Free Translation

They had a feast. They wanted to have a dance. They started the dance. When they were having the dance, old Yome Aki came to them. She came and woke up the one who she said was her daughter. It was not really her mother who woke her up. Her real mother was sleeping in her hammock.

"Naha, Naha, you go out to the festa and dance with the others. Wake up. I am going to take care of my grandsons," she said. She said she was going to take care of her grandsons. "I am going to take care of my grandsons. Give me the boys' slings. If they cry, I will put the child in the sling," she said. "Give me the sling for the big child, so I can carry him in it," she said. [Naha went out to the dance, leaving her two boys with old Yome Aki, who she thought was her mother.]

Yome Aki was in her hammock taking care of the children, and then she disappeared. She took the children away.

Naha's younger sister's son went outside the house to urinate. He went on the trail. He went and urinated, and as he was standing there, he heard a baby crying in the distance. His crying stopped.

"A baby is crying."

He came back.

"Whose baby is crying? There is a baby crying out there."

"My mother is taking care of my sons, in her hammock," she said, as she came from the dance.

She came. "Mother, Mother, where are my sons that you are taking care of?"

"She is saying she gave my grandsons to me [i.e., no one gave the children to me]."

"My sons, my sons." Their mother cried. She wanted to go after them, but they pushed the canoe away so she couldn't go. There was no canoe.

They had gone in a canoe. They were rowing, taking the children. One of the boys was small, but the other was big. She took them.

Their mother was crying. She stopped crying. They wanted to start the dance again. They started dancing, and went until morning.

The children were gone. They didn't come back. Old Yome Aki had taken them, and they stayed there. When they grew big, they planned to eat them. They were planning to kill them. They scratched them with their fingernails, like this. They scratched them, and their blood dripped into a small bowl, this size. They drank the blood that dripped out all over them, their feet, their legs, their heads. They always scratched them.

They decided to eat them. They were ready. "You kill them. Let's eat them."

"They found them," they said.

Their mother's brother came upstream and found them, and took them away. He took them back. He cut down trees for his father's garden.

When they came back and they saw them, there was a piece of wood in the hair of one of them. They felt their heads and found the pieces of wood. Old Yome Aki, their grandfather, found the pieces of wood. He found a piece of wood. Their mother's group had found them. The old Yome Aki woman lit a torch and they looked at the piece of wood.

"Kill them," he said. "I'm going to go get some woolly monkeys to eat with them. I'm going to kill some woolly monkeys with my blowgun," he said.

"I will kill them," she said.

"Save the liver of the child I raised."

"You will eat the liver of the child you raised."

The old Yome Aki man got up early. He got up early and went out and killed some woolly monkeys with his blowgun. He killing woolly monkeys.

The uncle that had found his nephews came upstream. He came upstream, and stood there. His nephews didn't want to go to him as he stood there. He stood there and watched them. The old Yome Aki woman tried to hit them with a stick.

"You missed! She is fierce!"

She tried to hit them with a stick, to kill them. They jumped away. "Grandma, come here." "You carry big baskets to carry *mato* fruits in."

They went off carrying the baskets. As they went, she circled around ahead of them to kill them. She kept after them, but they ran away, and she kept missing them.

They went on, and they stripped off some inner bark to make a strap to hold their feet together. They measured the tree, and went to get *mato* fruits. They started out to get *mato* fruits.

She was after them all the time. She went after them.

"Run away!"

One of them ran away. He ran away, and jumped up in a tree. She hit at him with the stick, but only hit the tree, teo.

"You missed!"

She went after his older brother, but he ran away. He came back running. He quickly put his feet in the strap of inner bark and jumped up into the tree, too. She came running, and hit the tree, teo.

"You missed! She is fierce!"

The two of them went up in the tree. They broke off branches with *mato* fruits on them. They had *tamiyara* inner bark in their hands, and they tied green *mato* fruits with branches together, with the strips of inner bark. When they finished tying the green *mato* fruits together, "Grandma, Grandma."

"What?"

"Grandmother, the taha sweat bees are bothering our eyes. Sing 'taha kefo'."

So she sang. She sang, "Ta kefo, ta kefo."

As she sang "Ta kefo," he dropped the *mato* fruits on her.

"Grandma, jump around! Jump around! Sing 'ta kefo'. Wait, the bees are bothering my

eyes." "Taha kefo, taha kefo," she sang. As she stood singing, the *mato* fruits dropped. The *mato* fruits missed her.

"You missed!" she said.

"He missed my grandmother."

"He almost hit me."

"He didn't see where my grandmother is standing. Grandma, stand a little over this way. Stand over here where it's clear. Jump around. Sing, 'Taha kefo'."

So she stood over this way, and his older brother hit her with the *mato* fruits. Their uncle was also standing nearby, watching them. The *mato* fruits dropped. Old Yome Aki was singing, and the *mato* fruits hit her.

"Ouch," she said. She yelled.

Their uncle darted out and hit her with a stick.

"Come on, she is dead. Let the *mato* fruits be on the tree. Come on, you two go on ahead."

He tied her up. He tied her with her legs around her head. He put her legs around her head. With her legs around her head, he put her on his back. Her old vagina was wide open as he carried her.

He took her. When they arrived at the house, he threw her down. He split some firewood. When he was done splitting firewood, he cut her up. He put her liver in a pot, and roasted her body on a rack. He cooked her. She was cooked, and she boiled.

He looked at the sun. The sun was getting low. After he looked at the sun, he broke the ceramic pot, and took the pieces away. He put pieces of the broken pot in slits in the ends of sticks, and stuck the sticks in the ground. These were to become the first acouchy and the first caracara hawk. He stuck the sticks with the pieces of ceramic pot in the ground.

He came back, and rolled string for a hammock from inner bark. [This is done by twisting the fibers of inner bark together by rolling with the palm on the thigh.] He put her old vagina on himself, and also put on her breasts. He looked just like her. He sang like a woman, while rolling string for a hammock.

The caracara hawk began calling, "Katatata. He came back, he came." The caracara was complaining. The piece of ceramic pot was a caracara hawk. He rolled string for a hammock. When old Yome Aki came back, the caracara hawk started up, "Kata kata. He came, he came."

When he came back, the acouchi yelled out, "Kwe kwe." He was carrying woolly monkeys on his back, which he had killed with his blowgun. He came and set them down in the brush near the house.

He came into the house. His "wife" was singing, in her hammock, swinging back and forth. She was rolling string for a hammock.

"Whew, well? Did you kill them?"

"Yes, I killed them," she said.

"Did you eat his liver?"

"I ate his liver. I ate the liver of the one I raised. The liver of the one you raised is in the pot there."

"Where is the starch to eat with it?"

"There is manioc mash there in the pot."

He slid the pot of manioc mash toward himself, and he picked up his own wife's liver. He put a big piece of her liver in his mouth. He bit down on it. He swallowed it, he was hungry. He swallowed it, and put a bunch of manioc mash in his mouth right away. He really ate, because he was hungry. He bit right into her gall bladder. When he bit into her gall bladder, he said, "Aha." He jumped around.

She was in her hammock rolling string, and she, who was really the disguised uncle of the boys, quick grabbed a stick. He hit the old man with the stick.

His grandchildren cried. "My grandfather, my grandfather."

"You are crying, but you are all scratched. Let him die." The uncle scolded them because they were crying because of their grandfather.

They had roasted her and she lay on the rack.

"Go get his woolly monkeys. Let's go home, so we can eat his woolly monkeys. You two carry his blowgun, too. Let's go home."

They went. They carried the woolly monkeys as they went. They went and got in the canoe and went downstream. They also put Brazil nuts in a basket.

"My grandfather didn't give good food. Now we are eating the thing they always said was

bitter. [Yome Aki had not let the boys eat good food, claiming that it was bitter.] Come on, let's eat it."

They went and got in and went upstream and arrived back to their father. They arrived and they took the woolly monkeys.

"Here, prepare the woolly monkeys. They are not going to be eaten anymore. [They didn't know how to hunt.] They will be eaten now."

So they ate the woolly monkeys. They burned the old Yome Aki woman. Their ashes are the *karayati* flies of today, that drink our blood, the ashes of old Yome Aki. They burned her. Then they stayed with their father, and got fat.

Interlinear Presentation

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1 Me mari nemetemoneke

me mari na -hemete -mone -ke

3PL.S feast AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

pron vi aux
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'They had a feast.'

2	<i>Me</i> me 3PL.S	<i>mar</i> mar fea	i	na na+F AUX	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S	,	<i>me</i> me 3PL.		<i>mari</i> mari feast	na na+F AUX	,	<i>ayal</i> aya dan	ka	-	L.S	
	pron	vi		aux	pron		pror	1	vi	aux		vi		pro	on	
wa			kaner	metemo	neke					ayaka	me		hiri		naba	
wa	ti		ka-	na	-hemete	-	mone	-ke	е	ayaka	me		hir	i	na	-haba
th	ink abo	ut	COMI	T AU	K FP.N+F	R	EP+F	DE	CL+F	dance	3pl	.s	do		AUX	FUT+F
vt			aux							vi	pro	n	vt		aux	
ЗP	nti . ti PL.S Ton															

'They had a feast. They wanted to have a dance.'

3	<i>Ayaka</i> ayaka dance vi	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>wati</i> wati think vt	abou	ıt	kana ka- COMIT aux	na+F AUX	<i>ayaka</i> 'ayaka dance vi	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>hiri</i> hiri do vt	na na+F AUX aux	,	<i>ayaka</i> ayaka dance vi
,	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>hiri</i> hiri do vt	na na+F AUX aux	<i>me</i> me 3PL pron	<i>ni</i> ni to prt	<i>ya</i> ya ADJU prt	,	Yome Aki Yome Aki (woman's npropf	name)	<i>bote</i> bote old adj			
kal	kemetemon												
ka	-	kI ·	-hemete	-mor	ne -	ke							
go vi	/come c	oming 1	FP.N+F	REP+	-FD	ECL+F							

'They wanted to have a dance. They started the dance. When they were having the dance, old Yome Aki came to them.'

4	Yome Aki	bote	kakemetem	ahi			
	Yome Aki	bote	ka	-kI	-hemete	-mone	ahi
	(woman's name)	old	go/come	coming	FP.N+F	REP+F	then
	npropf	adj	vi				dem
'Ol	d Yome Aki came.'						

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	5 <i>Kake</i> ka	-kI come coming	, <i>bitemonehe</i> bite	-m .daughter RE	one -he	<i>mowa</i> mowa shake				
	yo,c vi	come coming	nf	addgireer in		vt				
1	nabanihi na - ha	aba -ni -ł I+F IP.N+F DI	, <i>mati</i> ni mati	OSS.mother	<i>yokana</i> yokana true adj	mowa mowa shake vt	<i>raro</i> na AUX aux		-haaro IP.E+F	,
1	nowa	hiraharo								
1	nowa	hi- na -ra	-haaro							
:	shake	OC AUX NEG	IP.E+F							
7	vt	aux								
	01	1 1 .1	1 1	• 1 1 1	1	. 1	1	. 1	1 1	1

'She came and woke up the one who she said was her daughter. It was not her real mother who woke her up.'

r	Mai nat 3SC pro	i G.POSS.mother	yokana yokana true adj	<i>mowa</i> mowa shake vt	<i>hira</i> hi- n OC A aux	na -ra+F AUX NEG	,	<i>mati</i> mati 3SG.POS nf	3S.motl	ner	<i>hine</i> hine only pron
ya ya ADJI prt	-	<i>wina</i> wina+F lie in hammoo vi	<i>amo</i> amo ck slee vi	<i>ni</i> na.NF p AUX aux	IN '	<i>mati</i> mati 3SG.POSS nf	.mo	ar	mo leep	<i>ni</i> na.N AUX aux	FIN
wina lie vi	a ir	netemoneke -hem h hammock FP.N		+F DECL+H	dem	i en n	ng i	n han hami	moolr '		

'It was not her real mother who woke her up. Her mother was sleeping in her hammock.'

7 Mati	amo	ni	wina	•	Naha
mati	amo	na.NFIN	wina+F		Naha
3SG.POSS.mother	sleep	AUX	lie in hammock		(woman's name)
nf	vi	aux	vi		npropf
Naha	te	wanibe			
Naha	tee	wana	-be		
(woman's name)	2PL.S	be attach	ed IMMED+F		
npropf	pron	vi			

'Her mother was sleeping in her hammock. "Naha, Naha, you go out to the festa and dance with the others."

8 <i>Titafihi</i> , ti- tafi -hi	<i>oka</i> o- ka	<i>noti me</i> noti me	
2SG.S wake up IMP+F	1SG.POSS POSS	grandson 3PL.O	
vi	prt	nm pron	
okowinibeya		, oka	noti
o- ka- wina	-be -yahi	0-	ka noti
1SG.S COMIT lie in hammock	X IMMED+F DIST.I	MP+F 1SG.POSS	POSS grandson
vt		prt	nm
me okowinibeya		ati	
me o- ka- wina	-be	-yahi ati	
3PL.O 1SG.S COMIT lie in	hammock IMMED+F	DIST.IMP+F say	
pron vt		vt	
nemetemoneke	ahi .		
na -hemete -mone -ke	ahi		
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	then		
aux	dem		
'''Wake up. I am going to take care o	of my grandsons," she	e said.'	

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9) Faya , hinakanoti					m	е	kawinab	one				
	faya	,	hin	aka	noti		me	e	ka-	wina		-habone	
	SO		3SG	.POSS	gran	dson	31	PL.O	COMIT	lie in	hammock	INT+F	
	conj		nm				pı	ron	vt				
Oka noti me						okowini	beya						
0-		ka		noti		me		0-	ka-	wina		-be	-yahi
1S	G.POSS	PO	SS	grand	son	3PL.O)	1SG.S	COMIT	lie in	hammock	IMMED+F	DIST.IMP+F
pr	t			nm		pron		vt					

'She said she was going to take care of her grandsons. "I am going to take care of my grandsons."

10	Inamatewe	me	tobe	owa	tekawahi	
	inamatewe	me	tobe	owa	ti- ka- kawa	-hi
	child	3PL.POSS	sling+F	1SG.O	2SG.S COMIT give something to	IMP+F
	nm	pron	pn	pron	vt	

. "'Give me the boys' slings.""

11 Me	ohi	ni	ya	inamatewe	sana	1	
me	ohi	na.NOM+F	ya	inamatewe	san	a	
3PL.S	cry	AUX	ADJU	child	car	ry strapped on shoulder	
pron	vi	aux	prt	nm	vt		
omisabana			oni		ati	nemetemoneke	
o- na	-misa	a -habana	0-	ni	ati	na -hemete -mone -ke	
1SG.S AUX	up	FUT+F	1SG.S	BKG+F	say	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	
aux			prt		vt	aux	
"If those one	I will p	ut the child in	the cline	" cho caid '			

""If they cry, I will put the child in the sling," she said."

12 Inamatewe	tobene ,	hahi	nafihi	tobene	owa		
inamatewe	tobene	haahi	nafi+M	tobene	owa		
child	sling+M	this one+M	be big	sling+M	1SG.O		
nm	pn	dem	vi	pn	pron		
tekawahi			weye	omisebana			ati
ti- ka- 1	kawa	-hi	weye	o- na	-misa -	hibana 🤇	ati
2SG.S COMIT (give something	g to IMP+F	carry	1SG.S AUX	up F	'UT+M	say
vt			vt	aux			vt
nemetemoneke		ahi _, at	ti na	, mate			
na -hemete ·	-mone -ke		ti na+F	' mate	he		
AUX FP.N+F	REP+F DECL+F	then sa	ay AUX	chil	dren		
aux		dem v	t aux	nf			
kawina	wina	!	fawa	nabar	nihi		
ka- wina+F	wina	a+F	fawa	na	-haba -n	i -hi	
COMIT lie in	hammock lie	in hammock	disapp	ear AUX	FUT+F IP	.N+F DUP	
vt	vi		vi	aux			
III.O. 11 11	C 11 11 111	T	1 • • •. "	1 1 01	• 1	1 1.	1.

"'Give me the sling for the big child, so I can carry him in it," she said. She was in her hammock taking care of the children, and then she disappeared.'

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13	Fawa	neme	fahi			
	fawa	na	-hemete	-mone	-ke	fahi
	disappear	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then
	vi	aux				dem
'Ch	a disappoored !					

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'She disappeared.'

14	Fawa	na ,	ahi
	fawa	na+F ĺ	ahi
	disappear	AUX	then
	vi	aux	dem

'She disappeared.'

15 Anoti anoti 3SG.PC nm	DSS older brot	her l	ama oe	ama na.NOM+M -mata -mona -ha ha be AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP th vc aux de					
<i>so</i>	nebona	tokoma	ıri			?			
500	na -hibona	to-	ka	-ma	-haari				
urinate	AUX INT+M	away	go/co	ome back	IP.E+M				
vi	aux	vi							

'Was it her older brother that went to urinate?'

16 <i>Hinakas</i> hinaka 3SG.PC nf		-	, Lster	, <i>hinakasimu</i> hinaka 3SG.POSS nf	asima	r siste	b		son	
Yome Aki		bote	me	hiwakamani					me	
Yome Aki		bote	me	hi- to-	ka- ka	a	-ma	-hani	me	,
(woman's	name)	old	3PL.O	OC away	COMIT g	o/come	back	IP.N+F	3PL.O	
npropf		adj	pron	vt					pron	
<i>so</i>	nebona		tokiyoma	ame						
500	na -h	ibona	to- k	ta -yo	oma -ma	a+M				
urinate	AUX IN	M+TI	away g	jo/come thr	cough bad	ck				
vi	aux		vi							
tokomemata	monaka				hawi	ya				
to- ka	-m	a -hi	mata -m	ona -ka	hawi	ya				
away go/	come ba	ck FP.	N+M RE	P+M DECL+M	l trail	ADJU				
vi					nf	prt				
'Old Yome	Aki had ta	aken ther	n, and her	r younger siste	er's son we	nt outsid	e the h	ouse to ur	inate. He	went

Aki had taken them, and her younger sister's son went outside the house to urinate. He went on the trail.'

17	17 Tokome tokome					е			<i>so</i>	n	е	we	n	ıi	ya
	to-	ka		-ma+M	to-	ka		-ma+l	M soo	n	a+M	waa+	M r	ni	ya
	away	go/c	come	back	away	go/co	me	back	urina	te A	.UX	stan	d t	0	ADJU
	vi				vi				vi	a	ux	vi	F	ort	prt
ina	matewe	(ohi	ni	yar	ia i	tonen	natam	onaka				hike		ya
ina	amatev	ve d	ohi	na.NFI	N ya	na ⁻	to-	na	-himata	-mona	a -ka		hike	Э	ya
ch	ild	(cry	AUX	st	art (СН	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+N	1 DEC	L+M	far		ADJU
nm		7	vi	aux	vi	ä	aux						nf		prt
1.1.1				1 • •	1 1	1		1.	.1 1 1	1	1 1	•	· .1	1.	

'He went. He went and urinated, and as he was standing there, he heard a baby crying in the distance.'

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18	•					<i>Inamatewe</i> inamatewe			,	<i>oi</i> ohi
	-					child				cry
	conj	vi	aux	vi	aux	nm	vi	aux		vi

naka na.CONT+M -ka

AUX DECL+M aux

'His crying stopped. "A baby is crying."

19	Inamatewe	oi	nane	
	inamatewe	ohi	na.CONT+M	-ne
	child	cry	AUX	BKG+M
	nm	vi	aux	
'''A	baby is crying.			

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20 <i>Faya</i> faya so conj 'He came b	vi	ome b			ake	<i>biti</i> biti 3SG.POSS.s nm	ohi ohi cry vi	nara na.CONT+M AUX aux	? -ra CQ+M
21 Inamat inama child nm "There is a	tewe	<i>oi</i> ohi cry vi crying o	prt	-ka DECL+M re.'''	<i>ahi</i> ahi ther dem	e			
22 <i>Okatao</i> okata			okomi 0-	ka	ami	kawina ka-	wina+F	<i>wi</i> wi	ni na.NOM+F

	oka	ata	o me	0-	ka	ami	ka-	wina+F	W	ina.NC	M+F
	my	soi	n 3PL.	O 1SG.P	OSS POS	S moth	er COMI	C lie in har	nmock 1	ie in	hammock
	nm		pron	nf			vt		v	i	
ya			okatao	me	okomi			kawina			
ya		,	okatao	me	0-	ka	ami	ka- win	a+F		
ADJ	JU		my son	3PL.O	1SG.PO	SS POS	S mother	COMIT lie	in hamm	ock	
prt	5		nm	pron	nf			vt			
win	i			ya ,	ati	na	kamakiemet	emoneke			
wir	na.	NOM	+F	ya	ati	na+F	ka ·	-makI -1	hemete -	mone -	-ke
lie	e i	n h	ammock	ADJU	say	AUX	go/come :	following F	P.N+F R	EP+F I	DECL+F
vi				prt	vt	aux	vi				

"My mother is taking care of my sons, in her hammock," she said, as she came from the dance.'

23	Kamaki	Ami		ami	ati	neme	temoneke			
	ka	-makI+M	ami	,	ami	ati	na	-hemete	-mone	-ke
	go/come	following	mother		mother	say	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F
	vi		nf		nf	vt	aux			
'Sh	'She came "Mother Mother" she said '									

'She came. "Mother, Mother," she said.'

24 Ami	ami	okatao	me	tikawina			me
ami	ami	okatao	me	ti-	ka-	wina+F	me
mother	mother	my son	3PL.O	2SG.S	COMIT	lie in hammock	3PL.S
nf	nf	nm	pron	vt			pron
e	riya	?					
ee	na -ri	-ya					
(question)	AUX CQ+F	now					
vi	aux						
1113 C . 1 3 C . 1	1	. 1			00.00		

"Mother, Mother, where are my sons that you are taking care of?"

25	Oka		noti	owa	ni	me .	aa	•
	0-	ka	noti	owa	ni	me	aa	,
	1SG.PO	SS POSS	grandson	1SG.O	to	3PL.O	(paus	se)
	prt		nm	pron	prt	pron	inter	ij
kal	kawamako					ati	ama	hari
ka	- kaw	a	-m	ako		ati	ama	haari
CO	MIT giv	e someth	ing to fo	r this r	eason	+M voice	be	that one+M
vt						pn	VC	dem
111.01		1						

"She is saying she gave my grandsons to me."

26	Okatao	okatao	me	faya	me	ka	ami	ohi
	okatao	okatao	me	faya	me	ka	ami	ohi
	my son	my son	3PL	SO	3PL	POSS	mother	cry
	nm	nm	pron	conj	pron	prt	nf	vi

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nemetemoneke fahi na -hemete -mone -ke fahi AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then dem aux "My sons, my sons." Their mother cried." 27 Me tokomakeabone тe -makI me to- ka -habone me 3PL away go/come following INT+F 3PL.O pron pron vi hinakamakiabone kanawa kanawa yokoko me yoko -ko hi- to- naka -makI -habone kanawa kanawa me away CAUS go/come following INT+F OC canoe canoe 3PL.S push DUP vt. nf nf pron vt. nemetemone ahi na -hemete -mone ahi AUX FP.N+F REP+F then aux dem 'She wanted to go after them, but they pushed the canoe away so she couldn't go.'64 wataremetemoneke 28 Kanawa wata -ra -hemete -mone -ke kanawa exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F canoe nf vi 'There was no canoe.' 29 Me towakamani ori matehe me nani to- kaka -hani matehe -hani me -ma me ori na 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back IP.N+F paddle AUX IP.N+F children 3PL.S pron pron τzi vi nf aux me towakamani me matehe inamatewe owa -hani me to- kaka -ma me matehe inamatewe owa away COMIT go/come back IP.N+F 3PL.S 3PL.S children child other+M pron vt. pron nf nm adj nafire inamatewe owa ta nafi nafi.LIST nafi -ra+M inamatewe owa taa be big NEG child other+M contrast be big vi nm adj prt vi nematamonaka ahi na -himata -mona -ka ahi AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then aux dem 'They had gone in a canoe. They were rowing, taking the children. One of the boys was small, but the other

30 Faya hiwakamani ka me me faya me hi- to- kafaya me ka -ma -hani faya me ka me 3PL.O OC away COMIT go/come back IP.N+F 3PL.O 3pl POSS so so conj pron vt pron conj pron prt ohi ka ami ohi nemetemoneke ami na me ami ohi na+F me ka ami ohi na -hemete -mone -ke AUX 3pl AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F mother cry POSS mother cry nf vi aux pron prt nf vi aux 'She took them. Their mother was crying.'

was big.'

⁶⁴ The word *me* at the beginning of the sentence is a false start.

31 *Ohi*

nemetemoneke na -hemete -mone -ke ohi AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F cry vi aux 'She was crying.' 32 *Ohi* fawa wati ni avaka me kanama na , na.NFIN na+F ohi fawa ayaka me wati ka- na -ma+F AUX stop AUX dance 3PL.S think about COMIT AUX back cry vi pron aux vi νi aux vt aux hiri ayaka me me na me me , me ayaka me hiri na+F me me 3PL.S 3PL.S dance 3PL.S do AUX 3PL.S vi pron pron vt. aux pron pron kawahemetemoneke fahi ka- waha -hemete -mone -ke fahi COMIT dawn FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then vi dem 'She stopped crying. They wanted to start the dance again. They started dancing, and went until morning.' 33 Himata kobo ? obatasi himata batasi kobo 0what? 1SG.POSS middle of back meet interrog pn vt 'What is on my back?' 34 Baroro ? amare ama ama -ra+M baroro ama SEC cockroach be NEG sec nm VC 'Is it a cockroach?' 35 *Faya* mate fawa kanaha faya me , ka- na+F faya matehe fawa faya me COMIT AUX so children disappear so 3PL.S conj nf vi aux conj pron kakakama tohara Yome Aki bote me me to- ha ka- kaka -ma -ra+F me Yome Aki bote me DUP COMIT go/come back CH AUX NEG 3PL.S (woman's name) old 3PL.O vi aux pron npropf adj pron hiwakamani kakasawi me hi- to- kaka -ma -hani me ka- kasawi OC away COMIT go/come back IP.N+F 3PL.S DUP COMIT be present vt. pron vi toemetemoneke to- ha -hemete -mone -ke CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux 'The children were gone. They didn't come back. Old Yome Aki had taken them, and they stayed there.' 26 Ma 1 •1 • • ,

36	Me kasawiha		kasawiha me , me		kasawiha	me .
	me	ka- sawi+F	me	me	ka- sawi+F	me
	3PL.S	COMIT be present	3PL.S	3PL.S	COMIT be present	3PL.S
	pron	vi	pron	pron	vi	pron

<i>me</i> me	<i>fotamisi</i> fota	-misa.NOM+F			ne , ne	<i>me</i> me	<i>me</i> me	<i>hikababone</i> hi- kaba	-habone
3PL.S	be big		-		3PL	3PL.O	3PL.S	OC eat	INT+F
JEL.S	2	up	ADUU J	овт с	ЭЕГ	JFL.U	JET'2	UC Eal	TINTTE
pron	vi		prt p	pron p	pron	pron	pron	vt	
me	me	wati	hikana		т	е,	me	me	
me	me	wati	hi- ka	a- n	na+F me	e	me	me	
3PL.O	3PL.S	plan against	OC CC	OMIT A	AUX 31	PL.O	3PL.O	3PL.S	
pron	pron	vt	aux		p	ron	pron	pron	
wati		hikanemetemonek	ie –						
wati		hi- ka- na	-hemet	te -mo	one -ke	-			
plan a	gainst	OC COMIT AU	X FP.N+F	REP	+F DECI	J+F			
vt		aux							
'They sta	wed there.	When they grew	big, they pl	lanned	to eat the	m.'			

'They stayed there. When they grew big, they planned to eat them.'

37 Me	me	wati	hikana	, me	me	me	
me	me	wati	hi- ka- na+F	me	me	me	
3PL.O	3PL.S	plan against	OC COMIT AUX	3PL.O	3PL.O	3PL.S	
pron	pron	vt	aux	pron	pron	pron	
bibisi	hien	ietemoneke		me	ye	atari ya	
bi- bisi	hi-	to- ha -hemet	te -mone -ke	me	yehe	atari ya	
DUP scrat	tch OC	CH AUX FP.N+E	F REP+F DECL+F	3PL.POSS	hand	skin+F ADJ	JU
vt	aux			pron	pn	pn prt	
ahi , ahi here dem 'They were	ahi , ahi here dem planning to	ahi ahi here dem kill them. They scra	atched them with their	r fingernails, l	ike this.'		

38 Yiwa yiwa pot nf	<i>bite</i> bite small+F adj	aya t this C	9a .o- ha+F 2H be 7C	ya ya ADJU prt	<i>me</i> me 3PL.PC pron		ame ame blood+ pn	<i>iha</i> iha+F F be lo vi				
me me 3PL.POSS pron toemetemon	pron		vt		na+F AUX	<i>me</i> me 3PL. pron	POSS	<i>ame</i> ame blood+F pn	<i>nonowi</i> no- nowi DUP drip vi			
to- ha -hemete -mone ahi CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F here aux dem 'They scratched them, and their blood dripped into a small bowl, this size.'												

39 Ama ama	<i>nowi</i> nowi	na na+F	me me	<i>fawa</i> fawa+F	, <i>ama</i> ama	me me	<i>fawa</i> fawa+E		,
blood	drip	AUX	3PL.S	drink	blood	d 3PL.S	drink	3PL.S	
nf	vi	aux	pron	vt	nf	pron	vt	pron	
me	nafi	haro		me	tame	haro	m	e	isi
me	nafi	haard	>	me	tame	haaro	me	e	isi
3PL.POSS	all	that	one+F	3PL.POSS	foot+F	that on	ne+F 31	PL.POSS	leg+F
pron	pn	dem		pron	pn	dem	pi	ron	pn
ahi ,	me	ti	ati .						
ahi	me	t	ati						
there	3PL.P	OSS h	lead						
dem	pron	1	n •	. 11 .1					

'They drank the blood that dripped out all over them, their feet, their legs, their heads.'

40 *Me* bibisi me me hia me me bi- bisi hi- to- ha+F , me me me me me 3PL.S DUP scratch OC CH AUX 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S pron pron vt aux pron pron pron , yana hikababone me tokanemetemoneke yana yana to- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke start CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F hi- kaba -habone me OC eat INT+F 3PL.S vi aux vt pron 'They always scratched them. They decided to eat them.' 41 *Me* yana tokana Me waka meba me , yana to- ka- na+F me -ba waka me me me 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX 3PL FUT 3pl 3PL.O kill pron pron vi aux pron pron vt tiyahi ti- na -yahi 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F aux 'They were ready. "You kill them.""65 42 *Me* waka tivahi waka ti- na -yahi me 3PL.O kill 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F pron vt aux ""Kill them."" 43 *Me* е kabibeya kaba -be ee -ya me eat IMMED+F now 3PL.O 1IN.S pron pron vt "Let's eat them." , me 44 Me me hiwasianike hi- wasi -hani -ke me me me 3pl OC find IP.N+F DECL+F 3PL.O 3PL.S pron pron pron vt "They found them." 45 *Me* ka koko me ka koko me ka koko me ka koko 3PL POSS mother's brother 3PL POSS mother's brother pron prt nm pron prt nm , mera kakatime wasi mera ka- ka -tima+M mera wasi+M mera COMIT go/come upstream 3PL.O find 3PL.O vi pron vt pron towakamamatematamonaka to- ka- ka -ma -mata -himata -mona -ka away COMIT go/come back short time FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vt. 'Their mother's brother came upstream and found them, and took them away.'

46	Mera	towaka	ıme			•	faya	me	me
	mera	to-	ka-	ka				me	me
	3PL.O	away	COMIT	go/come	back		SO	3PL.O	3PL.S
	pron	vt					conj	pron	pron

65 The word *meba* is a mistake.

	va -makI ee follow		<i>bati</i> bati 3SG.POSS.father nm	ka ka POSS prt	<i>awa</i> awa tree nf	<i>ka</i> kaa chop vt	ne na- AUX aux	X	<i>awa</i> awa tree nf
awa ibe awa ibe tree piece nf pn	<i>awa</i> awa tree nf	<i>ibe</i> ibe piece pn	foremetemoneke forI -heme lie on top FP.N+ vi	te -mor F REP-		+F	<i>tati</i> tati head pn	ya ya ADJU prt	<i>ahi</i> ahi there dem

.

'He took them back. He cut down trees for his father's garden. When they came back and they saw them, there was a piece of wood in his hair.'

47 <i>Me</i>	tati	те	boyo	hina		me		•	me	tati	me
me	tati	me	boyo	hi- n	a+F	me			me	tati	me
3PL.POSS	head	3PL.S	feel	OC A	UX	3pl	.POSS		3PL.POSS	head	3PL.S
pron	pn	pron	vt	aux		pro	n		pron	pn	pron
boyo hina	awa	ibe	wa	si	, a	wa	awa	ib	2		
boyo hi- na	I+F awa	ibe	wa	si+M	΄ a	wa	awa	ił	be		
feel OC AU	VX tre	e pie	ce fi	nd	t	ree	tree	p	ece		
vt aux	nf	pn	vt		n	f	nf	pr	1		
wasimatamonaka			me	ka	iti				Yome Aki	bo	ote .
wasi -himata	-mona	-ka	me	ka	iti			,	Yome Aki	b	ote
find FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	3pl	POSS	gra	ndfa	ther		(man's name	e) o	ld
vt			pron	prt	nm				npropm	a	dj
'They felt their h wood.'	eads and f	found the	pieces o	of wood.	Old Y	Zome A	Aki, theii	r gra	andfather, fou	nd the j	pieces of

48 <i>Faya</i> faya so	<i>awa</i> awa tree	<i>ibe</i> ibe piece	<i>was</i> was fin	si+M	, <i>me</i> me 3PL.C	<i>me</i> me) 3PL	.s	hi-		-hani IP.N+F	<i>yama</i> yama thing	ſ
conj	nf	pn	vt		pron	pror	n	vt			nf	
<i>sasari</i> sa- sari DUP burn vt		na+F T AUX)	<i>faya</i> faya so conj	yama yama thing nf	<i>sari</i> sari burn vt	<i>kar</i> ka CO au	- MIT	na+F AUX	<i>awa</i> awa tree nf	<i>ibe</i> ibe piece pn	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron
<i>ki</i> kii look at vt	na na+F AUX aux	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron		Me me 3PL.0 pron	<i>waka</i> waka kill vt	<i>tiyahi</i> ti- 2SG.S aux		-7 7	yahi IST.IMI	• 2+F	-	-

'He found a piece of wood. They had found them. She lit a light and they looked at the piece of wood. "Kill them."'

49	Me		kak	awiba						
	me		ka-	kawi			-ba			
	3PL.POSS DUP eat with something FUT									
	pro	n	pn							
ona	kam	atibeya							wafa	mati .
0-		to-	na-	ka	-mata		-be	-ya	wafa	mati
1SC	G.S	away	CAUS	go/come	short	time	IMMED+F	now	woolly monkey	3PL
vt									nm	pron

"I'm going to go get some woolly monkeys to eat with them."

50	Wafa	me	fora	omatibe	•
	wafa	me	fora	o- na -mata -be	
	woolly monkey	3PL.O	shoot with blowgun	1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F	
	nm	pron	vt	aux	

ati nematamonaka ati na -himata -mona -ka say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux vt "I'm going to kill some woolly monkeys with my blowgun," he said.' 51 Me waka onabanani waka o- na -habana -ni me kill 1SG.S AUX FUT+F BKG+F 3PL.O pron vt aux "I will kill them." 52 *Me* waka onabana oke ahi waka o- na -habana o- ke me ahi 3PL.O kill 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F then pron vt aux prt dem "I will kill them." 53 Oka oka wahati nanayana *oka* o- ka , o- ka na- na- yana wahati 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS DUP CAUS grow liver prt prt pn pn tiwakibe . ti- ka- ibI 2SG.S COMIT put inside vt "Save the liver of the child I raised." 54 *Tika* wahati tikaba nanayana na-na- yana wahati ti- kaba.LIST ' ka ti-2SG.POSS POSS DUP CAUS grow 2SG.S eat liver prt vt pn pn tiyahi ti- na -yahi 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F aux "You will eat the liver of the child you raised." 55 Nabanani na -habana -ni exist FUT+F BKG+F vi "All right." 56 Faya Yome Aki bote bosa nematamonaka , faya Yome Aki na -himata -mona -ka SO (man's name) old get up early AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M conj npropm adj vi aux 'Old Yome Aki got up early.'

57	Toke		bosa	ne	toke		•	toke	
	to-	ka+M	bosa	na+M	to-	ka+M	,	to-	ka+M
	away vi	go/come	get up early			go/come		away vi	go/come
	VΤ		Vl	aux	Vl			VI	

ahi

ahi

then

dem

wafa	me	fora	ne .	wafa	me
wafa	me	fora	na+M ́	wafa	me
woolly monkey	3PL.O	shoot with blowgun	AUX	woolly monkey	3PL.O
nm	pron	vt	aux	nm	pron
<i>fora</i> fora	n	ematamonaka			
fora	n	a -himata -mona -ka			
shoot with blo	wgun A	UX FP.N+M REP+M DEC	L+M		
vt	a	ux			

'He got up early and went out and killed some woolly monkeys with his blowgun.'

58	8 <i>Wafa</i> wafa		n	ne ne	<i>fora</i> fora				<i>ne</i> na+M	,	<i>wafa</i> wafa			<i>me</i> me	
	wooll	y monk	ey 3	BPL.O	shoc	t with	bl	owgun	AUX		wooll	y mor	nkey	3PL	.0
	nm		P	oron	vt				aux		nm			pro	n
fo	<i>ra</i> Dra			<i>ni</i> na.N	FIN	<i>abe</i> ahaba+1	М	<i>hahi</i> haahi		<i>hind</i> hir	aka Naka	<i>bitin</i> bit	<i>ni</i> .imi	<i>me</i> me	
sł	noot wi	th blc	wgun	AUX		end		this	one+M		G.POSS	nep	hew	3PL	.0
vt	5			aux		vi		dem		pro	n	nm		pro	n
wa	isihi	kakatim	ematan	nonaka							ahi				
Wá	asi+M	ka-	ka	-t	ima	-him	ata	a -mon	a -ka		ahi				
f: vt	ind :	COMIT vi	go/co	ome up	ostrea	am FP.N	+M	REP+	M DECL	+M	then dem				
1							~ .					1			1 0

'He killed woolly monkeys with his blowgun. He finished killing woolly monkeys. The uncle that had found his nephews came upstream.'

59 Kakatime	hibati	ya	waki	ni ya
ka- ka -tima+M	hibati	ya	waa -kI+M	ni ya
COMIT go/come upstream	right away	ADJU	stand coming	to ADJU
vi	nf	prt	vi	prt prt
wakimatamonaka				
waa -kI -himata -mona	a -ka			
stand coming FP.N+M REP+N	M DECL+M			

'He came upstream, and stood there.'

vi

60 W	aki			ni	ya	•	hinaka		bitimi		me			
wa	aa	-kI+	М	ni	ya		hinak	a	bitin	ni	me	,		
st	and	comi	ng	to	ADJU		3SG.P	POSS	nephe	€W	3PL.	.s		
vi	<u>_</u>			prt	prt		pron		nm		pror	l		
tokabo	one				me		kakaton	ıe		we		ni	ya	
to-	ka		-hal	bone	me		ka-	kato	ma+M	wa	a+M	ni	ya	
away	go/o	come	INT	+F	3PL.C)	COMIT	look	at	st	and	to	ADJU	
vi					pron		vt			vi		prt	prt	
'His n	ephev	vs did	n't wa	ant to	go to hir	n a	s he stoo	d ther	e. He st	ood	there	and v	vatched	them.'

61	Yome Aki	bote	me	baro	o hinemetemoneke								
	Yome Aki	bote	me	baro	hi-	na	-hemete	-mone	-ke				
	(woman's name)	old	3PL.O	beat	OC	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F				
	npropm	adj	pron	vt	aux								
'Ol	'Old Yome Aki tried to hit them with a stick '												

Old Yome Aki tried to hit them with a stick.

62 *Siya* ! siya you missed interj "You missed!"

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63	Hamah	ama		raba			nofa		ama	
	hama-	har	na	na	- 1	raba	na	nofa+F	ama	
	DUP	be	mean	AUX	а	bit	AUX	recently	SEC	
	vi			aux			aux		sec	
'''S]	he is fier	ce!"	1							

wakanabonemerawakana-habonemerakillAUXINT+F3PL.0 ahi 64 Mera baro nemetemone . mera baro na -hemete -mone ahi 3PL.O beat AUX FP.N+F REP+F then 3PL.O pron aux pron vt vt aux dem 'She tried to hit them with a stick, to kill them.'

65 Me tokowitemetemoneke yoyora yo- yora to- ka- na -witI -hemete -mone -ke me 3PL.S DUP jump away COMIT AUX out FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron vi aux 'They jumped away.'

66 *Faya* me Aki tikamakini • -makI -ni faya me aki ti- ka so 3PL grandmother 2SG.S go/come following BKG+F conj pron nf vi "Grandma, come here."

67	Hisiri	te	weye	na	hisiri	mato	wiyenebana	
	hisiri	tee	weye	na	hisiri Ó	mato	wiyene	-bana
	basket	2PL.S	carry	AUX	basket	tree sp	container+M	FUT
	nf	pron	vt	aux	nf	nm	pn	
'''V	ou carry hig	r hackate t	o carry m	ato frui	te in "			

You carry big baskets to carry *mato* truits in.

68	Faya	isiri	weye	ni	me	toka		me	•	me
	faya	isiri	weye	na.NFIN	me	to-	ka+F	me	,	me
	SO	basket	carry	AUX	3PL.S	away	go/come	3PL.S		3PL.S
	conj	nf	vt	aux	pron	vi		pron		pron
tok	emetemo	neke			ahi					
to	– ka	-he	mete -m	one -ke	ahi					
aw	ay go/	come FP.	N+F RE	P+F DECL+	F then					
vi					dem					
'Th	ou wort	off comming	a the heal	ota !						

They went off carrying the baskets.

69 Me	toka	me	, faya	mera	waka	nabone	mera
me	to- ka+F	me	faya	a mera	waka	na -habone	mera
3PL.S	away go/co	ome 3PL.S	so	3PL.O	kill	AUX INT+F	3PL.O
pron	vi	pron	con	j pron	vt	aux	pron
kakakata		nemetemone	ni				
ka- ka-	kata	na -heme	ete -mone	-ni			
DUP COMIT	arrodear	AUX FP.N-	F REP+F	BKG+F			
vt		aux					
141	1						

'As they went, she circled around ahead of them to kill them.'

70	Fara	mera	totoniha			nimakoni	me	bete
	fara	mera	to- to-	niha-	ha	na -makoni	me	bete
	same+F	3PL.O	DUP CH	CAUS	be	AUX for this reason+F	3PL.S	run
	dem	pron	vt			aux	pron	vi

.

kawahemetemoneke											
ka-	na	-waha	-hemete	-mone	-ke	ahi					
COMIT	AUX	change	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then					
aux						dem					

'She kept after them, but they ran away.'

71 <i>Me</i>		tabori		nabow	arima						na	,	me			
me		tabor	i	na-	aboha	-r	ima				na+F		me			
3PL.PO	SS	place	+F	CAUS	die	in	nterm	lit	tent		AUX		ЗP	L.S		
pron		pn		vt							aux		pr	on		
towaka			m	е	me		ta	me		m	ie		tam	ie	matibone	
to- ka-	k	a+F	m	e	me		ta	ame	9	m	е		tar	ne	mati	-bone
away COMI	IT q	o/come	3	PL.S	3PL.1	POSS	5 fc	oot	:+F	3	PL.PC	DSS	fo	ot+F	line+F	INT+F
vi	_		р	ron	pron		pr	n		p	ron		pn		pn	
tamiyara	me	s s	a		na	1	me		tamiy	var	a	me		awa	me	
tamiyara	me	S	aa		na+1	F I	me		tami	iya	ara	me		awa	me	
tree sp	ЗP	L.S s	tri	p off	AUX		3PL.S	S	tree	е :	sp	3PI	.S	tree	3PL.S	
nm	pr	on v	t		aux	1	pron		nm			pro	n	nf	pron	
tomi	kani	ikimi				ya			faya		me		yana			
tomi	ka-	na	-k	ima.NO)M+F	ya	,	, .	faya		me		yana	1		
measure	COM	IT AUX	tw	0		ADJ	JU		SO		3PL.	S	star	rt		
vt	aux					prt	5		conj		pron		vi			
tonemetemor	ne															
to- na -	-hem	ete -m	one													
CH AUX H	FP.N	+F RE	P+F													
aux																
ICh a least and	inain	a the area '	[]			1		J	- ff			l	J- + -			. 1 . 1

'She kept missing them. They went on, and they stripped off some inner bark to make a strap to hold their feet together. They measured the tree, and went to get *mato* fruits.'

72 Faya me yana tokana kiyo me mera to- kakiyo faya me yana na+F mera me 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX chase 3PL.S 3PL.O SO vi pron conj pron aux pron vt nawaremetemoneke ahi na -waharI -hemete -mone -ke ahi AUX all over FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then aux dem

'They started out to get mato fruits. She was after them all the time.'

73 Mera towaka Tika kana ni , mera to- kaka+F tika kana na.NFIN 3PL.O away COMIT go/come 2SG.POSS POSS run AUX pron vt prt vi aux tokomahi ! to- ka -ma -hi away go/come back IMP+F vi

'She went after them. "Run away!"'

74	Owa	kana	ni	tokom	ematamona	ka				fahi
	owa	kana	na.NFIN	to-	ka	-ma	-himata	-mona	-ka	fahi
	other+M	run	AUX	away	go/come	back	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	then
	adj	vi	aux	vi						dem
'Or	e of them ra	n away.'								

75 Kana ni tokome vora na.NFIN to- ka kana -ma+M yora run AUX away go/come back jump vi vi vi aux tomisematamonaka to- na -misa -himata -mona -ka FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M away AUX up aux 'He ran away, and jumped up in a tree.' 76 Fito tonamake ba awa fito to- na -makI baa awa away AUX following rush tree hit vi aux nf 37+ naremetemoneke teo na -rI -hemete -mone -ke teo AUX raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F (sound of hitting on wood) aux sound 'She hit at him with the stick, but only hit the tree, teo.' 77 Siya ! siya you missed interj "You missed!" 78 Faya anoti owa anoti faya owa 3SG.POSS older brother other+M so conj adj nm hinakamematamonaka -ma -himata -mona -ka hi- to- na- ka OC away CAUS go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vt. 'She went after his older brother.' 79 Anoti hinakame fe bete hi- to- na- ka anoti -ma+M fee bete 3SG.POSS older brother OC away CAUS go/come back 3SG.O run nm vt. pron vi kawahematamonaka ahi ka- na -waha -himata -mona -ka ahi COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then aux dem 'She went after his older brother, but he ran away.' 80 **Bete** tokanakabote ni kame teme voko bete na.NFIN ka -ma+M teme to- ka- na -kabote yoko AUX go/come back footprint+M CH COMIT AUX quickly run push vi aux vi pn vt aux vora tomisamaki ahi ne na+M yora to- na -misa -makI+M ahi AUX jump away AUX up following then

vi 'He came back running. He quickly put his feet in the inner bark and jumped up into the tree, too.'

aux

aux

dem

awa

ba

na.NFIN kana ka -makI+F awa baa run AUX go/come following tree hit vi vi nf aux vt. naremetemoneke ten -hemete -mone -ke na -rI teo AUX raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F (sound of hitting on wood) aux sound 'She came running, and hit the tree, teo.' 82 *Siya* siya you missed interj "You missed!" 83 Hamahama raba nofa ama hama- hama na -raba na nofa+F ama DUP be mean AUX a bit AUX recently SEC vi aux prt sec "She is fierce!" 84 *Fava* me towakimisa me faya to- kaka me -misa+F me away COMIT go/come up 3PL.S 3PL.S so pron vi pron conj towakimisemetemoneke -misa -hemete -mone -ke to- ka- ka away COMIT go/come up FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F τzi 'The two of them went up in the tree.' 85 Me towakimisa me me me to- kaka -misa+F me me away COMIT go/come up 3PL.S 3PL.S 3PL.S pron pron vi pron towakimisa me mato baka me mato me to- kaka -misa+F me mato me mato me baka away COMIT go/come up 3PL.S tree sp 3PL tree sp 3PL.S break vi pron nm pron nm pron vt. nemetemone ahi . na -hemete -mone ahi AUX FP.N+F REP+F then aux dem 'They went up into the tree. They broke off branches with mato fruits.' 86 Mato baka tamiyara kanikima me na me tama ka- na -kima+F mato me baka na+F tamiyara me tama 3PL.S break AUX hold onto COMIT AUX two 3PL.S tree sp tree sp nm pron vt aux nm pron vt. aux mato tati wete nemetemone ahi me mato tati me wete na -hemete -mone ahi 3PL.S AUX FP.N+F REP+F tree sp unripe tie then adj pron vt aux dem nm 'They broke off branches with mato fruits. They had tamiyara inner bark in their hands, and they tied green

mato fruits together, with the strips of inner bark.'

81 Kana

ni

kamakia

87 Mato tati me mato tati me tree sp unripe 3PL.S nm adj pron ni abe ya na.NFIN ahaba.NOM+M ya AUX end ADJU aux vi prt They tied green mato fruits together Grandma.''	wete na+F me ' tie AUX 3PL.S vt aux pron , <i>Aki , aki</i> aki ak grandmother grandmother gran	•
88 <i>Haa</i> ? haa huh? interj ""What?""		
89 Aki taha aki taha grandmother sweat bee nf nm "Grandmother, the taha sweat bees	pron pn pro	
90 Taha ota taha otaa sweat bee sp 1EX.POSS nm pron "The taha bees are bothering our ego	noko me katomini noko me katoma -n eye 3PL.S attack BK pn pron vt yes."	
<pre>91 Taha kiyefo taha kiyefo (name of woman's song) nf ""Sing 'taha kiyefo'.""</pre>	<i>tinahi</i> . ati ti- na -hi say 2SG.S AUX IMP+F vt	
92 Faya yowiri faya yowiri so sing woman's song conj vi 'So she sang.'	<i>nemetemone fak</i> na -hemete -mone fa AUX FP.N+F REP+F th aux de	hi en
<pre>93 Ta kiyefo taha kiyefo (name of woman's song) nf nemetemoneke na -hemete -mone -ke AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux 'She sang, "Ta kiyefo, ta kiyefo.""</pre>	<i>ta kiyefo</i> taha kiyefo (name of woman's song) nf	<i>ati</i> ati say vt
94 <i>Ta kiyefo</i> taha kiyefo (name of woman's song) nf	<i>ta kiyefo</i> taha kiyefo (name of woman's song) nf	ati na -hemete -mone ati na -hemete -mone say AUX FP.N+F REP+F vt aux

ahi ahi then dem 'She sang, "Ta kiyefo, ta kiyefo."'

95 *Faya* taha kiyefo ati na mato sa faya taha kiyefo ati na+F mato saa so (name of woman's song) say AUX tree sp release conj nf vt aux nm vt tonakosematamona • to- na -kosa -himata -mona CH AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M aux

.

'As she sang "Taha kiyefo," he dropped the mato fruits on her.'

96 Aki	yorayor	a	tinahi			
aki	yora-	yora	ti-	na	-hi	
grandmother	DUP	jump	2SG.S	AUX	IMP+F	
nf	vi		aux			
"Grandma, jump are	ound!"''					

97	Yorayor	a	tinahi		
	yora-	yora	ti-	na	-hi
	DUP	jump	2SG.S	AUX	IMP+F
	vi		aux		
'''Jı	ump aro	und!"''			

98 Ta kiyefo tinahi taha kiyefo ati ti- na -hi (name of woman's song) say 2SG.S AUX IMP+F nf vt

"Sing, 'ta kiyefo'."

99	Hiba _	•	onoko		me	katomake
	hiba		0-	noko	me	katoma -ke
	wait		1SG.POSS	eye	3PL.S	attack DECL+F
	interj		pn		pron	vt
1111	7.1.1					

"Wait, they are bothering my eyes."

100 2	Taha kiyefo	taha kiyefo	yowiri	ni
t	taha kiyefo	taha kiyefo	yowiri	na.NFIN
	(name of woman's song)	(name of woman's song)	sing woman's song	AUX
r	nf	nf	vi	aux
ati	nemetemoneke	ahi .		
ati	na -hemete -mone -ke	ahi		
say	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECI	L+F then		
vt	aux	dem		
'''Tah	a kiyefo, taha kiyefo," she sang.'			
101	Vanini	una mi una marta		

•

101	Yowiri	na	wa	ni	ya	mato
	yowiri	na+F	waa+F	ni	ya	mato
	sing woman's song	AUX	stand	to	ADJU	tree sp
	vi	aux	vi	prt	prt	nm

kisematamonakaahika-risa-himata-mona-kago/comedownFP.N+MREP+MDECL+Mthenvidemdem'As she stood singing, the mato fruits dropped.'

102 Mato fiya hikana Siya siva ati , , hi- kamato fiva na+F siya siya ati pass OC COMIT AUX you missed say tree sp you missed interj vt vt aux interj nm nemetemoneni na -hemete -mone -ni AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F

aux

'The mato fruits missed her. "You missed!" she said.'

103 Siya ati na hinaka Okaki siya ati na+F hinaka 0ka aki you missed say AUX 3SG.POSS 1SG.S go/come grandmother interj vt aux pron nf kinarina kina -rI -hina hit raised surface IRR+M

vt

"You missed!" she said. "He missed my grandmother."

104 Owa kinarinaha

owa kina -rI -hina -ha 1SG.O hit raised surface IRR+M DUP pron vt

"'He almost hit me."'

105 Okaki wa aware awane 0ka aki waa+F awa -ra+M awa -ne 1SG.S go/come grandmother stand see NEG seem+M BKG+M nf vi vt sec

"He didn't see where my grandmother is standing."

106	Aki	tiwawan	ni			forima	tinahi			
	aki	ti-	waa	-waha	-ma.NFIN	forima	ti-	na	-hi	
	grandmother	2SG.S	stand	change	back	do properly	2SG.S	AUX	IMP+F	
	nf	vi				vi	aux			
111 Cm	and man stand a lit	+1.0 07707	his were	***						

"Grandma, stand a little over this way."

107 Yama amosi tiwawamahi ya yama amosa.NOM+F ti- waa -waha -ma -hi ya thing be good ADJU 2SG.S stand change back IMP+F nf vi prt vi "Stand over here where it's clear."

108 Yorayora tinahi yora-yora ti- na -hi DUP jump 2SG.S AUX IMP+F vi aux "'Jump around."

619

.

109 Taha kefo tinahi taha kiyefo ati ti- na -hi (name of woman's song) say 2SG.S AUX IMP+F nf vt ""Sing, 'Taha kefo'.""

110Fayawawamemetemonekeahifayawaa-waha-ma-hemete-mone-kesostandchangebackFP.N+FREP+FDECL+Fthenconjvidem'So she stood over this way.'

111 Wawama mato anoti waa -waha -ma+F mato anoti stand change back tree sp 3SG.POSS older brother vi nm nm hikinarebanihi ahi . -haba -ni -hi hi- kina -rI ahi OC hit raised surface FUT+F IP.N+F DUP then vt dem

'She stood over this way, and his older brother hit her with the mato fruits.'66

112 H	linaka		koko		,	va		me	ka	ko	oko	
h	inaka		koko		V	waa.LIST		me	ka	ko	oko	
3	SG.PO	SS	mother's	broth	er s	stand		3pl	POSS	mc	other's	brother
р	ron		nm		7	νi		pron	prt	nn	n	
wa		nema	ntamonaka			ħ	nera	kakator	nahari			
waa.I	JIST	na	-himata	-mona	-ka	r	nera	ka-	katoma	a	-haari	
stand	ł	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL	+M 3	3PL.O	COMIT	look a	at	IP.E+M	
vi		aux				I	pron	vt				
	-	_		_	-							

'Their uncle was also standing nearby, watching them.'

113	Faya	mato									
	faya	mato		ka	-risa	-himata	-mona	-ka	ahi		
	SO	tree	sp	go/come	down	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	then		
	conj	nm		vi					dem		
'The <i>mato</i> fruits dropped.'											

114	4 Yome Aki	bote	yowi	ri	na	wa	mato	hikina
	Yome Aki	bote	yow	iri	na+F	waa+F	mato	hi- kina+F
	(woman's name)	old	sing	g woman's song	AUX	stand	tree sp	OC hit
	npropf	adj	vi		aux	vi	nm	vt
	Aya		ati	nemetemoneke				
,	aya		ati	na -hemete -	-mone -k	e		
	(expression of p	oain)	say	AUX FP.N+F F	REP+F DE	CL+F		
	interj		vt	aux				
101	d Vome Alti was singin	a and +1	a mart	a funita hithan "Or	ah "ahaa			

'Old Yome Aki was singing, and the *mato* fruits hit her. "Ouch," she said.'

115	<i>Faya</i> faya so conj	<i>kiya</i> kiya yell vi	kana ka- COMIT aux	na+F AUX	, hi 39	naka Lnaka SG.POSS con	<i>kok</i> koł mot nm		brot	her	, <i>hinak</i> hina 3SG. pron	ka POSS
<i>koko</i> kok mot nm) O	brother	<i>fito</i> fit		nake na	-makI followi		baro baro beat vt	hi-		one -hemete	

66 The phrase should be *mato* ya, i.e. it is an adjunct.

baro

baro

beat

vt

hina

OC

aux

hi- na+F

AUX

Hima

hima

let's go

interj

ahi ahi then dem 'She yelled. His uncle darted out and hit her with a stick.'

,

me

me

3pl

pron prt

116 Baro hina baro hi- na+F beat OC AUX vt aux , abake ahaba -ke die DECL+F vi

'He hit her. Their uncle hit her. "Come on, she is dead.""

117 Ma	to	hiwa	kawa		na				
ma	to	hiwa	ka-	waa.NOM+M	na				
tr	ee sp	only.M	COMIT	stand	AUX				
nm		pron	vi		aux				
"Let the <i>mato</i> tree be with fruits."									

118	Hima	te	tai	tokahamahi						
	hima	tee	tai	to-	ka-	ha	-ma	-hi		
	let's go	2PL.S	be ahead	СН	COMIT	AUX	back	IMP+F		
	interj	pron	vi	aux						
1110-										

ka

ka

POSS

koko

koko

nm

mother's brother

"Come on, you two go on ahead."

119	Wete	hine	hinemetemone							
	wete	hi-	na	-hemete	-mone	ahi				
	tie	OC	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	then				
	vt	aux				dem				

'He tied her up.'

120 *Wete* hina isi hikanawanemetemoneke wete hi- na+F isi hi- ka- na- wana -hemete -mone -ke COMIT CAUS be attached FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F tie OC AUX leg+F OC vt aux pn vt ahi . ahi then dem

'He tied her with her legs around her head.'

121 Isi hikanawana isi isi kawana isi hi- kana- wana+F isi ka- wana+F isi leg+F OC COMIT CAUS be attached leq+F COMIT be attached leq+F pn vi pn pn vt hinaka kawana weye himisemetemoneke wana+F hi- na -misa -hemete -mone -ke hinaka kaweye COMIT be attached OC AUX up FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3SG.POSS carry vi vt aux pron hinaharo ahi vama noko bote aawa tona weve hi- na yama noko bote a- awa to- na.LIST -haaro ahi weye vagina old DUP be open CH AUX OC AUX IP.E+F then carry adj aux vt aux dem nm vi

'He put her legs around her head. With her legs around her head, he put her on his back. Her old vagina was

wide open as he carried her.'

122 Hinaka vama noko tonematamonane awa to- na -himata -mona -ne CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M hinaka yama noko awa 3SG.POSS vagina be open pron nm vi aux 'Her vagina was wide open.' 123 Faya hiwakama ati hahaniba amane faya hi- kaka -ma+F ati haahaani -ba ama -ne so OC COMIT go/come back voice be funny FUT SEC BKG+M conj vt vi sec pn 'He took her. They are going to laugh at what he says.' 124 Yama tikamitahi ti- kayama mita -hi 2SG.S COMIT hear IMP+F thing nf vt. 'Listen.' 125 Faya hiwakamemetemoneke me hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke faya me 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F SO conj pron vt 'They took her.' 126 Me koro hiwakama faya faya hi- tokaka -ma+F koro me throw 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back so pron vt conj νt hinisemetemone fahi hi- na -risa -hemete -mone fahi OC AUX down FP.N+F REP+F then dem aux 'They took her. He threw her down.' 127 Koro hinisa yifo tafa nematamonaka ahi koro hi- na -risa+F yifo tafa na -himata -mona -ka ahi AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M throw OC AUX down firewood split then vt. aux nf vt aux dem 'He threw her down. He split some firewood.'

128 Yifo		tafa	ne	•	yifo		tafa		ne	•	yifo		tafa
yifo		tafa	na+M	-	yifo		taf	a	na+M	,	yif	0	tafa
firev	vood	split	AUX		firewoo	bd	spl	it	AUX		fir	rewood	split
nf		vt	aux		nf		vt		aux		nf		vt
ni	ahabi	i	ya		faya	bo	bi	hine	metem	one			fahi
na.NFIN	ahak	ba.NOM+F	ya	,	faya	bc	bi	hi-	na	-her	nete	-mone	fahi
AUX	end		ADJU		SO	sl	it	OC	AUX	FP.1	I+F	REP+F	then
aux	vi		prt		conj	vt		aux					dem
'He split firewood. When he was done splitting firewood, he cut her up.'													

He split firewood. When he was done splitting firewood, he cut her up.

129	Bobi	hina		bobi	<i>hinemetemoneke</i> hi- na -hemete -mone -ke						
	bobi	hi-	na+F	bobi	hi-	na	-hemete	-mone	-ke		
	slit	OC	AUX	slit	OC	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F		
	vt	aux		vt	aux						

'He cut her up.'

130		hi- na+F	<i>wahati</i> wahati liver		ka-	ibI put :	inside	<i>aboni</i> aboni main part+F	<i>tabasi</i> tabasi roast on grill		
	vt	aux	pn	vt				pn	vt		
hine	hinemetemoneni										
hi-	na -	hemete -mc	one -ni								
OC	OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F										
aux											
'II_0	'II a gut han up. II a put han liven in a pat and reasted han hady on a real '										

'He cut her up. He put her liver in a pot, and roasted her body on a rack.'

131 Hikaware			faya	hikaware			
hi- ka- waa -rI		,	faya	hi-	ka-	waa	-rI
OC COMIT stand raised	surfac	е	SO	OC	COMIT	cook	raised surface
vt			conj	vt			
kawari	ya	wiro	kanem	etemor	neke		
ka- waa -rI.NOM	уа	wiro	ka-	na	-heme	ete -n	none -ke
COMIT cook raised surface	ADJU	boil	COMII	AUX	FP.N+	F RE	EP+F DECL+F
result							
'He cooked her. She was cooked, and							

132	Wiro	kana	•	bai	bai	aawa		<i>nematamona</i> na -himata -m		
	wiro	ka-	na+F 🤇	bahi	bahi	a-	awa	na	-himata	-mona
	boil	COMIT	AUX	sun	sun	DUP	see	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M
	vi	aux		nm	nm	vt		aux		
1.01										

•

'She boiled. He looked at the sun.'

133	Bai	itema	itematamona						
	bahi	ita	-himata	-mona	ahi				
	sun	sit	FP.N+M	REP+M	then				
	nm	vi			dem				

'The sun was getting low.'

134	Bahi	aaw	a	ne		ya	yiwa tebe	,	yiwa tebe	aya
	bahi	a-	awa	na.	NOM+M	ya	yiwaha t	ebe	yiwaha tebe	aya
	sun	DUP	, see	AUΣ	X	ADJU	ceramic	pot	ceramic pot	this
	nm	vt		aux	ζ	prt	nf		nf	dem
toha			waka		ne	yiwa	waka	ne	yiwa	
to-	ha+F	,	waka		na+M	yiwa	waka	na+M	yiwa	
СН	be		destro	ру	AUX	pot	destroy	AUX	pot	
VC			vt		aux	nf	vt	aux	nf	
towa	kamakin	atan	iona					ahi		
to-	ka-	ka	a	-ma	akI	-hima	ata -mona	ahi		
awa	y COMI	T ga	o/come	fo	llowing	g FP.N+	-M REP+M	then		
vt								dem		

'After he looked at the sun, he broke the ceramic pot that was this big, and took the pieces away.'

135 Yiwa one yiwa one pot other+F nf adj	, sinamako	<i>sinamakoteba</i> sinamako -tee acouchy HAB nm	
<i>katatateba</i> katata -tee - caracara sp HAB F nm	toha ba to-ha.Li UT CH be vc		toha , to- ha.LIST , CH be vc

•

yama	nawa	ıte	k	ame		yiwa	ibe
yama	na-	wata+1	M k	a	-ma+M	yiwa	ibe
thing	g CAUS	S be loo	cated g	o/come 1	back	pot	piece
nf	vt		v	ri		nf	pn
nawari	i matamo i	na				ahi	
na-	waa	-rI		-himata	a -mona	ahi	
CAUS	stand	raised	surface	FP.N+M	REP+M	l then	
vt						dem	

'He put pieces of the broken pot in slits in the ends of sticks, and stuck the sticks in the ground. These were to become the first acouchy and the first caracara hawk. He stuck the sticks with the pieces of ceramic pot in the ground.'

136	Yiwa	ibe	nawar	i				kame		yifo	faki
	yiwa	ibe	na-	waa	-rI+M		,	ka	-ma+M	yifo	faki
	pot	piece	CAUS	stand	raised	surface		go/come	back	hammock	spin
	nf	pn	vt					vi		nm	vt
nam	ehibano			ahi							
na	-ma	-hiba	-no	ahi							
AUX	back	FUT+M	IP.N+M	then							
aux				dem							
'Ho	stuck the	a eticke v	with the r	ieces of	coramic n	ot in the gr	ound	Hecome	hack and	rolled string	for a

'He stuck the sticks with the pieces of ceramic pot in the ground. He came back, and rolled string for a hammock.'

.

137	Yifo	faki	nematamona	ahi
	yifo	faki	na -himata -r	mona ahi
	hammock	spin	AUX FP.N+M RE	EP+M then
	nm	vt	aux	dem
		a 1		

'He rolled string for a hammock.'

138	Hinaka	yama noko	bote		hina	wana		•	yohari	
	hinaka	yama noko	bot	е	hi-	na-	wana.LIST	,	yoha	-ri
	3SG.POSS	vagina	old		OC	CAUS	be attached		breast	PN
	pron	nm	adj		vt				pn	
hika	nawana			ahi	i					
hi-	ka- na-	wana+F		ah	i					
OC	COMIT CAU	S be attach	led	th	en					
vt				de	m					

'He put her old vagina on himself, and also put on her breasts.'

139	Yohari		hikanawanemetemone								
	yoha	-ri	hi-	ka-	na-	wai	na	-hemete	ahi		
	breast	PN	OC	COMIT	CAUS	be	attached	FP.N+F	REP+F	then	
	pn		vt							dem	
'He put on her breasts.'											

140Farafaranokinimanokonematamonakafarafaranokinimanokona-himata-mona-kasame+Fsame+Fface+Flikeface+MAUXFP.N+MREP+MDECL+Mdemdempnprtpnaux'He looked just like her.'

141	Faya	yowiri	ne,	yifo	faki	nematamona	ahi
	faya	yowiri	na+M 🤇	yifo	faki	na -himata -mona	ahi
	SO	sing woman's song	AUX	hammock	spin	AUX FP.N+M REP+M	then
	conj	vi	aux	nm	vt	aux	dem

'He sang like a woman, while rolling string for a hammock.'

142	Yifo	faki	ne		katata		ati	yana	tonen	natam	ona	
	yifo	faki	na+M	,	katata		ati	yana	to-	na	-himata	-mona
	hammock	spin	AUX		caracara s	sp	voice	start	CH	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M
	nm	vt	aux		nm		pn	vi	aux			
Kata	ntatatatatatatata	nta										
katatatatatatata												
(ca	(call of caracara)											

sound

'He was rolling string for a hammock. The caracara hawk began calling, "Katatata."'

| 143 | Kame | | |
|-----|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|--|
| | ka | -ma+M | |
| | go/come
vi | back | |

. "'He came back, he came."'

144	Katata	hora	nema	ıtamonaka					
	katata	hora	na	-himata	-mona	-ka			
	caracara sp	complain	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M			
	nm	vi	aux						
1001		1 · · ·							

'The caracara was complaining.'

145	Katatamona	ha				yiwa	ibe	•	yifo	faki	ne	
	katata		-mc	na	-ha	yiwa	ibe	,	yifo	faki	na+M	
	caracara	sp	REP	HH 2	DUP	pot	piece	:	hammock	spin	AUX	
	nm					nf	pn		nm	vt	aux	
yon	viri			nem	atam	ona		ahi				
yov	viri			na	-hi	mata	-mona	ahi				
sir	ng woman's	SO	ng	AUX	FP.	N+M	REP+M	then				
vi				aux				dem				

'The piece of ceramic pot was a caracara hawk. He sang women's songs as he rolled string for a hammock.'

146	Yow	iri			na	ya	kameno			ya	•	katata	
	yow	iri			na+F	ya	ka	-ma	-hino	ya	,	katata	
	sin	g wor	man's	song	AUX	ADJU	go/con	ne back	IP.N+M	ADJU		caracara	sp
	vi				aux	prt	vi			prt		nm	
yana		nema	tamona	ka			Kata			kata			
yana	a	na	-hima	ta -mc	na -ka	,	kata			kata			
sta	rt	AUX	FP.N+	M REF	HM DEC	L+M	(cal	l of ca	racara)	(call	of	caracara))
vi		aux					sound	d		sound			
kata				kat	ta		1	kata					
kata	a			ka	ta]	kata					
(cal	11 0	of ca	racara	a) (c	all of	caraca	ara)	(call o	f caraca	ra)			
sour	nd			so	und		2	sound					
kata													
kata	a			•									
(cal	11 0	of ca	racara	a)									
sour	nd												
			-	_		_	_						

'She was singing. When he came back, the caracara hawk started up, "Kata kata."'

•

147	Kame		kame						
	ka	-ma+M	ka	-ma+M					
	go/come	back	go/come	back					
	vi		vi						
'"He	e came, he c	ame."''							

148 <i>Kameno</i>	ya	sinamako	е	kanema	tamon	nane	
ka -ma -hino	ya	sinamako	ee	ka-	na	-himata	-mona -ne
go/come back IP.N+N	I ADJU	acouchy	yell	COMIT	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M BKG+M
vi	prt	nm	vi	aux			
Kwe kwe		kw	е			kwe	
kwe kwe		kw	е			kwe	
(yell of acouchi) (ye	ll of ac	ouchi) (y	ell of	acouch	i)	(yell of	acouchi)
sound sou	nd	SO	und			sound	
kwe kwe		kw	е			kwe	
kwe kwe		kw	е			kwe	
(yell of acouchi) (ye	ll of ac	ouchi) (y	ell of	acouch	i)	(yell of	acouchi)
sound sou	nd	SO	und			sound	
kwe kwe							
kwe kwe							
(yell of acouchi) (ye	ll of ac	ouchi)					
sound sou	nd						
'When he came heals the security	hi vollod c	ut "Vuo kuo					

'When he came back, the acouchi yelled out, "Kwe kwe."

149 Wafa	me	weye	nematamo	nane	wafa	mati
wafa	me	weye	na -hir	nata -mona -ne	wafa	mati
woolly moni	key 3P	L.O carry	y AUX FP.1	N+M REP+M BKG+M	woolly monkey	3PL
nm	pro	on vt	aux		nm	pron
wafa	me	fora		nenoho		
wafa	me	fora		na -hino -ho		
woolly monkey	3PL.O	shoot wi	th blowgun	AUX IP.N+M DUP		
nm	pron	vt		aux		

'He was carrying woolly monkeys on his back, which he had killed with his blowgun.'

150 W	afa	me		fora				neno		wafa		
Wa	afa	me		fora	ı			na ·	-hino	wafa		
WC	oolly mon	key 3P	L.O	shoc	ot wit	h b	lowgun	AUX	IP.N+M	woolly m	onkey	
nn	n	pr	on	vt				aux		nm		
me	weye	ne	waj	fa			me	weye	ne	kame		
me	weye	na+M	wa	fa			me	weye	na+M	ka	-ma+M)
3PL.O	carry	AUX	WO	olly	monke	ЭY	3PL.O	carry	v AUX	go/come	back	
pron	vt	aux	nm				pron	vt	aux	vi		
wafa		me	toba	kosem	atamon	aka						
wafa		me	to-	iba		-k	osa -h	imata	-mona -	ka		
wooll	y monkey	3PL.O	CH	set	down	mi	ddle FP	.N+M	REP+M D	ECL+M		
nm		pron	vt									

'He was carrying the woolly monkeys that he had killed with his blowgun. He came and set them down in the brush near the house.'

•

151	Kiyomame	Kiyomamematamona											
	ka	-yoma	-ma	-himata	-mona	ahi							
	go/come vi	through	back	FP.N+M	REP+M	then dem							

'He came into the house.'

152	Kiyomame			fati	yowiri	na
	ka	-yoma	-ma+M 🤇	fati	yowiri	na+F
	go/come	through	back	3SG.POSS.wife	sing woman's song	AUX
	vi			nf	vi	aux

wina.NOM+F lie in hammock vi 'He came into the hou	prt vi aux se. His wife was singing	AUX AUX IP.E+F aux , in her hammock, swin	then dem
0 0	aux	<i>ahi</i> one -ke ahi P+F DECL+F then dem	
154 Hoo , oof hoo oof humph hoo	, <i>fara</i> ? fara		
155 Me waka me waka 3PL.0 kill pron vt "'Did you kill them?'''	<i>tini</i> ti- na -ni 2SG.S AUX BKG+F aux	?	
156 Ee me ee me yes 3PL.O interj pron	waka onarani waka o- na kill 1SG.S AUX vt aux	-hara -ni . IP.E+F BKG+F	
157 Me waka me waka 3PL.0 kill pron vt "I killed them."	<i>onarani</i> o- na -hara 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F aux		
158 Wahati tikabe wahati ti- liver 2SG.S pn vt "Did you eat his liver?	kaba+M S eat		
159 Wahati okoban wahati o- liver 1SG.S pn vt "'I ate his liver."		+М	
160 Oko o- ka 1SG.POSS POSS prt "I ate the liver of the c	pn	<pre>wahati okobaharen wahati o- ka liver 1SG.S ea pn vt</pre>	iba -hare -ne .

kafoya

vi

COMIT be inside

wahati

pn

.

liver

161	61 Oko			yana		wahati	wahati okobarene				
	0-	ka	na-	na-	yana	wahati	0-	kaba	-hare	-ne	ahi
	1SG.POSS	POSS	DUP	CAUS	grow	liver	1SG.S	eat	IP.E+M	BKG+M	there
	prt		pn			pn	vt				dem
"I ato the liver of the one I reised "											

'I ate the liver of the one I raised.

162 *Tika* TikananayanaDisawunuunayoyuti-kana-na-bisawahatika-foya.CONT+M 2SG.POSS POSS DUP CAUS get up also prt pn fari . faari that one+M dem

"The liver of the one you raised is in the pot there."

nanayanabisa

163 Kawiara ? kawia -ra accompanying food NPQ pn

"Where is the starch to eat with it?"

164	Iyawa		kawitine	?		faro				
	iyawa		ka-	ita	-ne	faaro				
	manioc	mash	COMIT	sit	CONT+F	that+F				
	nf		vi			dem				
WT-	""The second second share the second share the second second second second second second second second second s									

There is manioc mash there in the pot."

165 Iyawa			kawitan	ni		iyawa hor			
i	yawa		ka-	ita -hani		iyawa	horo		
m	anioc	mash	COMIT	sit IP.	N+F	manioc mash	drag		
n	f		vi			nf	vt		
kawah	атета	tamona							
ka-	na	-waha	-ma	-himata	-mon	a			
COMIT	AUX	change	back	FP.N+M	REP+	М			
aux									

'He slid the pot with manioc mash toward him.'

166	Iyawa	horo	kawaha	me			iyawa	wahati	
	iyawa	horo	ka-	na	-waha	-ma+M	iyawa	wahati	
	manioc mash	drag	COMIT	AUX	change	back	manioc mash	liver	
	nf	vt	aux				nf	pn	
hiwakitimetemone ahi									
hi-	ka- iti	-hem	ete -m	one	ahi				
OC	COMIT pick u	ıp FP.N	+F RE	P+F	then				
vt					dem				
'He	'He slid the pot of manioc mash toward himself, and he nicked up her liver.'								

'He slid the pot of manioc mash toward himself, and he picked up her liver.'

167 Faya yoko hikanemetemone faya yoko hi- ka- na -hemete -mone so push OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F conj vt aux

'He put a big piece of her liver in his mouth.'

•

168	Yai	nako	sa	nematamonaka			
	yai	na	-kosa	na	-himata	-mona	-ka
	bite off	AUX	middle	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M
	vt	aux		aux			
1110	hit darum an it						

'He bit down on it.'

169	Yome	toni			nema	utamonaka			fimi	rama
	yome	to-	niha-	na	na	-himata	-mona	-ka	fimi+M	rama
	swallow	CH	CAUS	AUX	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	be hungry	unusual
	vt	aux			aux				vi	prt
<i>ahi</i> ahi the dem 'He		, he wa	as hungi	ry.'						

 170
 Yome
 toni
 nematamonaka
 iyawa
 yoko

 yome
 to- niha- na
 na -himata -mona -ka
 iyawa
 yoko
 yoko

 swallow
 CH
 CAUS
 AUX
 FP.N+M
 REP+M
 DECL+M
 manioc mash
 push

 vt
 aux
 aux
 nf
 vt

 tona
 ka na -bote
 .
 .
 .

 to na ka na -bote
 .
 .
 .

 to na ka na -bote
 .
 .
 .

 tux
 aux
 .
 .
 .
 .

'He swallowed it, and put a bunch of manioc mash in his mouth right away.'

171	Faya faya so conj	<i>me</i> me 3PL pron	tafa eat	natamonaka -himata FP.N+M	-mona	-ka DECL+M	<i>kasiro</i> kasiro a lot adv	ya ya ADJU prt	,	<i>fimi</i> fimi+M be hungry vi	rama rama unusual prt
<i>ahi</i> ahi the dem 'He	n	e, becaı	ıse he v	vas hungry	' 67						

172	Sitakari sitakari gall bladder pn	<i>wani</i> wana.NOM+F be attached vi	-	-	hisa hi- na -kosa+F OC AUX middle aux	rama rama unusual prt
<i>ahi</i> ahi the dem	n					

'He bit right into her gall bladder.'

173	Sitakarine	yai	hinakosahani							ya		
	sitakarine	yai		hi-	na	-kos	a	-ha	ni	ya		
	gall bladder	bite	off	OC	AUX	midd	lle	IP.	N+F	ADJ	U	
	pn	vt		aux						prt		
Aha			ati	nem	atamo	naka					ahi	
aha			ati	na	-hi	mata	-mc	na	-ka		ahi	
(un	pleasant surpr	ise)	say	AUX	FP.	N+M	REP	N+Y	DECL	+M	then	
int	erj		vt	aux							dem	
'Wh	en he bit into her ga	ler, he	said,	"Aha.								

67 The word *me* is a mistake.

174	Yora	kawaren		ahi					
	yora	ka-	na	-wał	narI	-himata	-mona	ahi	
	jump	COMIT	AUX	all	over	FP.N+M	REP+M	then	
	vi	aux						dem	

'He jumped around.'

175	Yifo	faki	na	wina	awa	itikabote		
	yifo	faki	na+F	wina+F	awa	iti	-kabote	
	hammock	spin	AUX	lie in hammock	tree	pick up	quickly	
	nm	vt	aux	vi	nf	vt		
nema	atamona		ahi					
na	-himata	-mona	ahi					
AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	then					
aux			dem					
		_						

'She was in her hammock rolling string, and he quick grabbed a stick.'

176	Baro	hiner	ahi									
	baro	hi-	na	-himata	-mona	-ka	ahi					
	beat	OC	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	then					
	vt	aux					dem					
'IIo	'II a bit him with the stick !											

'He hit him with the stick.'

177	Baro	hine	hinaka	noti	me	ohi	naba	nihi		
	baro	hi- na+M	hinaka	noti	me	ohi	na	-haba	-ni	-hi
	beat	OC AUX	3SG.POSS	grandson	3PL.S	cry	AUX	FUT+F	IP.N+F	DUP
	vt	aux	pron	nm	pron	vi	aux			

•

'His grandchildren cried.'

178 Okitira okitira окшти ka iti -ra o- ka iti 0--ra 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather NPQ 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather NPQ nm nm okitira okitira o- ka iti -ra o- ka iti -ra 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather NPQ 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather NPQ nm nm okitira • ka iti 0--ra 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather NPQ nm "My grandfather, my grandfather."

179	Tabiyo	te	ohi	na	te	erebobori					
	tabiyo	tee	ohi	na	tee	erebo -bo -ri					
	absence	2PL.S	cry	AUX	2PL.POSS	be bad DUP PN					
	pn	pron	vi	aux	pron	pn					
"Vo	"Vou are enving but you are all scratched "										

"You are crying, but you are all scratched."

180 *Hine* abaka hine ahaba -ka only die DECL+M pron vi "'Let him die."'

181 <i>Faya</i> faya so conj	<i>tabiyo</i> tabiyo absence pn	me 3PL.S	-	na+M : AUX r	<i>kokori</i> kokori mother's nm	brother	<i>me</i> me 3PL.0 pron	<i>hora</i> hora scold vt
hina hi- na+F OC AUX aux	me, me 3PL.O pron	me me 3PL.S pron	<i>tabasi</i> tabasi roast or vt	n grill	<i>hina</i> hi- na OC AU aux	-	waa+F stand	, <i>Hinaka</i> hinaka 3SG.POSS pron
<i>wafa</i> wafa woolly mo: nm	<i>me</i> me nkey 3PL pro		S away p	iti	-ma -h back IN		_	

'The uncle scolded them because they were crying because of their grandfather. They roasted her and she lay on the rack. "Go get his woolly monkeys."'

182	E		tokom	ibeya					•	hinaka	wafa	me
	ee		to-	ka		-ma	-be	-ya		hinaka	wafa	me
	1IN	.s	away	go/co	ome	back	IMMED+F	now		3SG.POSS	woolly monkey	3PL.O
	pro	n	vi							pron	nm	pron
е		kaba	ıba	n	nati							
ee		kab	a -ha	lba m	nati							
1IN.	.s	eat	FUI	'+F 3	BPL.	0						
pror	n	vt		P	pron							
'''Let	's go	hom	e, so w	ve can e	eat hi	s wooll	y monkeys	."'				

.

183	Hinaka	karaboa	te	tiwa	kana		na
	hinaka	karaboha	tee	tiwa	ka-	na.LIST	na
	3SG.POSS	blowgun	2PL.S	carry	COMIT	AUX	AUX
	pron	nf	pron	vt	aux		aux
"'Vo	u carry his blo	wain too "					

"You carry his blowgun, too."

184 E tokomibeya

ee to- ka -ma -be -ya 1IN.S away go/come back IMMED+F now pron vi "'Let's go home."'

185 Me tokomemetemoneke

me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron vi 'They went.'

186 Me tokomabone wafa weye me me me to- ka -ma -habone wafa me me weye woolly monkey 3PL.S away go/come back INT+F 3PL.O 3PL.S carry pron vi nm pron pron vt nemetemone ahi . na -hemete -mone ahi AUX FP.N+F REP+F then aux dem 'They carried the woolly monkeys as they went.'

187 Wafa me me weye na me wafa me me weye na+F me carry woolly monkey 3PL.O 3PL.S AUX 3PL.S pron pron nm pron vt aux

.

 tokomemetemone
 ahi

 to ka
 -ma
 -hemete -mone
 ahi

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

 vi
 dem

'They went carrying the woolly monkeys.'

188 <i>Me</i>	tokoma		me	kanawa	a ya	me	
me	to- ka	-ma+F	me	kanaw	ra ya	me	
3PL.S	away go/c	ome back	3PL.S	canoe	e ADJU	3PL.S	
pron	vi		pron	nf	prt	pron	
tokibima		me	towakisan	na			me
to- kibI	-ma+F	me	to- ka	a- ka	-r:	isa -ma+F	me
away be ins	side back	3PL.S	away CC	MIT go,	/come dou	vn back	3PL.S
vi		pron	vi				pron
mowe	noko	mowe	n	oko	me i	be	
mowe	noko	mowe	n	oko	me i	bI.LIST	
Brazil nut	seed+M	Brazil	. nut s	eed+M	3PL.S p	out inside	
nm	pn	nm	р	n	pron v	/t	
nemetemone	a	ihi is	siri	kari			
na -hemete	e-mone a	ahi íi	lsiri	kari			
AUX FP.N+F	REP+F t	chen b	basket	LOC+M			
aux	Ċ	dem r	nf	prt			
							- h l + !

'They went and got in the canoe and went downstream. They also put Brazil nuts in a basket.'

189	Yama	kabi	eehe	to	raba	ra	
	yama	kaba.NF	IN e-	eheto	na -ra	ba na -r	a+F
	thing	eat	DUP	be good	AUX a b	it AUX NE	G
	nf	result	vi		aux	aux	
okiti				kayawi		no <u>f</u> e	amane
0-	k	ka iti		ka-	yawa	nofa+M	ama -ne
1SG	.POSS E	POSS grar	ndfather	COMIT	be upset	recently	SEC BKG+M
nm				vt		prt	sec
'''My	y grandfat	ther didn't	give good f	ood."'			

•

190 Yama	yama	kabi	bitahamone		me
yama	yama	kaba.NFIN	bita	-hamone	me
thing	thing	eat	be bitter	REP+F	3PL.S
nf	nf	result	vi		pron
hinofa		ota ka	ıbawaineni		
ati hi- na	nofa+F	otaa ka	aba -waha	-ne -	ni
say OC AUX	recently	1EX.S ea	at change	CONT+F B	3KG+F
vt		pron vi	ī.		

"Now we are eating the thing they always said was bitter."

191	Hiba		е	iya		
	hiba	,	ee	kaba	-ba	-ya
wait			1IN.S	eat	IMMED+M	now
interj			pron	vt		
'''Co	me on, let					

192	Me	tokom	n		me	kibe	me
	me	to-	ka	-ma+F	me	kibI	me
	3PL.S	away	go/come	back	3PL.S	be inside	3PL.S
	pron	vi			pron	vi	pron

,

•

towakis	ama				towak	towakatimama						
to- i	ka-	ka	-risa	a -ma+F	to-	'to-ka-ka		-tima	-ma+F	m	е	,
away (COMIT	go/come	down	back	away	COMIT	go/come	upstream	back	3	PL.S	
vi					vi					р	ron	
kobo	tok	anama			me	fara	me	ka abi	n	i	ya	
kobo	to	- ka-	na	-ma+F	me	fara	me	ka abi	l n	i	ya	
arrive	e aw	ay COMIT	AUX	back	3PL.S	same+1	F 3PL	POSS fat	ther t	0	ADJU	
vi	au	x			pron	dem	pron	prt nm	р	rt	prt	
'They w	vent an	d got in and	d went	upstream	and arriv	ved back	to their fat	her.'				

193	Me	ka	abi	ni	ya	me	kobo	kaneme	temon	е		
	me	ka	abi	ni	ya	me	kobo	ka-	na	-hemete	-mone	
	3pl	POSS	father	to	ADJU	3PL.S	arrive	COMIT	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	
	pron	prt	nm	prt	prt	pron	vi	aux				
'The	ey arrive	ed to the	eir father.'									

3	ne BPL.S	<i>kobo</i> kobo arrive vi	kana ka- COMIT aux	na+F AUX	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	,	<i>wafa</i> wafa woolly monkey nm	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron
to-	a memete ka-	moneke	-		e -mone REP+F		-	-

'They arrived and the woolly monkeys were taken.'

195 W	afa	me	towakama			me	Hima	•	me			
Wa	afa	me	to- ka-	ka	-ma+F	me	hima		me			
WC	olly monke	y 3PL.S	away COMIT	go/come	back	3PL.S	let's go		3PL.O			
nn	n	pron	vt			pron	interj		pron			
te	ahi	nahi	wafa	mai	ti .							
tee	ahi	na -hi	wafa	mat	ti							
2PL.S	work on	AUX IMP+	F woolly mo	onkey 3PI	L							
pron	vt	aux	nm	pro	on							
'The woolly monkeys were taken. "Here, prepare the woolly monkeys."'												

•

196	Me	kabam	araba			me	amake
	me	kaba	-ma	-ra	-haba	me	ama -ke
	3PL.S	eat	back	NEG	FUT+F	3PL.S	SEC DECL+F
	pron	vt				pron	sec

•

"They are not going to be eaten anymore."

197 Me kabibeya me kaba -be -ya 3PL.S eat IMMED+F now pron vt

"They will be eaten now."

198	Faya	wafa me me kabemetemone			fahi	fahi				
	faya	wafa	me	me	,	kaba	-hemete	-mone	fahi	fahi
	SO	woolly monkey	3PL.O	3PL.S		eat	FP.N+F	REP+F	then	then
	conj	nm	pron	pron		vt			dem	dem
'So they ate the woolly monkeys.'										

199 Me kaba me me sari hikanemetemoneke , kaba+F me me me sari hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.S burn vt pron pron vt aux pron fahi fahi then dem 'They were eaten. They burned her.' 200 Me sari hikanemetemone hi- ka- na me sari -hemete -mone burn OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S pron vt aux 'They burned her.' 201 Me nakasirimetemone fafawa tohine era me nakasiri -mete -mone era fa- fawa to- ha -ne 3PL.POSS ashes FP.N+F REP+F 1IN.O DUP drink CH AUX CONT+F pron vt aux pron pn karavati mati haro Yome Aki bote haaro Yome Aki bote karayati mati 3PL that one+F (woman's name) old fly sp dem npropf adi nm pron nakasirimetemonehe nakasiri -mete -mone -he FP.N+F REP+F DUP ashes pn 'Their ashes are the *karayati* flies of today, that drink our blood, the ashes of old Yome Aki.' 202 Faya hikana me sari faya me

hi- kana+F sari faya me faya me 3PL.S OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S so burn so conj pron vt aux conj pron kakasawima na tohemetemone fahi me ka ka- kasawi -ma.LIST na to- ha -hemete -mone fahi me ka DUP COMIT be present back AUX СН AUX FP.N+F REP+F then 3pl POSS vi aux aux dem pron prt abi ni ya . abi ni ya father to ADJU nm prt prt 'They burned her. Then they stayed with their father.'

203 Me ka abi kakasawima toha ni va me ka abi ya ka- kato- ha+F me ni me sawi -ma POSS DUP COMIT be present back 3PL father to ADJU 3PL.S CH AUX pron prt nm pron νi aux prt prt iima tohemetemoneke me to- ha -hemete -mone -ke me i ima 3PL.S DUP be fat CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron vi aux

'They stayed with their father, and got fat.'

204	Hima	•	fara	amak	ke	
	hima		fara	ama	-ke	
	let's go		same+F	be	DECL+F	
	interj		dem	VC		
'Let'	's go, that's all.'					