vi
forehimatamonaka
forI -himata -mona -ka
lie on top FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
'He set him on top of the log, and he lay there.'
447 Fore
                                kanebana
                 ati
                         yana
                                ka- na -hibana
   forI
                 ati
                        yana
                 voice start COMIT AUX FUT+M
   lie on top
                         vi
                                aux
                  pn
'He lay there. He started talking.'
448 Fati
                  kamarawa
   fati
                  ka -ma -rawa+F
   3SG.POSS.wife go/come back F.PL
                                           3PL.S
                  vi
kamarawemetemoneke
ka -ma -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
go/come back F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
'His wives come back.'
449 Ai
                           bato
                                        hife
                                                                   hife
         bato
                  bato
                                 yama
                                               wasino
                                                            yama
                  bato
                                        hife
                                               wasi -hino
                                                                   hife
         hato
                           bato
                                 yama
                                                            yama
   then deer
                           deer thing egg+F find IP.N+M thing egg+F
                  deer
                                 nf
                                                            nf
   dem
         nm
                  nm
                                        pn
                                               vt
                                                                   pn
                           nm
                    , Aki
kakame
                                       aki
             -ma+M
ka- ka
                       aki
                                       aki
COMIT go/come back
                       grandmother grandmother
                       nf
"The deer found an egg, and he brought the egg back. "Grandma."
450 Haa
   haa
   huh?
   interj
""Huh?""
                oko
o- ka
451 Aki
                                      hife
                                             ahi
                                                      aki
                               yama
                               yama
                                      hife
                                             ahi
                                                      aki
   grandmother 1SG.POSS POSS
                              thing egg+F
                                             here
                                                      grandmother
   nf
                                      pn
                prt
                               nf
                                             dem
                                                      nf
tibanahi
                  ahi
ti- ibana -hi
                  ahi
2SG.S roast IMP+F then
"Grandma, my egg here, you roast it."
452 Yama
          hife
                 tibanahi
          hife
                 ti- ibana -hi
   yama
   thing egg+F
                 2SG.S roast IMP+F
   nf
          pn
                 vt
```

"Roast the egg."

```
453 Yama
           hife
                         hife
                                                                hife
                  vama
                                 obanaba
                                                        yama
           hife
                  yama
                         hife
                                 o- ibana -haba
   yama
                                                        yama
   thing
           egg+F
                  thing
                         egg+F
                                 1SG.S roast FUT+F
                                                        thing
                                                               egg+F
   nf
           pn
                  nf
                         pn
obanaba
                   haha
                            aki
                                               tokarawa
o- ibana -haba
                   haaha
                            aki
                                               to- ka
                                                             -rawa+F
                            your grandmother
1SG.S roast FUT+F
                   this+F
                                               away go/come F.PL
vt
                    dem
                            nf
                                               vi
kamarawamatahi
                               -hi
ka -ma -rawa -mata
go/come back F.PL short time IMP+F
```

"I will roast your egg, but let your grandmothers come back first."

454 Himata me ebe nani
himata me ebe na -hani
what? 3PL.S purpose AUX IP.N+F
interrog pron vt aux

"What were they doing?"

455 *Me* tokarani yoa me yome to- ka -hara -ni voha me vome na -habone away qo/come IP.E+F BKG+F tree sp AUX INT+F 3PL.S swallow pron nf pron vt aux

mati

vi

mati 3PL.S pron

"They went into the forest, to eat yoha fruits."

456	Yoa	me	yome	nabo	ne	me	tokara	ni			
	yoha	me	yome	na	-habone	me	to-	ka	-hara	-ni	
	tree sp	3PL.S	swallow	AUX	INT+F	3PL.S	away	go/come	IP.E+F	BKG+F	
	nf	pron	vt	aux		pron	vi				
'"Th	"They went out to eat <i>yoha</i> fruits."										

457 *Faya* yama me hikayawe wine faya yama me hi- kayawa+M wina+M COMIT be upset so thing 3PL.S OC lie in hammock conj nf pron vt

winematamonaka

wina -himata -mona -ka lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vi

'They wouldn't let him go out, so he lay in a hammock.'

458 Wine Aki faya faya wine wina+M wina+M faya faya aki lie in hammock lie in hammock grandmother SO so conj conj vi

'He lay in the hammock. "Grandma."'

459 **Biyo biyoterawaba**biyo biyo -tee -rawa -ba
spider monkey spider monkey HAB F.PL FUT
nf nf

kamarawemetemonekeahika-ma-rawa-hemete-mone-keahigo/comebackF.PLFP.N+FREP+FDECL+Fthenvidem

000

000

(sound of monkeys moving through trees)

sound

'The ones who were turning into spider monkeys came back. "Ooo."

460 Kamarawemetemone neme ya ahi
ka -ma -rawa -hemete -mone neme ya ahi
go/come back F.PL FP.N+F REP+F up ADJU then
vi nf prt dem

'They came back up high.'

461 *Kama* yoa yome narawaro -ma+F ka yoha yome na -rawa -haaro go/come back swallow AUX F.PL IP.E+F tree sp aux toemarika okobi aati -himari -ka ka abi aati to- ha DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M 1SG.POSS POSS father vt allx

'They came back eating yoha fruits, my father used to say.'

462 *Okobi* kakamina hiamaro amake ama -ke ka- kamina hi- to- ha -hamaro abi  $\circ$ ka OC CH AUX FP.E+F DUP tell SEC DECL+F 1SG.POSS POSS father vt. aux sec

bati atimatamonaha

bati ati -mata -mona -ha 3SG.POSS.father voice FP.N+M REP+M DUP nm pn

'My father used to tell about it, what his father said.'

463 Kamarawemetemoneke

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

'They came back.'

464 Kamarawa bofe va amo narawara amo -ma -rawa+F na -rawa+F -ra+F ka bofe ya amo amo go/come back F.PL AUX F.PL NEG ground ADJU sleep sleep prt nf vi aux vi

narawemetemonenemeyana -rawa -hemete -monenemeyaAUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F upADJUauxnfprt

'They came back. They didn't sleep on the ground. They slept up high.'

```
465 Amo
            narawa
                           hahi
                                         me
                                                 hinahiye
            na -rawa+F
                                                 hi- to- na- hiya+M
    amo
                           haahi
                                        me
           AUX F.PL
                                                 OC CH CAUS be different
                                        3PL.S
    sleep
                           this one+M
    vi
            aux
                           dem
                                         pron
                                                 vt
fore
                                                           fore
             tafo
                            afo
                                                hine
                                                                            ati
forI
                            afo
                                                hi- na+M
                                                           forI
                                                                            ati
             tafo
             Spix's quan
                           blow snuff into
                                                OC AUX
                                                           lie on top
                                                                            voice
lie on top
                            vt
                                                aux
                                                           vi
vi
             nm
                                                                            pn
        katafibanoho
ati
ati
        ka- tafi
                        -hiba -no
                                       -ho
voice
        COMIT wake up FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
pn
        vt
They were sleeping. The one who others had changed into an animal was lying on the log. The guan blew
snuff into him, and he was lying there. His voice woke him up.'
466 Okobi
                                okobi
                                                         haha
                                                                     tinahi
    0-
              ka
                    abi
                                          ka
                                                abi
                                                         ha- haa
                                                                     ti-
                                                                            na
                                                                                -hi
    1SG.POSS POSS father
                                1SG.POSS POSS father
                                                         DUP call
                                                                     2SG.S AUX IMP+F
                                nm
                                                         vt
                                                                     aux
"Call my father."
467 Okobi
                             haha
                                         tinahi
                                                            ati
              ka
                    abi
                             ha- haa
                                         ti-
                                               na
                                                    -hi
                                                            ati
    1SG.POSS POSS father
                             DUP call
                                         2SG.S AUX IMP+F
                                                            say
                                         aux
nemetemoneke
                             fahi
na -hemete -mone -ke
                              fahi
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                              then
                              dem
"Call my father," she said.'
468 Iti
                      iti
    iti
                      iti
                      grandfather
    grandfather
    nm
"Grandpa, Grandpa."
469 Bato
              hee
    bato
              hee
    deer
              hey
              interj
"Deer, yes?"
470 Iti
                                            hife
                   oko
                                    yama
                                                    tibanamatahi
    iti
                   0-
                             ka
                                            hife
                                                    ti- ibana -mata
                                    yama
    grandfather
                  1SG.POSS POSS
                                                    2SG.S roast short time IMP+F
                                   thing
                                            egg+F
                                            pn
                                                    vt.
                   prt
                                    nf
"Grandpa, roast my egg."
471 Hiya
                 owa
                         tekawa
                         ti- ka-
                                       kawa
    hiya
                 owa
                 1SG.O
                         2SG.S COMIT give something to
    come on
    interj
                 pron
                         vt
```

"Here, give it to me."

```
472 Yama
           hife
                   ibanebona
                                    hinaka
                   ibana -hibona
                                  hinaka
   yama
           hife
                                               noti
                   roast INT+M
          egg+F
                                    3SG.POSS
   thing
                                              grandson
   nf
           pn
                                    pron
                                  faya
                                         Bivo
hekawe
                                                          bivo
hi- ka-
          kawa+M
                                         bivo
                                  faya
                                                         biyo
OC COMIT give something to
                                         spider monkey
                                                         spider monkey
                                  so
                                         nf
                                                          nf
vt
                                  conj
kamarawini
        -ma -rawa -ni
go/come back F.PL BKG+F
vi
'His grandson gave him the egg so he could roast it. "Have the spider monkeys come back?"
473 Bivo
                    kamarawa
                                            amo
                                                    na -rawa+F
   biyo
                    ka
                             -ma -rawa+F
                                            amo
   spider monkey
                    go/come back F.PL
                                            sleep
                                                    AUX F.PL
   nf
                    νi
                                            vi
                                                    aux
kawarawine
                            haro
             -rawa -ne
                            haaro
COMIT stand F.PL CONT+F
                            that one+F
```

"The spider monkeys are coming back. They are sleeping in the trees."

474	Yama	hife	yama	hife	obanibe		
	yama	hife	yama	hife	0-	ibana	-be
	thing	egg+F	thing	egg+F	1SG.S	roast	IMMED+F
	nf	pn	nf	pn	vt		
'''I w	ill roast tl	ne egg.'''					

#### 475 Tokomakematamonaka

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

aux

'He went there.'

476	Tokom	ake			tokomake					yama	hife
	to-	ka	-makI		to-	ka		-ma	akI	yama	hife
	away	go/come	follow	ing	away	go	/cc	ome fo	llowing	thing	egg+F
	vi				vi					nf	pn
yifob	one		afo	kane			,	yama	hife		
yif	)	-bone	afo	ka-	na-	-M		yama	hife		
fire	ewood	INT+F	light	COMI	T AUX	ζ		thing	egg+F		

ibanematamonaka

ibana -himata -mona -ka roast FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

'He went there. He lit a fire, and roasted the egg.'

vt

477	Yama	hife	ibane		yama	hife	ibanematamona	ahi		
	yama	hife	ibana+M	,	yama	hife	ibana -himata -mona	ahi		
	thing	egg+F	roast		thing	egg+F	roast FP.N+M REP+M	then		
	nf	pn	vt		nf	pn	vt	dem		
'He roasted the egg.'										

nf

pn

478 Biyo ho nemetemoneke ahi
biyo hoo na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
spider monkey snore AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
nf vi aux dem

'The spider monkeys were snoring.'

479 *Bivo* ho ahi ho nemetemoneke na na+F ahi na -hemete -mone -ke bivo hoo hoo AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F spider monkey snore AUX then snore nf vi aux dem vi aux

'The spider monkeys were snoring.'

480 *Me* faya moni yana tonemetemone yama amani yama me faya moni yana to- na -hemete -mone ama -ni 3PL so thing sound start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F pron conj nf pn vi aux sec

'Then there was a noise.'

481 Moni , moni yana tonemetemoneke
moni moni yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke
sound sound start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pn pn vi aux

tooo

tooo

(sound of explosion)

sound

'There was a noise, tooo.'

482 *Ee* ati ahi bivo narawemetemoneke na -rawa -hemete -mone -ke biyo ati ahi 99 AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F spider monkey say then (crying out) interj vt nf dem aux

"Ee," the spider monkeys said."

483 Kiya kawaharawemetemoneni

kiya ka- na -waha -rawa -hemete -mone -ni yell COMIT AUX change F.PL FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F vi aux

'They cried out.'

484 *Kiva* kawaharawa ati hahani toemari ama kiya ka- na -waha -rawa+F ati haahaani to- ha -himari ama COMIT AUX change F.PL voice be funny CH AUX FP.E+M SEC yell vi vi aux pn aux sec

Boniwa

Boniwa

(man's name)

npropm

'They cried out. What Boniwa said was funny.'

485 *Noki* hatihemete awineke ahi -hemete noki hati awine -ke ahi be burnt FP.N+F face+F seem+F DECL+F then pn 77 i sec dem

"Their faces were burned."

486	Mi	nara	narawemetemoneke					biyorawabana		
	mii	na	-rawa	-hemete	-mone	-ke	ahi	biyo	-rawa	-bana
	defecate	AUX	F.PL	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then	spider monkey	F.PL	FUT
	vi	aux					dem	nf		

'They defecated, the ones who became spider monkeys.'

487	Nafi	hatirawa		rama	ahi
	nafi	hati	-rawa+F	rama	ahi
	all	be burnt	F.PL	unusual	then
	pn	vi		prt	dem

'They were all burned.'

488 Tokomarawemete awineke ahi fara yoa -ma -rawa -hemete awine -ke to- ka ahi fara yoha away go/come back F.PL FP.N+F seem+F DECL+F there same+F tree sp sec dem dem nf

yomenarawiyayomena -rawa.NOM+FyaswallowAUX F.PLADJUvtauxprt

'They went back to where they had eaten yoha fruits.'

489 *Hima* hine me tokomake -ma -ke hima hine me to- ka let's go only 3PL.S away go/come back DECL+F pron interi pron vi

"Come on, let them go."

490 *Hahi* afo hine yana me fore afo hi- na+M haahi me forI yana this one+M 3PL.S blow snuff into OC AUX lie on top start pron vt vi dem aux

tonematamonakaahito- na -himata -mona -kaahiCH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+Mthenauxdem

'The one who they had blown snuff into and who was lying there was ready to leave.'

491 *Tafo* afo tafo hine kana tafo afo hi- na+M kana na.NFIN Spix's quan Spix's quan blow snuff into OC AUX nm aux vi aux

kisamematamonaka

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

'The one who the guan had blown snuff into came down from the log fast.'

492 *Kana* kisame na.NFIN -risa -ma+M kana ka tafo fata go/come down back AUX Spix's guan push run vi 77 i vt aux nm

towitimatamonaka

to- na -witI -himata -mona -ka away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux

'He came down from the log fast, and pushed the guan away.'

```
fata
493 Tafo
                         towiti
                                                     ni
    tafo
                  fata
                         to-
                               na -witI+M
                                              kana
                                                     na.NFIN
    Spix's quan
                  push
                         away AUX out
                                              run
                                                     AUX
                  vt
                                              vi
                                                     aux
    nm
                         aux
                                              ya
tokematamona
                               bofe
                                         ka
                                                     ahi
                                                     ahi
to- ka
              -himata -mona
                               bofe
                                        ka
                                              ya
                               ground
away go/come FP.N+M REP+M
                                        LOC
                                              ADJU
                                                     then
                                        prt
vi
                               nf
                                              prt
                                                     dem
```

'He pushed the guan away, and went running into the forest, on the ground.'

```
494 Kana
                     tokomisamake
                                                      fara
                                                               fati
          ni
          na.NFIN
                     to- ka
                                                      fara
                                                               fati
    kana
                                   -misa -makI
                                                      same+F
                                                               3SG.POSS.wife
    run
          AUX
                     away go/come up
                                          following
    vi
          aux
                     vi
                                                      dem
                                                               nf
tokomarawi
                                         tokomake
                                                                       Oof
                                  ya
to- ka
              -ma
                   -rawa.NOM+F
                                  ya
                                         to- ka
                                                        -makI
                                                                       oof
away go/come back F.PL
                                  ADJU
                                         away go/come following
                                                                       hoo
                                         vi
                                                                       interj
                                  prt
afo
                                        fata
                                               towiti
                   one
                                owa
                                                                      ne
afo
                   0-
                         na+M
                                        fata
                                               to-
                                                        -witI.LIST
                                owa
                                                    na
                                                                      na+M
blow snuff into
                   1SG.S AUX
                                1SG.O
                                        push
                                               away AUX out
                                                                      AUX
                                        vt
                   aux
                                pron
                                               aux
                                                                       aux
```

'He went up into the trees. He went to where his wives had gone. "Well, I blew snuff into him and he pushed me away."

495	Owa	fata	towiti			tokomakeka				
	owa	fata	to-	na	-witI+M	to-	ka	-makI	-ka	
	1SG.0	push	away	AUX	out	away	go/come	following	DECL+M	
	pron	77	aux			77 i				

"He pushed me away and went to the others."

496	<i>Faya</i> faya	,	<i>Himata</i> himata	<i>nima</i> nima	,	<i>himata</i> himata	<i>nima</i> nima	me me	<i>naba</i> na -haba	<i>me</i> me
	so		what?	like		what?	like	3PL.S	AUX FUT+F	3PL.S
	conj		interrog	prt		interrog	prt	pron	aux	pron
ama	ri	?								

ama -ri

SEC CQ+F

sec

"What are they going to be like?"

497	Me	e	kabatebanake						
	me	ee	kaba	-tee	-habana	-ke			
	3PL.O	1IN.S	eat	HAB	FUT+F	DECL+F			
	pron	pron	vt						
"We	e will eat t	hem.'''							

```
498 Me
                    kabatebanani
           e
                    kaba -tee -habana -ni
   me
            ee
                    eat HAB FUT+F
    3PL.O
           1IN.S
   pron
           pron
                    vt
"We will eat them."
```

kabatebanake

499 *Me* 

```
e
ee
                 kaba -tee -habana -ke
   me
                                            bisa
   3PL.O 1IN.S
                 eat HAB FUT+F DECL+F
                                           also
   pron pron
                  vt
"We will eat them."
                              yana
500 Fava
                                                  owati
         ati
                 bato
                       ati
                                     tone
                                     to- na+M ,
                             yana
                                                  o- ati
         ati
                bato
                      ati
   faya
   so
         voice deer voice start CH AUX
                                                  1SG.POSS voice
                       pn
                           vi
                nm
                                     aux
                                                  pn
   conj pn
owati
                fiya
                                          ninihi
                          tone
                          to- na -ne
                                          na.NOM+F -ni -hi
         ati
                fiya
1SG.POSS voice be wrong CH AUX CONT+F AUX
                                               IP.N+F DUP
                vi
pn
                          aux
                                           aux
                               towemarine
                      aati
0-
         ka
             abi
                      a- ati
                              to- ha -himari -ne
                      DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M
1SG.POSS POSS father
                      vt
                               aux
'The deer spoke, my father used to say. I was wrong.'
501 Aki
                   aki
   aki
                   aki
   grandmother
                   grandmother
"Grandma, Grandma."
502 Haa
   haa
   huh?
   interj
"'Huh?"'
503 Yama
                  tibanahi
          hife
                  ti- ibana -hi
          hife
   yama
                  2SG.S roast IMP+F
   thing egg+F
   nf
          pn
                  vt
"Roast the egg."
504 Iti
                         haha
                                    tinahi
                                                     iti
                                    ti- na -hi
   iti
                         ha- haa
                                                     iti
   2SG.POSS grandfather
                         DUP call
                                    2SG.S AUX IMP+F
                                                     2SG.POSS grandfather
                         vt
                                    aux
yokana
           bato
yokana
          bato
true
          deer
          nm
"Call your grandfather, not me, deer."
505 Iti
                   iti
   iti
                   iti
                   grandfather
   grandfather
   nm
"Grandpa, Grandpa."
```

```
506 Hee
   hee
   hev
   interj
"Yes?"
507 Iti
                                  yama
                  oko
                                          hife
                                                  tibanamatahi
                                          hife
                                                  ti- ibana -mata
   iti
                  0-
                           ka
                                  yama
                                                                            -hi
   grandfather
                  1SG.POSS POSS
                                  thing
                                          egg+F
                                                  2SG.S roast short time IMP+F
                  prt
                                   nf
                                          pn
                                                  vt
"Grandpa, roast my egg."
508 Yama
           yama
                   hife
                                      yama
                                              hife
                                                      yama
                                                              hife
                              yama
   yama
           yama
                   hife
                                                      yama
                              yama
                                      yama
                                              hife
                                                             hife
   thing
           thing
                   egg+F
                              thing
                                      thing
                                              egg+F
                                                      thing
                                                              egg+F
   nf
           nf
                   pn
                              nf
                                      nf
                                              pn
                                                      nf
                                                              pn
o- ibana -hene
1SG.S roast IRR+F
"I can't roast the egg."
509 Aki
                       aki
                                           aki
                       aki
   aki
                       your grandmother
   your grandmother
                                           your grandmother
                       nf
                                           nf
kamarawamatahi
ka -ma -rawa -mata
                                 -hi
go/come back F.PL short time IMP+F
"Wait while your grandmothers come back."
510 Yama
           hife
                   obanene
           hife
                        ibana -hene
   yama
                   0-
                   1SG.S roast IRR+F
    thing
           egg+F
           pn
                   vt
"I can't roast the egg."
511 Aki
                       kamarawamatahi
                                                                   bato
                                                                          ayaki
                           -ma -rawa -mata
                                                        -hi
                                                                   bato
                                                                          ayaka.NFIN
   your grandmother
                       go/come back F.PL short time IMP+F
                                                                    deer
                                                                          sing
                       vi
ati
     nematamonaka
ati
    na -himata -mona -ka
say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
     aux
"Let your grandmothers come back," the deer sang.'
512 Bato
                                   Biyoterawaba
          ayaka
                  hiri
                                                  -tee -rawa -ba
                  hiri
                                   biyo
   bato
          ayaka
                         na+M
                  say
                                   spider monkey HAB F.PL FUT
   deer
          song
                         AUX
   nm
                  vt
                         aux
                                   nf
biyoterawaba
                                    kamarawa
                                                            haro
               -tee -rawa -ba
                                    ka
                                             -ma -rawa+F
                                                            haaro
spider monkey HAB F.PL FUT
                                    go/come back F.PL
                                                            that one+F
                                    vi
'The deer was singing. "The ones who are becoming female spider monkeys are coming back."
```

513 Biyoterawaba kamarawa haro
biyo -tee -rawa -ba ka -ma -rawa+F haaro
spider monkey HAB F.PL FUT go/come back F.PL that one+F
nf vi dem

"The ones who are becoming spider monkeys are coming back."

514 Amo narawa kawarawa haro amo na -rawa+F ka- waa haaro -rawa+F sleep AUX F.PL COMIT stand F.PL that one+F vi aux dem vi

"They are sleeping in the trees."

515 *Amo* narawa kawarawa haro ati ati na -rawa+F ka- waa -rawa+F haaro amo COMIT stand F.PL sleep AUX F.PL that one+F say vi aux vi dem vt

nematamona

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

"They are sleeping in the trees," he said."

516 Ayaka hiri ne avaki kawine avaka hiri ne ayaka.NFIN ka- wina+M ayaka hiri na+M ayaka hiri na+M say sing COMIT lie in hammock sona AUX sona say AUX nf vt aux vi vi nf vt aux

ayakikawinematamonakaahiayaka.NFINka-wina-himata -mona -kaahisingCOMIT lie in hammockFP.N+MREP+MDECL+Mthenvividem

'He was singing a song as he was in the hammock.'

517 *Aki* oko yama hife oko yama hife 0ka yama hife 0ka yama hife grandmother 1SG.POSS POSS thing egg+F 1SG.POSS POSS thing egg+F nf prt nf pn prt nf pn "Grandma, my egg."

518 Hibareya mata

hibareya mata wait for now interj prt

"Wait a minute."

519 **Okaki** amo narawini o- ka aki amo na -ra

o- ka aki amo na -rawa -ni 1SG.S POSS grandmother sleep AUX F.PL BKG+F nf vi aux

"My grandmothers are sleeping."

520 Amo narawini

amo na -rawa -ni sleep AUX F.PL BKG+F vi aux

"They are sleeping."

521 *Amo* 

amo

sleep vi

"They are sleeping."

narawini

aux

na -rawa -ni AUX F.PL BKG+F

```
522 Amo
            narawini
    amo
            na -rawa -ni
    sleep
            AUX F.PL BKG+F
    vi
            aux
"They are sleeping."
523 Biyoterawaba
                                              narawini
                                      amo
    biyo
                   -tee -rawa -ba
                                      amo
                                              na -rawa -ni
    spider monkey HAB F.PL FUT
                                              AUX F.PL BKG+F
                                      sleep
    nf
                                      vi
                                              aux
"The ones who are becoming spider monkeys are sleeping."
524 Biyoterawaba
                                      amo
                                              narawini
    biyo
                    -tee -rawa -ba
                                      amo
                                              na -rawa -ni
    spider monkey HAB F.PL FUT
                                      sleep
                                              AUX F.PL BKG+F
"The ones who are becoming spider monkeys are sleeping."
525 Amo
            narawini
            na -rawa -ni
    amo
    sleep
            AUX F.PL BKG+F
            aux
"They are sleeping."
526 Amo
            narawini
            na -rawa -ni
    amo
            AUX F.PL BKG+F
    sleep
    νi
            aux
"They are sleeping."
527 Faya
           ayaka
                   hiri
                          ne
                                 wine
                                                      Iti
                                                                        iti
    faya
           ayaka
                   hiri
                          na+M
                                wina+M
                                                      iti
                                                                        iti
           song
                   say
                          AUX
                                 lie in hammock
                                                      grandfather
                                                                        grandfather
    conj
           nf
                   vt
                          aux
                                 vi
                                                      nm
oko
                 yama
                         hife
                                 tibanahi
          ka
                 yama
                         hife
                                 ti- ibana -hi
                                 2SG.S roast IMP+F
1SG.POSS POSS
                 thing
                         egg+F
                 nf
                         pn
                                 vt
'He was singing the song as he lay in the hammock. "Grandpa, roast my egg."
528 Hom
                                                                hifeba
                                       oko
                                                        yama
    hom
                                                                hife
                                                ka
                                                        yama
                                       0-
    (expression of discomfort)
                                      1SG.POSS POSS
                                                        thing
                                                                egg+F FUT
                                      prt
                                                        nf
    interj
                                                                pn
tibanahi
                     one
                                               oke
ti-
     ibana -hi
                     ati o-
                                na -ne
                                               0-
                                                      ke
2SG.S roast IMP+F
                     say 1SG.S AUX CONT+F
                                               1SG.S DECL+F
                     vt
"Hom, I'm asking you to roast my egg."
```

529 *Aki* aki aki te aki aki tee aki vour grandmother your grandmother your grandmother 2PL nf nf pron nf kamarawamatahi bivo -hi -ma -rawa -mata bivo go/come back F.PL short time IMP+F spider monkey vi nf biyoterawabana

-tee -rawa -bana biyo spider monkey HAB F.PL FUT nf

"Let your grandmothers come back, the spider monkeys, the ones who are becoming spider monkeys."

530 *Haha* ni kamarawini haahaa na.NFIN ka -ma -rawa -ni laugh AUX go/come back F.PL BKG+F vi aux vi

"They are coming back laughing."

531 *Haha* ni kamarawini na.NFIN ka -ma -rawa -ni haahaa AUX go/come back F.PL BKG+F laugh aux vi

"They are coming back laughing."

532 *Haha* ni kamarawini na.NFIN ka -ma -rawa -ni haahaa go/come back F.PL BKG+F laugh XIIA vi aux

"They are coming back laughing."

533 *Haha* ni kamarawini -ma -rawa -ni haahaa na.NFIN ka go/come back F.PL BKG+F laugh AUX aux vi

biyoterawabana biyoterawabana bato ati biyo -tee -rawa -bana biyo -tee -rawa -bana bato ati spider monkey HAB F.PL FUT spider monkey HAB F.PL FUT deer say nf vt

nematamona

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

"They are coming back laughing, the ones who are becoming spider monkeys," the deer said."

534 *Bato* ayaka hiri ahi ne ayaki bato hiri na+M ayaka.NFIN ayaka ahi deer song say AUX then sing vt dem vi nf aux kawinematamonaka

kawina -himata -mona -ka COMIT lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

'The deer was singing the song. He was singing as he lay in the hammock.'

535 *Bato* avaki kawine bivo va bato ayaka.NFIN ka- wina.NOM+M ya bivo COMIT lie in hammock ADJU deer sing spider monkey nm vi vi prt nf kamarawa Okanoti amo nahi te ka -ma -rawa+F ka noti 0tee amo na -hi 1SG.POSS POSS grandson go/come back F.PL 2PL.S sleep AUX IMP+F vi vi pron aux ahi ahi t.hen dem

'When the deer was singing in the hammock, the spider monkeys came back. "Grandchildren, go to sleep."

### 536 Biyoterawaba

#### kamarawini

biyo -tee -rawa -ba ka -ma -rawa -ni spider monkey HAB F.PL FUT go/come back F.PL BKG+F vi

"The ones who were turning into spider monkeys came back."

### 537 Kamarawini

-ma -rawa -ni go/come back F.PL BKG+F

"They came back."

#### 538 Kamarawini

ka -ma -rawa -ni go/come back F.PL BKG+F vi

"They came back."

# 539 Kamarawini

ati ka -ma -rawa -ni ati na -himata -mona go/come back F.PL BKG+F AUX FP.N+M REP+M say vt aux

"They came back," he said."

#### 540 *Iti* ota amo namateva

iti otaa amo na -mate grandfather 1EX.S sleep AUX short time.IMP+F now pron vi aux

"Grandpa, we are going to sleep."

#### 541 *Ota* amo namateya

otaa amo na -mate 1EX.S sleep AUX short time.IMP+F now pron vi aux

"We are going to sleep."

542		amo	na	one				oni	
	tee	amo	na+F	ati	0-	na	-ne	0-	ni
	2PL.S	sleep	AUX	say	1SG.S	AUX	CONT+F	1SG.S	BKG+F
	pron	vi	aux	vt				prt	
"Yo	u sleep."'								

'''Yo	tee 2PL.S pron u sleep."	vi	-	ati o- say 1SG.	_	_	oni o- 1SG.S prt	ni BKG+F
5/1/1	Fava	mo	amo	namatamon	,	fal	i ma	Sar

nemetemone sari 544 *Faya* amo me amo na -hemete -mone fahi me sari faya so 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F then 3PL.O burn conj pron pron vi aux dem vt

hikanabanihi

hi- ka- na -haba -ni -hi OC COMIT AUX FUT+F IP.N+F DUP aux

'They slept. Later he burned them.'

545 *Owati*o- ati fiya tonanike
co- na -hani -ke
1SG.POSS voice pass CH AUX IP.N+F DECL+F
pn vt aux

'What I said was wrong.'

546	Me	, me	sari	hikar	nabani				me		amo
	me	me	sari	hi-	ka-	na	-haba	-ni	me	,	amo
	3PL	3PL.O	burn	OC	COMIT	AUX	FUT+F	IP.N+	F 3PL.S		sleep
	pron	pron	vt	aux					pron		vi
narawemetemoneke				tan	ıi		hiri	hirawaharo			
na	-rawa	-hemete	-mone	-ke	ta	ni		hiri	hi- na	-rawa	a -haar

na -rawa -hemete -mone -ke tani hiri hi- na -rawa -haaro AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F song about say OC AUX F.PL IP.E+F aux pn vt aux

'He was going to burn them, and they slept when he sang the song about them.'

547 Biyoterawabana
biyo -tee -rawa -bana biyo -tee -rawa -bana
spider monkey HAB F.PL FUT spider monkey HAB F.PL FUT
nf nf

biyoterawabanabiyoterawabanaatibiyo-tee -rawa -banabiyo-tee -rawa -banaatispider monkey HABF.PLFUTspider monkey HABF.PLFUTsaynfnfvt

nematamona

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

"The ones who are turning into spider monkeys," he said.'

548	Faya	ayaka	hiri	nematamona			
	faya	ayaka	hiri	na	-himata	-mona	
	so	song	say	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	
	conj	nf	vt	aux			
•							

'He sang the song.'

549	Iti	iti	kekerewe	rima	tinahi		
	iti	iti	ke- kerewe	na -rima	ti- na -hi		
	grandfather	grandfather	DUP be slow	AUX NEG.IMP+F	2SG.S AUX IMP+F		
	nm	nm	vi	aux	aux		

"Grandpa, don't take a long time."

550 Kekerewe rima tinahi

ke- kerewe na -rima ti- na -hi

DUP be slow AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F

vi aux aux

"Don't take a long time."

551 **Yifo afo tikanahi**yifo afo ti- ka- na -hi

fire light 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMP+F nf vt aux

ni vi au

"Light the fire."

552 Hatirawibana amani
hati -rawa.NOM+F -bana ama -ni
be burnt F.PL FUT be BKG+F
vi vc

"They will get burnt."

553 Hatirawibana amani

hati -rawa.NOM+F -bana ama -ni be burnt F.PL FUT be BKG+F vi

"They will get burnt."

, yifo afo Hiba 554 *Yifo* kane afo yifo afo ka- na+M yifo hiba afo fire light COMIT AUX wait fire light nf vt. nf interj aux

okomate

o- ka- na -mate 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time.IMP+F

'He lit the fire. "Wait, I will light the fire right away."

555 Yifo afo kanematamonaka

yifo afo ka- na -himata -mona -ka fire light COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M nf vt aux

'He lit the fire.'

, yifo 556 *Yifo* afo kane afo kane yifo ka- na+M afo ka- na+M afo ehene fire light COMIT AUX fire light COMIT AUX deed+M nf vt aux nf vt aux

hiyabisarebanoho be hatihibana

hiya -bisa -ra -hiba -no -ho behe hati -hibana be bad also NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP crotch be burnt FUT+M vi pn vi

'He lit the fire. Then he did something bad, and his crotch got burnt.'

557 Yama hife ibaniha tere tonikima ibana -ha yama hife tere to- na -kima na+M rama egg+F CH AUX two thing roast forgetting crawl AUX unusual pn vt vi aux aux

'He forgot that he was roasting the egg, and he sat with his legs spread.'

558 **Be** hatimatamona be wawarara behe hati -himata -mona behe wa- waa -ra -ra DUP be located NEG DUP be burnt FP.N+M REP+M crotch crotch vi vi pn nati na.CONT+M -tee.NOM AUX HAB aux 'His crotch is naked because his crotch got burnt.' 559 *Be* kone watatere amaka bato kone ama -ka behe wata -tee -ra+M bato hair exist HAB NEG SEC DECL+M crotch deer pn pn 77 i sec nm 'The crotch of a deer doesn't have any hair.' 560 *Bato* yama hife ibane hife wayawaya yama bato yama hife ibana+M yama hife waya- waya kana deer thing egg+F roast thing egg+F DUP fan COMIT AUX nf pn vt aux pn nematamonaka ahi na -himata -mona -ka ahi AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 'The deer roasted the egg, fanning it.' 561 *Bivo* sari hikarawa yama tao hi- kana -rawa+F biyo tao sari yama spider monkey OC COMIT AUX F.PL thing burn explode nf vt nf vt aux hikarawemetemoneke tooo hi- ka- na -rawa -hemete -mone -ke tooo OC COMIT AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F (sound of explosion) sound 'It exploded on the spider monkeys, burning them.' 562 *Ee* bato vora ee ee ee ee bato yora (crying out) (crying out) (crying out) deer jump interj interj interj kamisabise yora kawaharematamona ka- na -misa -bisa+M yora ka- na -waharI -himata -mona COMIT AUX up also jump COMIT AUX all over FP.N+M REP+M vi aux "Ee, ee, ee." The deer also jumped up and jumped all over.'

563	Foro	kawaha	remata	ahi ,	tene					
	foro	ka-	na	-wah	narI	-himata	-mona -ka	-ka	ahi	tenehe
	fall	COMIT	AUX	all	over	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	then	scrotum
	vi	aux							dem	pn

hatihari ahi
hati -haari ahi
be burnt IP.E+M then
vi dem

'He kept hitting the ground, because his scrotum was burnt.'

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564 Sowiri
            hatimatamonane
            hati -himata -mona -ne
    sowiri
            be burnt FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
    penis
   pn
            vi
'His penis was burnt.'
          yora
565 Fava
                 kawahare
                                          kana
                                                 ni
                ka- na -waharI
                                                 na.NFIN
    faya
          yora
                                          kana
    so
          jump
                COMIT AUX all over
                                          run
                                                 AUX
          vi
                 aux
                                          vi
                                                 aux
    conj
tokematamonaka
                                      bisa
                                             ahi
                                             ahi
to- ka
              -himata -mona -ka
                                      bisa
away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                             then
                                     also
                                      prt
                                             dem
vi
'He jumped all around, and went running away.'
566 Totohiya
                            kerewe
                                      remetemone
                                                                           bato
    to- to- hiya
                            kerewe
                                      na -ra -hemete -mone
                                                               ama -ni
                                                                           bat.o
    DUP CH be different
                            be slow
                                      AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F
                                                               SEC BKG+F
                                                                           deer
                            vi
                                      aux
                                                               sec
karo
karo
which
prt
'He turned into a deer right away.'
567 Wiso
                    tokematamonaka
          ni
                                                           wisivo
          na.NFIN to- ka -himata -mona -ka
   wiso
                                                           wisivo
   blow AUX
                    away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                                           (sound of deer blowing)
    vi
          allx
                    77 i
                                                           sound
                     baoo
baoo
                                           baoo
baoo
                                           baoo
                     baoo
(sound of running)
                      (sound of running)
                                           (sound of running)
sound
                     sound
                                           sound
baoo
baoo
(sound of running)
'He went running away blowing, wisiyo, baoo, baoo, baoo.'
568 Faya
          biyo
                           tohiyarawa
                                                                  sari
                                                          me
    faya
          biyo
                           to- hiya
                                             -rawa+F
                                                          me
                                                                  sari
    so
          spider monkey CH be different F.PL
                                                          3PL.0
                                                                  burn
    conj
                           vi
                                                          pron
                                                                  vt
hikarawa
                         tokomarawa
                                                          faya
hi- ka-
          na -rawa+F
                        to- ka
                                       -ma -rawa+F
                                                          faya
OC COMIT AUX F.PL
                         away go/come back F.PL
                                                          so
                                                          conj
tokomarawemetemone
```

'The ones who had turned into spider monkeys, when they got burnt, went away.'

-ma -rawa -hemete -mone

away go/come back F.PL FP.N+F REP+F

to- ka

569 Tokomarawa kamarawaremetemoneke

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

yoa fara me ka kawi ya yoha ka kawaa.NOM+F fara me va same+F 3PL POSS tree sp COMIT stand ADJU dem pron prt nf vi prt

'They went away to where their yoha tree with fruits was, and they didn't come back.'

570 Awa boni me yome nineti
awa boni me yome na -ne -tee.NOM
tree fruit+F 3PL.S swallow AUX CONT+F HAB

nf pn pron vt aux

'They eat fruits of trees.'

571 *Yome* hira ama haro waho ha yome hi- na -ra+F ama haaro waho haa swallow OC AUX NEG SEC that one+F tree sp DEM aux sec dem nf dem

'They eat waho fruits.'

572 Wao yome na awineke
waho yome na+F awine -ke
tree sp swallow AUX seem+F DECL+F
nf vt aux sec

'They eat waho fruits.'

573 *Wao* watahamaro ahi yome nineke na -ne wata -hamaro -ke ahi waho yome tree sp stand FP.E+F swallow AUX CONT+F DECL+F there vi vt aux dem

'They eat waho fruits that are at another place.'

574 Hima , faya ama hima faya ama let's go enough be interj adj vc

'Let's go, is that enough?'