

SIKO'S STORIES

Compiled and translated by

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Anápolis - GO

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Introduction

Siko¹ was a great storyteller, and he knew a lot of old stories. He not only knew many old Jarawara stories, but his repertory was also enriched by his wife, Amoro, who was originally from a neighboring ethnic group, the Wa Yafis; so he told many of their stories as well. One of Siko's distinctives as a storyteller was his ability to use sound effects. Sound effects are common in Jarawara stories, and many of them can be seen as regular sound words in the language; but Siko used them like no other, and many of his sound effects were undoubtedly original with him.

Siko was born in about 1923, reportedly at Assado, a former village on the Faha Biri (Rio Preto) river.² His first wife was Isi Biriki, and they had three daughters. One daughter, Inarinaha, did not survive childhood, but their other two daughters, Bata Kani and Morena, married and had children. Both are dead now. Bata Kani's son and his children and grandchildren live in the Jarawara villages. Morena married a Brazilian and lived outside of the Jarawara area, and her children and grandchildren live in Estação, a community on the Purus River, and in the nearby town of Lábrea.

After Isi Biriki died, Siko married Amoro, who was one of a group of Wa Yafis that fled their village when they were attacked by Apurinãs, probably in the 1940's (Maizza 2009:182). Some fled to Jamamadi villages and others to Jarawara villages, and many Jarawaras today are their descendents. Amoro and Siko did not have any children, but Amoro had been widowed twice and had children and grandchildren from her first two marriages (the first with a Wa Yafi and the second with a Jarawara). Siko died in 1994 in Casa Nova village, and Amoro died in 1999, also in Casa Nova.

Siko was a first (parallel) cousin of Yowao, another prolific storyteller, who died in 2002. Some of Yowao's stories have been published in volumes 1 and 2 of the Jarawara texts I have made available online (Vogel 2012; 2019), and I am presently working on a volume of his stories that will include many more.

The stories in this volume have almost all been previously published in the two volumes of texts that I have mentioned, except for five stories,³ which have not been previously published. A good number of revisions have been made in the analyses presented in the previously published stories.

I began recording the texts in 1987. The texts were originally recorded on cassette tape, and transcribed with the help of a number of literate Jarawaras. Many remaining questions were resolved in sessions with Okomobi and Bibiri, both of whom have a true gift for language. The recordings were made in Casa Nova village.⁴ The texts were interlinearized using Fielworks Language Explorer (FLEX).⁵

I make a practice of getting written permission from Jarawara authors of texts to use the texts for non-commercial purposes, but I did not start doing this until after Siko was already dead; so for these texts the permissions were signed by relatives of his.

These texts should not be seen as polished written texts. All of the texts are originally oral texts, none are originally written. The recordings are unedited, and the transcriptions reflect the recordings as exactly as possible. This means, for example, that false starts, repetitions of words,

1 Siko's Jarawara name was Bai Abono, but all his relatives used his name in Portuguese, Chico Fernandes. Some said Siko Fenani, but most just said Siko.

2 For a map of present and former Jarawara villages, see Maizza (2009:192).

3 The previously unpublished stories are "Many Battles" in the second section, and the following in the first section: "Weko", "The Brazilians Killed Kawi Yife", "Five Yimas Came", and "The Aba Fish of the Curiá River".

4 The approximately 230 speakers of Jarawara live on the Jamamadi-Jarawara reservation in the municipality of Lábrea in the state of Amazonas, Brazil.

5 FLEX is available for free download from the SIL International site (sil.org).

and occasional grammatical mistakes are retained in the transcription. Some of these are discussed in footnotes, but most are not.

The texts are divided into two groups, personal experience narratives and traditional stories. With very few exceptions, Siko's personal experience stories are told in the third person, and not in the first person.⁶ That is, they are not his own personal experiences, but events involving people he knew personally, or at least people he knew his connection to. For example, a number of Siko's stories are about his grandfather Bono Wiyo, who apparently died before Siko was born. The traditional stories, in contrast, involve characters in the more distant past.

The following format is used for each text. First a free translation is given of the text, and this is followed by the text in interlinear format. The first line of the interlinear format is orthographic. The second line represents underlying forms⁷ and morphemic divisions, the third line morpheme-by-morpheme glosses, the fourth line word classes, and the last line a sentence by sentence translation. The sentence by sentence translation is as literal as possible, in contrast to the free translation at the beginning of each text, which seeks to express the meaning of the text in more natural English. In the free translation, some implied information is added, participant reference (e.g. choice of a pronoun or an NP) follows the conventions of English, and some repetition is omitted.

Note that some Jarawara sentences are very long, because of the way many "dependent clauses" are sometimes strung together. For more information on dependent clauses, see Dixon (2004) and Vogel (2009).

The Jarawara orthography is pretty much phonemic and transparent, except that long vowels are not distinguished. For an explanation of the orthography, see my [Jarawara-English Dictionary](#), which is online. In the line for underlying forms, the symbol *I* is used to represent a morphophoneme that is realized as *i* or *e*, depending on the number of moras preceding in the word, *i* if the preceding number of moras is even and *e* if the preceding number of moras is odd (cf. Dixon (2004:40ff)).

In the orthographic line I have used punctuation in the normal ways, with one significant exception. Whereas the normal use of commas is to indicate grammatical pauses, I have used commas to indicate phonetic pauses. Some readers may find this awkward, since the pauses are

6 The one exception is "They Made a Bark Canoe". Also, "Towisawa Rowi" is a marginal exception, in that Siko refers to the fact that Towisawa told the story to him.

7 The second line is intended to represent underlying phonological forms, including long vowels, which are not represented in the Jarawara orthography. However, in some cases the underlying form is more morphological than it is phonological. There are vowel alternations of Jarawara verbs that are reflexes of grammatical processes, namely gender agreement and the derivation of non-finite forms. Where an underlying morphological form can be determined, I use it instead of all the forms that result from grammatical processes. For example, the suffix *-ma* 'back' typically has only this one form in contexts where there is no gender agreement, and typically has a *-ma/-me* alternation in other contexts to show feminine and masculine agreement, respectively. I use *-ma* as the underlying form in all contexts, but show gender agreement on the second line ('-back+F' or '-back+M') in all contexts where the form indicates the normal gender agreement found in finite clauses.

Similarly, a non-finite form is derived by changing a final *a* to *i*, but I use the form with *a* as the underlying form even when it is a non-finite form, and I indicate that the form is non-finite by adding NFIN. For example, I give the underlying form of *fawa* 'to drink', which is *fawi*, as **fawa.NFIN**. One of the advantages of doing things this way is that a search for all the tokens of a particular morpheme is made much easier. Also, this way it is possible to indicate that a form is non-finite even if there is no *a* to *i* change, which is the case for verbs ending with *o*, *i*, or *e*.

In Jarawara there is a construction called a "list construction", and one of the exponents of this construction is the obligatory absence of gender agreement in the verb stem. Whenever this is the case, I indicate this on the second line. For example, when *fawa* is in a list construction, this is indicated on the second line as **fawa.LIST**. This way, the reader knows the reason that *a* at the end of the verb does not indicate feminine agreement. (Since the items in a list construction can sometimes be NPs, the same notation is used to mark these.)

There is one more construction that is marked on the second line, i.e. nominalized clauses. These verb forms are marked with **NOM**, along with the gender when this is indicated in the form, i.e. **NOM+F** or **NOM+M**. This gender agreement is thus distinguished from the normal gender agreement of finite clauses.

often in the middle of a phrase and are not for any grammatical reason – speakers often pause just to think of what to say next – but I wanted to register this information, and could not think of any other way to do it.

The following abbreviations are used: **1** - first person, **1EX** - first person plural exclusive, **1IN** - first person plural inclusive, **2** - second person, **3** - third person, **adj** - adjective, **ADJU** - adjunct, **adv** - adverb, **antip** - antipassive, **AUX** - auxiliary, **BKG** - backgrounding, **CAUS** - causative, **CH** - change of state, **COMPL** - complement, **COMIT** - comitative, **conj** - conjunction, **CONT** - continuative, **CNTRFACT** - contrafactual, **CQ** - content question, **DECL** - declarative, **DEM** - demonstrative, **DIST** - distal, **DISTR** - distributive, **DUP** - reduplication, **E** - eyewitness evidentiality, **+F** - feminine agreement, **FP** - far past, **F.PL** - plural and feminine, **fpropn** - feminine proper noun, **FUT** - future, **HAB** - habitual, **HYPOTH** - hypothetical, **IMMED** - immediate, **IMP** - imperative, **INT** - intentive, **interj** - interjection, **interrog** - interrogative pro-form, **IP** - immediate past, **IRR** - irrealis, **LIST** - list construction, **LOC** - locative, **+M** - masculine agreement, **mpropn** - masculine proper noun, **N** - non-eyewitness evidentiality, **NEG** - negative, **NEG.LIST** - negative list item, **nf** - feminine noun, **NFIN** - non-finite, **nm** - masculine noun, **NOM** - nominalized clause, **NPQ** - noun phrase question, **O** - direct object, **OC** - O-construction, **PFUT** - past in future, **PL** - plural (i.e. two or more), **pn** - inalienably possessed noun, **POSS** - possessor/possessive, **post** - postposition, **pron** - pronominal, **prt** - particle, **RECIP** - reciprocal, **REFL** - reflexive, **REP** - reported, **result** - resultative, **RP** - recent past, **S** - subject, **SEC** - secondary verb, **SG** - singular, **sp** - species, **sound** - sound word, **SUPER** - superlative, **vc** - copular verb, **vd** - ditransitive verb, **vi** - intransitive verb, **voc** - vocative, **vt** - transitive verb. Those wishing more information on the syntax, morphology, and phonology of Jarawara may consult R.M.W. Dixon's (2004) grammar, *The Jarawara Language of Southern Amazonia*, and the introduction to my *Jarawara-English Dictionary*.

I welcome any comments or questions, and I can be reached at alan_vogel@sil.org.

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Part I - Personal Experience Narratives:

THE POISON ROOT SONG

Free Translation

That's what they were singing about, *kona* poison roots. It was *kona*, a big pile. His name has gone away quickly from my memory. Don't you know, Boroko? The one I used to talk about, who sang about *kona*. Oh, Aifa, yes, Aifa. They dug up *kona* roots. They started into the forest to the place where they would beat the *kona*. My father was small. He was very small. Aifa was thinking about the *kona*. They were thinking the *kona*. "You beat *kona*. You go on ahead. You beat *kona*," Aifa said. "You go on ahead. You put the poles for beating *kona* on the ground. I'll come later. I'm going to take snuff now." He took snuff. He went into the forest to defecate. He went and defecated. He came back.

"We are going to beat *kona* for a while," he said [to his wife, in the village]. He came to the others. He had painted his face red with annatto. He came.

"Well? Have you begun the *kona* song?" he said.

"We haven't begun the song yet."

"They are taking a long time. Sit in two rows." They sat in two rows on the poles, facing each other. One group sat on one side, and the other group sat on the other side, and he started the song.

He sat down on one of the poles. He grabbed a baton, to beat the *kona*. The baton went "teioo" as he beat the *kona*. He started the E Onira song, the *kona* song. "My younger sister doesn't know how to take out fish gall bladder. My younger sister doesn't know how to take out fish gall bladder," he said, singing the *kona* song. They sang the E Onira song. The sound of them beating the *kona* went "baro, baro". They were in lines beating the *kona*, my father and the others used to say. The E Onira song could be heard. They kept bending their heads down as they beat the *kona*.

He came to start the E Onira song, and all of a sudden he started the E Onira song. "They never sang this song a long time ago," he said. "Our adolescent boys are beating to the song that was never sung a long time ago. They will learn it."

"Baro, baro." It was the *kona* song. They beat the *kona*.

As they beat the *kona*, he sang the E Onira song, the *kona* song. He sang about it, the *bahama* catfish. "When the *bahama* fish hear the enemy Indians [i.e. the Jarawaras], they 'talk' to warn each other," he sang. They beat the *kona* really fast, by the E Onira song. They beat the *kona* by the E Onira song. "The *bahama* fish has a white moustache," he sang. He composed the E Onira song, my father said. This is what he was like: he had painted his face red, and his knees went up over his head as he sat, and he was between two others. They kept moving their heads up and down as they beat the *kona*. The *bahama* song didn't exist before. That *kona* song didn't exist before.

He started another right after that one. "A piece of a *tawi* fish goes around and around in the water as it hits the enemies' fish wier," he sang. [The *tawi* fish was cut in half by piranhas.] "E Onira, E Onira," he sang. They walked around to the song, wearing toucan feather ornaments.

They sang, singing the *kona* song. "The *wasu* fish blows to keep the fever of the enemy Indians away," he said, singing the *kona* song, which they had composed and taught. I am telling

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what I heard my father say long ago.

He started another right after that one. "The *base* fish turns its anus up when it hits the enemy Indians' fish wier," he sang.

They took turns starting songs. They took turns starting other songs about animals and fish. "The *wisi* tamarin goes, 'Sisibarara. The *wisi* tamarin goes, 'Sisibarara,' on the fork in the *awa sawa* tree," he sang. That's what he was like.

He started the *kiso* capuchin song right away. "The pregnant *kiso* capuchin says, 'Hao,'" he sang. "The pregnant *kiso* capuchin says, 'Hao.'" They sang it all very fast and loudly, and it was good, my father used to say.

"The *kabobo* lizard, the *yifoma* lizard; it is pregnant, and just hits the water repeatedly [instead of running on the surface]. E Onira, E Onira," they sang.

There were songs about both fish and animals. "The *bobo* owl hoots on the tree branch," he sang.

When one was over, he started another. He started it. "I swam to get the fat of the *aba* fish," he sang. "I swam to get the fat of the *aba* fish."

When the beating of the *kona* was done, they left to go on the trail singing the E Onira, decorated. They went back. The women got them all wet with mud. They got mud all over them with leaves. They wet them with mud and leaves. The women's fire went out because there were so many of them. [The men came back to the village and went over the fire, and the mud that was dripping off them put out the fire. This was symbolic of the *aba* that comes to the surface because of the *kona* poison.] The fire went out. The women had burned them with brands [which they touched to their skin], and now the fire went out. [The men are upset at being burned by the women, and they put the fire out, so they couldn't burn them anymore.] They had burned them. They were burned because of the women. They were burned, because they burned them. They got mud on them so they could eat, so they could eat fish. They got mud on them and they were burned, they burned them, they were hurt. They put out their fire, so they could shoot fish the next day, and kill many fish.

They got up early and put the *kona* in the water. They killed lots of fish in a trap. They brought the fish that had been caught by the fish wier, my father used to say. They carried lots of fish in the fish trap. [Several men carried one trap full of fish.]

Back at the village, they decided to start preparing the fish, and they wrapped the fish in leaves. They roasted the fish on grills. "Aren't they going to light the feast?" They danced after they ate. They were still dancing at dawn. They slept during the day. They ate in the morning and then slept, when it was day.

Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Hahi</i>		<i>tani</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>hihiri</i>	<i>hiematamona</i>		
	haahi	,	tani		me	hi- hiri	hi- to- ha	-himata	-mona
	this one+M		song about		3PL.S	DUP sing	OC CH AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M
	dem		pn		pron	vt	aux		

'That's what they were singing about.'

2	<i>Kona</i>		<i>kona</i>		<i>amaka</i>		<i>hari</i>		<i>kona</i>		<i>ehebote</i>
	kona	,	kona		ama -ka		haari		kona	,	ehebote
	plant sp		plant sp		be DECL+M		that one+M		plant sp		big
	nm		nm		vc		dem		nm		adj

'It was *kona*, a big pile.'

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3 *Ee* , *ino* *fawa* *ni* *kekerewe* *re*
 ee , ino fawa na.NFIN ke- kerewe na -ra+M
 (pause) name+M disappear AUX DUP be slow AUX NEG
 interj pn vi aux vi aux
 'His name went away quickly.'

4 *Me* *te* *watore* *Boroko* , *aya* *ino* *hihiri*
 me tee wato -ra+M Boroko , aya ino hi- hiri
 3PL 2PL.S know NEG (man's name) this name+M DUP say
 pron pron vt npropm dem pn vt
oehirih
 o- to- ha -hiri -hi , *kona* *tani* *hiri*
 1SG.S CH AUX RP.E+M DUP , kona tani hiri
 aux plant sp song about sing
 nm pn vt
nematamonaha
 na -himata -mona -ha
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 aux
 'Don't you know, Boroko? The one I used to talk about, who sang about *kona*.'

5 *Aa* , *Aifa* , *ee* , *Aifa*
 aa , Aifa , ee , Aifa
 oh yes (man's name) yes (man's name)
 interj npropm interj npropm
 'Oh, Aifa. Yes, Aifa.'

6 *Kona* , *kona* *me* *wi* *nemetemoneke*
 kona , kona me wii na -hemete -mone -ke
 plant sp plant sp 3PL.S dig AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm nm pron vt aux
 'They dug up *kona*.'

7 *Kona* *me* *wi* *na* *me* , *kona* *me* , *kona* *me*
 kona me wii na+F me , kona me , kona me
 plant sp 3PL.S dig AUX 3PL.S plant sp 3PL plant sp 3PL.S
 nm pron vt aux pron nm pron nm pron
wi *na* *me* , *kona* *me* *baro* *nabone* *me* *yana*
 wii na+F me , kona me baro na -habone me yana
 dig AUX 3PL.S plant sp 3PL.S beat AUX INT+F 3PL.S start
 vt aux pron nm pron vt aux pron vi
tonemetemone
 to- na -hemete -mone
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 aux
 'They dug up *kona*. They dug up *kona*. They started out to beat the *kona*.'

8 *Okobi* *ka* *abi* *okobi* *ka* *abi* *okobi* *ka* *abi*
 o- ka abi o- ka abi o- ka abi
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father
 nm nm nm
okobi *ka* *abi* *nafirematamonaka*
 o- ka abi nafi -ra -himata -mona -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS father be big NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vi
 'My father was small.'

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15 **Kona ewene te kakiba , na** .
 kona ewene tee ka- iba.LIST , na
 plant sp stick+M 2PL.S COMMIT set down AUX
 nm pn pron vt aux

"You put the poles for *kona* on the ground, too."

16 **Okomakebana o** .
 o- to- ka -makI -habana o-
 1SG.S away go/come following FUT+F 1SG.S
 vi prt

"I will come later."

17 **Sina hisi omate sina** .
 sina hisi o- na -mate sina
 snuff sniff 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F snuff
 nf vt aux nf

"I'm going to take snuff now."

18 **Sina hisi ne , faya sina hisi ne , mi nebona**
 sina hisi na+M , faya sina hisi na+M , mii na -hibona
 snuff sniff AUX so snuff sniff AUX defecate AUX INT+M
 nf vt aux conj nf vt aux vi aux

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

'He took snuff. He went to defecate.'

19 **Toke , toke mi towiti** ,
 to- ka+M , to- ka+M mii to- na -witI+M ,
 away go/come away go/come defecate away AUX out
 vi vi vi aux

kame kobo name , Kona ota baro
 ka -ma+M kobo na -ma+M , kona otaa baro
 go/come back arrive AUX back plant sp 1EX.S beat
 vi vi aux nm pron vt

namate
 na -mate
 AUX short time.IMP+F
 aux

'He went. He went and defecated. He came back and arrived. "We are going to beat *kona* for a while."

20 **Kona ota baro namateya** .
 kona otaa baro na -mate -ya
 plant sp 1EX.S beat AUX short time.IMP+F now
 nm pron vt aux

"We're going to beat *kona* for a while."

21 **Kamakimatamonaka**
 ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He came to the others.'

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22 **Kamaki** , **noko** **mawa** **kanematamonaka**
 ka -makI+M , noko mawa ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 go/come following face+M paint red COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi pn vt aux

ahi , **ate** **ya**
 ahi , atehe ya
 then annatto ADJU
 dem nf prt

'He came. He had painted his face red with annatto.'

23 **Ate** **ya** **noko** **mawa** **kanematamonaka**
 atehe ya noko mawa ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 annatto ADJU face+M paint red COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf prt pn vt aux

'He had painted his face red with annatto.'

24 **Noko** **mawa** **kane** **kamaki** , **Faira** ?
 noko mawa ka- na+M ka -makI+M , fahi -ra
 face+M paint red COMMIT AUX go/come following that NPQ
 pn vt aux vi dem

'He painted his face red and came. "Well?"

25 **Tani** **te** **iti** ? **ati** **nematamonaka**
 tani tee iti ? ati na -himata -mona -ka
 song about 2PL.S begin say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pn pron vt vt aux

'"Have you begun the *kona* song?" he said.'

26 **Tani** **ota** **itikara**
 tani otaa iti -ka -ra
 song about 1EX.S begin DECL+M NEG+M
 pn pron vt

'"We haven't begun the *kona* song.'"

27 **Me** **ki** **hine** **awane**
 me kii hi- na+M awa -ne
 3PL.S look at OC AUX seem+M BKG+M
 pron vt aux sec

'"They are taking a long time.'"

28 **Te** **bere** **kanahi**
 tee bere ka- na -hi
 2PL.S be in a line COMMIT AUX IMP+F
 pron vi aux

'"Sit in rows.'"

29 **Me** **bere** **kanemetemone** **ahi**
 me bere ka- na -hemete -mone ahi
 3PL.S be in a line COMMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron vi aux dem

'They sat in rows.'

30 **Ha** **me** **kaya** **kana** **ha** **me** **kaya**
 haa me kaya ka- na.LIST haa me kaya
 DEM 3PL.S be on one side COMMIT AUX DEM 3PL.S be on one side
 dem pron vi aux dem pron vi

THE POISON ROOT SONG

kana	nemetemoneke		kona	kona	tani
ka- na.LIST	na -hemete -mone -ke	,	kona	kona	tani
COMIT AUX	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F		plant sp	plant sp	song about
aux	aux		nm	nm	pn

me	itihibanoho	
me	iti -hiba -no -ho	.
3PL	begin FUT+M IP.N+M DUP	
pron	vt	

'One group sat on one side, and the other group sat on the other side, and he started the *kona* song.'⁸

31 Itarise	matamonaka		ahi		
ita -rI	-risa -himata -mona -ka	,	ahi		
sit raised surface	down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M		then		
vi			dem		

'He sat down on a pole.'

32 Itarise			itarise	matamona	
ita -rI	-risa+M	,	ita -rI	-risa -himata -mona	.
sit raised surface	down		sit raised surface	down FP.N+M REP+M	
vi			vi		

'He sat down. He sat down.'

33 Itarise			awa	itimata	monaka	ahi
ita -rI	-risa+M	,	awa	iti -himata -mona -ka		ahi
sit raised surface	down		wood	pick up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M		then
vi			nf	vt		dem

kona	babarobonaha	
kona	ba- baro -bona -ha	.
plant sp	DUP beat INT+M DUP	
nm	pn	

'He sat down and grabbed a stick, to beat the *kona*.'

34 Awa	itimata		mona	ahi	
awa	iti -himata -mona	,	ahi		
wood	pick up FP.N+M REP+M		then		
nf	vt		dem		

'He grabbed a stick.'

35 Teioo			ati	nematamona	ahi
teioo			ati	na -himata -mona -ka	ahi
(sound of hitting on wood)			say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	then
sound			vt	aux	dem

""Teioo" he went.'

36 Teioo			ati	ne	ee	E Onira
teioo			ati	na+M	ee	Ee Onira
(sound of hitting on wood)			say	AUX	(pause)	(name of song)
sound			vt	aux	interj	npropf

itimata	monane		kona	tani	
iti -himata -mona -ne	,		kona	tani	.
begin FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M			plant sp	song about	
vt			nm	pn	

""Teioo" he went. He started the E Onira, the *kona* song.'

⁸ The last occurrence of *me* is a mistake.

THE POISON ROOT SONG

37 **Kona tani itimatamonaka ahi**
 kona tani iti -himata -mona -ka ahi
 plant sp song about begin FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm pn vt dem

'He started the *kona* song.'

38 **Okasima , okasima , aba**
 o- ka asima , o- ka asima , aba
 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister fish
 nf nf nm

aba sitakari iti , okasima
 aba sitakari iti.NFIN , o- ka asima
 fish gall bladder take out 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister
 nm pn vt nf

watomonerani ha , monerani ha ati nematamonane
 wato -mone -rani haa , mone -rani haa ati na -himata -mona -ne
 know REP+F ? DEM REP+F ? DEM say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vt dem prt dem vt aux

"My younger sister doesn't know how to take out fish gall bladder," he said.'

39 **Okasima , okasima , aba**
 o- ka asima , o- ka asima , aba
 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister fish
 nf nf nm

sitakari iti , okasima watomonerani
 sitakari iti.NFIN , o- ka asima wato -mone -rani
 gall bladder take out 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister know REP+F ?
 pn vt nf vt

ha , monerani ha ati nematamonaka ahi , kona
 haa , mone -rani haa ati na -himata -mona -ka ahi , kona
 DEM REP+F ? DEM say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then plant sp
 dem prt dem vt aux dem nm

tani itihari
 tani iti -haari
 song about begin IP.E+M
 pn vt

"My younger sister doesn't know how to take out fish gall bladder," he said, singing the *kona* song.'

40 **E Onira me hiri na me , hiri**
 Ee Onira me hiri na+F me , hiri
 (name of song) 3PL.S sing AUX 3PL.S sing
 npropf pron vt aux pron vt

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

'The sang the E Onira.'

41 **Baro baro baro**
 baro baro baro
 (sound of beating) (sound of beating) (sound of beating)
 sound sound sound

baro baro baro
 baro baro baro
 (sound of beating) (sound of beating) (sound of beating)
 sound sound sound

THE POISON ROOT SONG

47 *E ka yama wasini* , *e ka yama wasini*
 ee ka yama wasi.NFIN -ni , ee ka yama wasi.NFIN -ni
 1IN POSS thing find IP.N+F 1IN POSS thing find IP.N+F
 pron prt nf result pron prt nf result
amaremetemone , *metemonehe* , *ati nematamonaka*
 ama -ra -hemete -mone , mete -mone -he , ati na -himata -mona -ka
 be NEG FP.N+F REP+F FP.N+F REP+F DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vc prt vt aux

"Our people never sang this song a long time ago," he said.'

48 *E ka yama wasini* *amarametemonera*
 ee ka yama wasi.NFIN -ni ama -ra -mete -mone -ra
 1IN POSS thing find IP.N+F be NEG FP.N+F REP+F NEG
 pron prt nf result vc
e yetene *baro tokini* , *baro tokini*
 ee yetene baro to- ka- na -ni , baro to- ka- na -ni
 our teenage boys beat CH COMIT AUX BKG+F beat CH COMIT AUX BKG+F
 nf vt aux vt aux
ati nematamonaka *ahi*
 ati na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt aux dem

"Our adolescent boys are beating to the song that our people never sang a long time ago," he said.'

49 *Me hiwatoaba amake*
 me hi- wato -haba ama -ke
 3PL.S OC know FUT+F SEC DECL+F
 pron vt sec

"They will learn it."

50 *Baro baro baro*
 baro baro baro
 (sound of beating) (sound of beating) (sound of beating)
 sound sound sound
baro baro baro
 baro baro baro
 (sound of beating) (sound of beating) (sound of beating)
 sound sound sound
baro , kona tanimatamona kona
 baro , kona tani -mata -mona kona
 (sound of beating) plant sp song about FP.N+M REP+M plant sp
 sound nm pn nm

"Baro, baro." It was the *kona* song.'

51 *Kona me kona me baro nemetemoneke*
 kona me kona me baro na -hemete -mone -ke
 plant sp 3PL plant sp 3PL.S beat AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron nm pron vt aux

"They beat the *kona*."

52 *Kona me baro na me* , *E Onira hiri*
 kona me baro na+F me , Ee Onira hiri
 plant sp 3PL.S beat AUX 3PL.S (name of song) sing
 nm pron vt aux pron npropf vt

THE POISON ROOT SONG

ni , *nawi* *ni* , *ati* *nematamonaka* *ahi* .
na.NFIN , na -wi na.NFIN , ati na -himata -mona -ka ahi
AUX AUX steadily AUX say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
aux aux aux vt aux dem

'The *bahama* has a white moustache," he said.'

59 *E Onira* *siba* *nematamona* , *okobi*
Ee Onira siba na -himata -mona , o- ka abi
(name of song) look for AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father
npropf vt aux nm

na *hiehimari* *ama* .
ati na hi- to- ha -himari ama
say AUX OC CH AUX FP.E+M SEC
vt aux sec
'He composed the E Onira, my father always said.'

60 *Ee* *toemata* .
e- ee to- ha -himata
DUP be similar CH AUX FP.N+M
vi aux

'That's what he was like.'

61 *Noko* *mawa* *kanikima* *kane* *iso* *witi* *fiya*
noko mawa na -kanikima ka- na+M iso witi fiya
face+M paint red AUX scattered COMMIT AUX leg+M edge pass
pn vt aux aux pn pn vi

tokomisa *kane* *ahi* , *hete* *tonahari* .
to- ka- na -misa ka- na+M ahi , hete to- na -haari
away COMMIT AUX up COMMIT AUX then stick in CH AUX IP.E+M
aux aux dem vt aux

'He had painted his face red, and his knees went up over his head, and he was between two others.'

62 *Me* *mowimowi* *kana* *nemetemoneke* *ahi* , *kona*
me mowi- mowi ka- na na -hemete -mone -ke ahi , kona
3PL.S DUP bend COMMIT AUX AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then plant sp
pron vi aux aux aux dem nm

me *baro* *na* *mati* .
me baro na+F mati
3PL.S beat AUX 3PL.S
pron vt aux pron

'They kept moving their heads up and down as they beat the *kona*.'

63 *Tani* *wataterere* *amaka* *hari* .
tani wata -tee -ra+M ama -ka haari
song about exist HAB NEG SEC DECL+M that one+M
pn vi sec dem

'The *bahama* song didn't exist before.'

64 *Kona* *tani* *wataterere* *amaka* .
kona tani wata -tee -ra+M ama -ka
plant sp song about exist HAB NEG SEC DECL+M
nm pn vi sec

'The *kona* song didn't exist before.'

THE POISON ROOT SONG

ati nematamonane , **wasa tani** **hiri nari** ,
 ati na -himata -mona -ne , wasa tani hiri na -haari ,
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M fish sp song about sing AUX IP.E+M
 vt aux nm pn vt aux
fara me hiwasiemete , **fara me hikanawanemete** ,
 fara me hi- wasi -hemete , fara me hi- kanawana -hemete ,
 same+F 3PL.S OC compose FP.N+F same+F 3PL.S OC teach FP.N+F
 dem pron vt dem pron vt

hirihiri toemete .
 hiri- hiri to- ha -hemete
 DUP sing CH AUX FP.N+F
 vt aux

'"The *wasa* fish blows to keep the fever of the enemy Indians away," he said, singing the *kona* song, which they had composed and taught.'

71 **Mimita ohemete** **okobi** **hihiri**
 mi- mita o- to- ha -hemete o- ka abi hi- hiri
 DUP hear 1SG.S CH AUX FP.N+F 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP sing
 vt aux nm vt

hiamaro , **hiri one** **o** .
 hi- to- ha -hamaro , hiri o- na -ne o-
 OC CH AUX FP.E+F say 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S
 aux vt aux prt

'I am telling what I heard my father say long ago.'

72 **Ati itiwa hitiemetemoneke** **ahi**
 ati iti -waha hi- to- na -hitI -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 voice begin change OC CH AUX along the way FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pn vt aux dem

'He started another right after that one.'

73 **Yawa ka serima baki** **ya** , **aba** , **aba**
 yawa ka serima baki ya , aba , aba
 enemies POSS fish wier inside surface+F ADJU fish fish
 nf prt nf pn prt nm nm

base te kanama , **te kanama** **ati**
 base tee ka- na -ma+F , tee ka- na -ma+F ati
 pacu sp bend over COMIT AUX back bend over COMIT AUX back say
 nf vi aux vi aux vt

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

'"The *base* fish turns its anus up at the enemy Indians' fish wier," he said.'

74 **Me wara kanikima hinemetemoneke** **ahi** .
 me wara na -kanikima hi- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S grab AUX scattered OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vt aux aux dem

'They took turns.'

75 **Me wara kanikima hina** **me** , **bara**
 me wara na -kanikima hi- na+F me , bara
 3PL.S grab AUX scattered OC AUX 3PL other+F
 pron vt aux aux pron adj

THE POISON ROOT SONG

ihawakani iha -waha -kani put change one at a time vt	hinemetemoneke hi- na -hemete -mone -ke OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux	ahi ahi then dem	bani bani animal nm
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me me 3PL.POSS pron	tani tani song about pn	aba aba fish nm	me me 3PL.POSS pron	tani tani song about pn
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"They took turns starting other songs about animals and fish."

76 Aba aba fish nm	bani bani animal nm	bani bani animal nm	wisi wisi tamarin nm	ati ati voice pn
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sisibararamonarani sisibarara (call of wisi tamarin) sound	-mona -rani REP+M ?	ha haa DEM dem	monarani mona -rani REP+M ?	ha haa DEM dem
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"The wisi goes, 'Sisibarara.'"

77 Awa sawa awa tree nm	awa sawa awa tree nm	ino ino branch+M pn	batori batori junction pn	ya ya ADJU prt	bani bani animal nm	wisi wisi tamarin nm	ati ati voice pn
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sisibararamonarani sisibarara (call of wisi tamarin) sound	-mona -rani REP+M ?	ha haa DEM dem	monarani mona -rani REP+M ?	ha haa DEM dem	ati ati say vt
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nematamonaka

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

"The wisi goes, 'Sisibarara,' on the fork in the awa sawa tree," he said."

78 Ee e- ee DUP be similar vi	toemata to- ha -himata CH AUX FP.N+M aux	kiso kiso white-fronted capuchin nf	tani tani song about pn
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itikiwakabote

iti -kI -waha -kabote begin coming change quickly vt
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"That's what he was like. He started the kiso song right away."

79 Bani bani animal nm	kiso kiso white-fronted capuchin nf	bani bani animal nm	kiso kiso white-fronted capuchin nf
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naba koro naba koro pregnant adj	bani bani animal nm	kiso kiso white-fronted capuchin nf	naba koro naba koro pregnant adj	ati ati voice pn
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haomonerani hao (call of white-fronted capuchin) sound	-mone -rani REP+F ?	ha haa DEM dem	monerani mone -rani REP+F ?	ha haa DEM dem	ati ati say vt
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THE POISON ROOT SONG

89 *Faya me* , *me* , *faya kona* *baro ni* *ahabe* *ya* ,
 faya me , me , faya kona baro na.NFIN ahaba.NOM+M ya ,
 so 3PL 3PL so plant sp beat AUX end ADJU
 conj pron pron conj nm result aux vi prt
me yana tonemetemoneke , *E Onira* *me*
 me yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke , Ee Onira me
 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F (name of song) 3PL.S
 pron vi aux npropf pron
towakamaba *mati ahi* , *me atoha* *mati* ,
 to- ka- ka -ma -haba mati ahi , me atof+ mati ,
 away COMIT go/come back FUT+F 3PL.S then 3PL.S be decorated 3PL.S
 vt pron dem pron vi pron
ahi hawi ya .
 ahi hawi ya
 then trail ADJU
 dem nf prt

'When the beating of the *kona* was done, they left to go on the trail with the E Onira, decorated.'

90 *Tokometemone* *ahi* , *tokoma* *me* ,
 to- ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi , to- ka -ma+F me ,
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then away go/come back 3PL.S
 vi dem vi pron
me me foto nemetemoneke *ahi atabo ya* .
 me me foto na -hemete -mone -ke ahi atabo ya
 3PL.O 3PL.S wet AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then mud ADJU
 pron pron vt aux dem nf prt

'They went back. They got them all wet with mud.'

91 *Atabo ya me me foto nemetemoneni* , *waso ya* .
 atabo ya me me foto na -hemete -mone -ni , waso ya
 mud ADJU 3PL.O 3PL.S wet AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F leaf ADJU
 nf prt pron pron vt aux nf prt

'They got mud all over them with leaves.'

92 *Atabo waso kihaha ya me me foto hinemetemone* .
 atabo waso kiha+F ya me me foto hi- na -hemete -mone
 mud leaf have ADJU 3PL.O 3PL.S wet OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nf nf vt prt pron pron vt aux

'They wet them with mud and leaves.'

93 *Me fanawi ka yifo witi owihemetemoneke* *me tama*
 me fanawi ka yifo witi owi -hemete -mone -ke me tama+F
 women POSS fire coal go out FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S be many
 nf prt nf pn vi pron vi
me ihi ahi .
 me ihi ahi
 3PL.POSS because of+F then
 pron post dem

'The women's fire went out because there were so many of them.'

94 *Yifo witi owihemetemone* *amake* .
 yifo witi owi -hemete -mone ama -ke
 fire coal go out FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 nf pn vi sec

'The fire went out.'

THE POISON ROOT SONG

95 *Yifo witi owiha me , me me sari*
 yifo witi owi+F me , me me sari
 fire coal go out 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S burn
 nf pn vi pron pron pron vt

hinemetemoneke ahi
 hi- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux dem
 'They had burned them, and now the fire went out.'

96 *Me me sari hina me , me*
 me me sari hi- na+F me me
 3PL.O 3PL.S burn OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron pron vt aux pron pron

hatihemetemoneke me fanawi ihi
 hati -hemete -mone -ke , me fanawi ihi
 be burnt FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F women because of+F
 vi nf post
 'They had burned them. They were burned because of the women.'

97 *Me hatihemetemoneni , me me sari hina*
 me hati -hemete -mone -ni , me me sari hi- na+F
 3PL.S be burnt FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 3PL.O 3PL.S burn OC AUX
 pron vi pron pron vt aux

mati
 mati
 3PL.O
 pron
 'They were burned, because they burned them.'

98 *Me tafibonemakoni , me me foto*
 me tafa -bone -makoni , me me foto
 3PL.S eat INT+F for this reason+F 3PL.O 3PL.S wet
 pron vi pron pron vt

nemetemoneni aba me me kababone mati
 na -hemete -mone -ni , aba me me kaba -habone mati
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat INT+F 3PL.S
 aux nm pron pron vt pron
 'They got mud on them so they could eat, so they could eat the fish.'

99 *Aba me me kababone , me me foto hina me*
 aba me me kaba -habone , me me foto hi- na+F me
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat INT+F 3PL.O 3PL.S wet OC AUX 3PL.O
 nm pron pron vt pron pron vt aux pron
 , *me hatiha me , me me hinahatiha me , me*
 me hati+F me , me me hi- na- hati+F me , me
 3PL.S burn 3PL.S 3PL.O 3PL.S OC CAUS burn 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron pron vt pron pron

hiyayaya kawahemetemoneke ahi
 hiya -ya -ya ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 be hurt DUP DUP COMMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi aux dem
 'They got mud on them and they were burned, they burned them, they were hurt.'

THE POISON ROOT SONG

100 *Me ka yifo witi me nawiemetemoneni* ,
 me ka yifo witi me na- owi -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL POSS fire coal 3PL.S CAUS go out FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron prt nf pn pron vt

kona me , kona me sa naminaba mati aba
 kona me , kona me saa na -mina -haba mati aba
 plant sp 3PL plant sp 3PL.S release AUX morning FUT+F 3PL.S fish
 nm pron nm pron vt aux pron nm

me me , katomaba mati .
 me me , katoma -haba mati
 3PL.O 3PL.S kill many FUT+F 3PL.S
 pron pron vt pron

'They put out their [the women's] fires, they who would shoot fish the next day, and kill many fish.'

101 *Kona me sa namina me , kona me*
 kona me saa na -mina+F me , kona me
 plant sp 3PL.S release AUX morning 3PL.S plant sp 3PL.S
 nm pron vt aux pron nm pron

bosa kana kona me sa
 bosa ka- na+F kona me saa
 get up early COMIT AUX plant sp 3PL.S release
 vi aux nm pron vt

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

'They got up early and put the *kona* in the water.'

102 *Kona me sa namina me , kona me sa*
 kona me saa na -mina+F me , kona me saa
 plant sp 3PL.S release AUX morning 3PL.S plant sp 3PL.S release
 nm pron vt aux pron nm pron vt

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

'They put the *kona* in the water in the morning.'

103 *Aba me me katomemetemoneni , wawasi*
 aba me me katoma -hemete -mone -ni , wa- wasi
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S kill many FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F DUP get caught
 nm pron pron vt nf

ka mati .
 ka mati
 pertaining to 3PL
 prt pron

'They killed lots of fish in a trap.'

104 *Serima baki ka aba me wasiha*
 serima baki ka aba me wasi+F
 fish wier inside surface+F pertaining to fish 3PL.S get caught
 nf pn prt nm pron vi

me me kakamemetemone okobi
 me me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone o- ka abi
 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father
 pron pron vt nm

THE POISON ROOT SONG

aati toemarika

a- ati to- ha -himari -ka
 DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M
 vt aux

'They brought the fish that had been caught by the fish wier, my father used to say.'

105 **Aba tamabote me me tiwari kanemetemone**
 aba tama -bote me me tiwa -ri ka- na -hemete -mone
 fish be many very 3PL.O 3PL.S carry DISTR COMMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nm adj pron pron vt aux

wawasi ya
 wa- wasi ya
 DUP get caught ADJU
 nf prt

'They carried lots of fish in the fish trap.'

106 **Afore**
 Afore
 (woman's name)
 npropf

'Afore.'¹⁰

107 **Faya me yana tona me , aba me me**
 faya me yana to- na+F me , aba me me
 so 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S
 conj pron vi aux pron nm pron pron

tafehemetemone ahi
 tafa -hemete -mone ahi
 wrap FP.N+F REP+F then
 vt dem

'Afore. They decided to start, and they wrapped the fish in leaves.'

108 **Aba me me tafa me , aba me me tafa me**
 aba me me tafa+F me , aba me me tafa+F me
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S wrap 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S wrap 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt pron nm pron pron vt pron
 , **aba me me tabasi nemetemoneke ahi**
 aba me me tabasi na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nm pron pron vt aux dem

'They wrapped the fish, and roasted the fish on racks.'

109 **Me firi hikaraba ama ayaka ?**
 me firi hi- ka- na -ra -haba ama ayaka
 3PL.S shine light on OC COMMIT AUX NEG FUT+F SEC festa
 pron vt aux sec nf

'"Aren't they going to light the feast?"'

110 **Faya me ayakemetemoneke , me tafa mati**
 faya me ayaka -hemete -mone -ke , me tafa+F mati
 so 3PL.S dance FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S eat 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron vi pron

'They danced after they ate.'

10 At this point Siko said something to his wife Afore, but the sentence is unclear.

THE POISON ROOT SONG

111 *Me tafa me ayakemetemoneke*
 me tafa+F me ayak -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S dance FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi pron vi

'They ate and danced.'

112 *Me ayaka me kawaha me me*
 me ayaka+F me ka- waha+F me , me
 3PL.S dance 3PL.S COMIT dawn 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi pron pron

kawahemetemoneke

ka- waha -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT dawn FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'They were still dancing at dawn.'

113 *Faya me amo natiemetemoneke fahi*
 faya me amo na nahatI -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 so 3PL.S sleep AUX daytime FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 conj pron vi aux dem

'They slept during the day.'

114 *Me amo na me tafamina me tafa me*
 me amo na+F , me tafa -mina+F me tafa+F , me
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S eat morning 3PL.S eat 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron vi pron vi pron
amo nawahemetemoneke fahi me kawaha mati
 amo na -waha -hemete -mone -ke fahi , me ka- waha+F mati
 sleep AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3PL.S COMIT dawn 3PL.S
 vi aux dem pron vi pron

'They ate in the morning and then slept, when it was day.'

115 *Karayati*
 karayati
 fly sp
 nm

'A *karayati* fly.'

116 *Hima*
 hima
 let's go
 interj

'Come on.'

117 *Faya amake*
 faya ama -ke
 enough be DECL+F
 adj vc

'That's all.'

WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES ARE FIERCE

Free Translation

They met up with some white-lipped peccaries and they shot them with arrows. The peccaries could be heard as they startled them. [They attacked them, so that they would go toward the other group, who were waiting for them.] The peccaries carried the arrows they had been shot with. They almost killed all the peccaries, my father said, my father's people, his older brother's people. Their cross-cousins also got peccaries. They killed lots of peccaries, with arrows. The peccaries were falling dead as they walked. They carried the peccaries off. They didn't gut the peccaries. They carried the peccaries with the guts, and they were tired.

My uncle called his younger brother.

"Why are you calling me?"

"I want you [pl.] to strip some inner bark, some *tamiyara* inner bark."

His younger brother stripped some *tamiyara* inner bark. They tied up the peccaries. They carried the peccaries. They took some of the peccaries, then came back to get the the other peccaries. The village wasn't far, my father used to say. They carried the peccaries. They were not skinned. They singed them in the fire. They cut them up and roasted them on a grill. Then they ate them for a long time. There was enough meat for a festa on the grill. The meat they roasted would have been enough for a festa. Didn't they sell peccary meat to the Brazilians? [Siko comments.] They ate the peccaries.

It was my uncle, Sowiri. Later my uncle went out to the garden to get some produce. The pack of peccaries that they had attacked had gone away and come back.

"Older brother, the peccaries came back. Watch your female dog, so the peccaries don't hurt it. I don't have any ammunition, lead." My uncle was carrying a muzzle-loader on his shoulder.

So my uncle went with his dog [to another village, probably]. As he was going back, the dog smelled something and went running off. My uncle heard something. He could hear the peccaries in the distance. The dog started barking. "Hao, hao." He heard the peccaries, "Hom, hom." My uncle ran after the dog, and then yelled out in fear. The peccaries were all coming toward him. My uncle went up a tree and stood there, calling out all day. The peccaries surrounded my uncle. They went back and forth, meeting each other. "Tai, tai [sound of their teeth), hom, hom," they went. The dog wasn't there. It had gone away and stood off at a distance. My uncle called out all day.

His younger brother came by [as he was hunting], and heard something. He came running. "Why is he calling out?"

He came running. He was carrying a shotgun. The peccaries were still there making noise. He came.

"Here, here, come here, come here, I'm tired," my uncle said, tired out from holding on up in the tree.

He shot the peccaries, "Tei." My uncle could be heard, "Tei." He shot them.

After they had gone a ways away, my uncle jumped down and went running away toward the village. He went running home. "You go after the others." He went running home to get them.

My uncle made a barking sound at the peccaries, and they came back. He stood in the midst of them. The others [who had come from the village] came upon them and shot them with bow and

WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES ARE FIERCE

'They carried the peccaries with their guts, and they were tired.'

11 *Me ma tokaha me , okobise*
 me maa to- ka- ha+F me , o- ka abise ,
 3PL.S be tired CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS uncle
 pron vi aux pron nm

nisori ha ne , okobise
 nisori haa na+M , o- ka abise
 3SG.POSS.younger brother call AUX 1SG.POSS POSS uncle
 nm vt aux nm

nisori ha nematamonaka
 nisori haa na -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS.younger brother call AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vt aux

'They were tired. My uncle called his younger brother.'

12 *Okobise nisori ha ne , Himatabiyo*
 o- ka abise nisori haa na+M , himatabiyo
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle 3SG.POSS.younger brother call AUX
 nm vt aux interrog

owa ha ?
 owa haa
 1SG.O call
 pron vt

'My uncle called his younger brother. "Why are you calling me?'"

13 *Mato , tamiyara , tamiyara te sa na*
 mato , tamiyara , tamiyara tee saa na
 inner bark tree sp tree sp 2PL.S strip off AUX
 nf nm nm pron vt aux

one oke
 ati o- na -ne o- ke
 say 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vt prt

'"I want you to strip some inner bark, some *tamiyara* inner bark.'"

14 *Tamiyara , nisori sa nematamonaka*
 tamiyara , nisori saa na -himata -mona -ka
 tree sp 3SG.POSS.younger brother strip off AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm nm vt aux

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'His younger brother stripped some *tamiyara* inner bark.'

15 *Tamiyara sa ne , tamiyara sa*
 tamiyara saa na+M , tamiyara saa
 tree sp strip off AUX tree sp strip off
 nm vt aux nm vt

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

'He stripped some *tamiyara* inner bark.'

WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES ARE FIERCE

16	Tamiyara	sa	ne	,	tamiyara	ya	,	tamiyara	,
	tamiyara	saa	na+M		tamiyara	ya		tamiyara	
	tree sp	strip off	AUX		tree sp	ADJU		tree sp	
	nm	vt	aux		nm	prt		nm	
	hiyama		me	me	wete	nemetemoneke			ahi
	hiyama		me	me	wete	na -hemete -mone -ke			ahi
	white-lipped peccary		3PL.O	3PL.S	tie	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F			then
	nm		pron	pron	vt	aux			dem

'He stripped some *tamiyara* inner bark. They tied up the peccaries.'

17	Hiyama		me	me	iso	nemetemone	
	hiyama		me	me	iso	na -hemete -mone	
	white-lipped peccary		3PL.O	3PL.S	carry off	AUX FP.N+F REP+F	
	nm		pron	pron	vt	aux	

'They carried the peccaries.'

18	Hiyama		me	me	iso	na	me	,
	hiyama		me	me	iso	na+F	me	
	white-lipped peccary		3PL.O	3PL.S	carry off	AUX	3PL.S	
	nm		pron	pron	vt	aux	pron	

	hiyama		me	me	iso	nemetemone	
	hiyama		me	me	iso	na -hemete -mone	
	white-lipped peccary		3PL.O	3PL.S	carry off	AUX FP.N+F REP+F	
	nm		pron	pron	vt	aux	

'They carried the peccaries.'

19	Hiyama		me	me	,	towakama		me
	hiyama		me	me		to- ka- ka	-ma+F	me
	white-lipped peccary		3PL.O	3PL.S		away COMMIT go/come back		3PL.S
	nm		pron	pron	vt			pron

	hiyama		me	one	nakamatasa		tabora
	hiyama		me	one	na- ka	-ma -tasa+F	tabora
	white-lipped peccary		3PL	other+F	CAUS go/come back again		village
	nm		pron	adj	result		nf

	yaboremotemone		okobi		aati	
	yabo -ra -hemete -mone		o-	ka	abi	a- ati
	be far NEG FP.N+F REP+F		1SG.POSS	POSS	father	DUP say
	vi		nm			vt

	toemarika
	to- ha -himari -ka
	CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M
	aux

'They took some peccaries. Other peccaries were come back for. The village wasn't far, my father used to say.'

20	Faya	hiyama		me	me	iso	nemetemone
	faya	hiyama		me	me	iso	na -hemete -mone
	so	white-lipped peccary		3PL.O	3PL.S	carry off	AUX FP.N+F REP+F
	conj	nm		pron	pron	vt	aux

ahi
ahi
then
dem

'They carried the peccaries.'

WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES ARE FIERCE

- 21 *Me atari iteremetemoneni*
 me atari itI -ra -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL.POSS skin+F skin NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron pn result
 'They were not skinned.'
- 22 *Me me hitokemetemoneke*
 me me hi- toka -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC partially burn FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pron vt
 'They singed them.'
- 23 *Me me hitokemetemoneke*
 me me hi- toka -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC partially burn FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pron vt
 'They singed them.'
- 24 *Me me hitoka me me bobi hina me*
 me me hi- toka+F me me bobi hi- na+F me
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC partially burn 3PL.O 3PL.S slit OC AUX 3PL.O
 pron pron vt pron pron vt aux pron
me me tabasi hinemetemone
 me me tabasi hi- na -hemete -mone
 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron pron vt aux
 'They singed them and cut them up, and roasted them on a rack.'
- 25 *Me me tabasi hina me me me kakaba*
 me me tabasi hi- na+F me me me ka- kaba
 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat
 pron pron vt aux pron pron pron vt
hiabani mati
 hi- to- ha -haba -ni mati
 OC CH AUX FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.O
 aux pron
 'They roasted them, and then ate them for a long time.'
- 26 *Marina kawaharo*
 marina ka- waa -haaro
 feast COMMIT be located look+F
 nf vi
 'There was meat for the festa on the grate.'
- 27 *Me ihi nemetemoneni*
 me ihi na -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL.POSS deed+F AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron pn aux
 'That's what they did.'¹¹
- 28 *Hiyama me me tata toaremete me*
 hiyama me me taa- taa to- ha -ra -hemete me
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP sell CH AUX NEG FP.N+F 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt aux pron

11 This sentence is the second part of a comparison, with the first part missing. The first part would be something like, *marina ka bani me nima* 'like the meat of a festa', with the meaning of the whole sentence being, 'The meat that they roasted was like the meat of a festa.'

WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES ARE FIERCE

awine yara me ni ya ?
 awine yara me ni ya
 seem+F Brazilian 3PL to ADJU
 sec npropm pron prt prt
 'Didn't they sell peccaries to the Brazilians?'

29 *Hiyama me me kakaba hiemete*
 hiyama me me ka- kaba hi- to- ha -hemete
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat OC CH AUX FP.N+F
 nm pron pron vt aux
 'They ate the peccaries.'

30 *Okobise okobisematamonaka Sowiri*
 o- ka abise o- ka abise -mata -mona -ka Sowiri
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle 1SG.S POSS uncle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (man's name)
 nm nm npropm
 'It was my uncle, Sowiri.'

31 *Okobise okobise yamata*
 o- ka abise o- ka abise yamata
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle 1SG.POSS POSS uncle crops
 nm nm nf

tonakamebona okobise
 to- na- ka -ma -hibona o- ka abise
 away CAUS go/come back INT+M 1SG.POSS POSS uncle
 vt nm

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

'My uncle went out to get garden produce.'

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

tokoma me hiyama me kami
 to- ka -ma+F me hiyama me ka -ma.NOM+F
 away go/come back 3PL.S white-lipped peccary 3PL.S go/come back
 vi pron nm pron vi

ama fahi
 ama fahi
 be then
 vc dem

'The peccaries that they had attacked had gone away and come back.'

33 *Ayo ayo hiyama me*
 ayo ayo hiyama me
 older brother older brother white-lipped peccary 3PL.S
 nm nm nm pron

kami ama fahi
 ka -ma.NOM+F ama fahi
 go/come back be then
 vi vc dem

'Older brother, the peccaries came back.'

WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES ARE FIERCE

yama , **kakamita** **ne** **rama** **ahi** .
 yama ka- ka- mita na+M rama ahi
 thing DUP COMIT hear AUX unusual then
 nf vt aux prt dem

'The dog smelled something and went running. My uncle heard something.'

41 **Yama** **ati** **nokokirawemetemoneni** .
 yama ati noko -kI -rawa -hemete -mone -ni
 thing voice point coming F.PL FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 nf pn vi

'The sound came to where he was.'

42 **Yome** **habo** **ni** **yana** **tonematamonaka** .
 yomee habo na.NFIN yana to- na -himata -mona -ka
 jaguar bark AUX start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vi aux vi aux

'The dog started barking.'

43 **Hao** , **hao** , **hao** ,
 hao hao hao
 (sound of barking) (sound of barking) (sound of barking)
 sound sound sound

hao , **hao** , **hao** ,
 hao hao hao
 (sound of barking) (sound of barking) (sound of barking)
 sound sound sound

hao , **hao** , **hao** ,
 hao hao hao
 (sound of barking) (sound of barking) (sound of barking)
 sound sound sound

hao .
 hao
 (sound of barking)
 sound

""Hao, hao.""

44 **Yama** **ati** **yana** **narawemetemoneke** **ahi** ,
 yama ati yana na -rawa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 thing voice start AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf pn vi aux dem

Hom , **hom** ,
 hom hom
 (sound of white-lipped peccaries) (sound of white-lipped peccaries)
 sound sound

hom , **hom** ,
 hom hom
 (sound of white-lipped peccaries) (sound of white-lipped peccaries)
 sound sound

hom .
 hom
 (sound of white-lipped peccaries)
 sound

'A sound started, "Hom, hom."'

WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES ARE FIERCE

, *tai* , *tai* , *tai* , *tai*
 tai tai tai tai
 (sound of rage) (sound of rage) (sound of rage) (sound of rage)
 sound sound sound sound

, *tai* , *hom* ,
 tai hom
 (sound of rage) (sound of white-lipped peccaries)
 sound sound

hom , *hom* ,
 hom hom
 (sound of white-lipped peccaries) (sound of white-lipped peccaries)
 sound sound

hom , *me* *ati*
 hom me ati
 (sound of white-lipped peccaries) 3PL.POSS voice
 sound pron pn

itemetemoneke *ahi* .
 ita -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 be located FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

'"Tai, tai, hom, hom," they went.'

51 *Yome* , *sawirematamonaka* .
 yomee sawi -ra -himata -mona -ka
 dog be present NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vi

'The dog wasn't there.'

52 *Yome* *toke* , *towawitematamonaka* *hike* *ya*
 yomee to- ka+M to- waa -witI -himata -mona -ka hike ya
 dog away go/come away stand out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M far ADJU
 nm vi vi nf prt

'The dog had gone away and was standing off at a distance.'

53 *Faya* *okobise* *ha* *nati* , *nisori*
 faya o- ka abise haa na nahatI+M nisori
 so 1SG.POSS POSS uncle call AUX daytime 3SG.POSS.younger brother
 conj nm vi prt nm

, *nisori* *kakebise* , *narabo* *hawi* ,
 nisori ka -kI -bisa+M narabo hawi+M
 3SG.POSS.younger brother go/come coming also ear+M work
 nm vi pn vi

kake *narabo* *hawi* *hiyama* *me* , *kana* *ni*
 ka -kI narabo hawi+M hiyama me kana na.NFIN
 go/come coming ear+M work white-lipped peccary 3PL.S run AUX
 vi pn vi nm pron vi aux

kakematamona .
 ka -kI -himata -mona
 go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M
 vi

'My uncle called out all day. His younger brother was coming, and heard something. He came running.'

54 *Himata* *ebe* *ne* *ha* *nahi* ?
 himata ebe na+M haa na+M
 what? purpose AUX call AUX
 interrog vt aux vi aux

WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES ARE FIERCE

"Why is he calling out?"

55 *Faya okobise* , *okobise* *kana ni*
 faya o- ka abise , o- ka abise kana na.NFIN
 so 1SG.POSS POSS uncle 1SG.POSS POSS uncle run AUX
 conj nm nm vi aux

kakematamonaka *ahi*
 ka -kI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem

'My uncle came running.'

56 *Okobise* *kana ni* *kake* , *taokana tama*
 o- ka abise kana na.NFIN ka -kI , taokana tama
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle run AUX go/come coming shotgun hold onto
 nm vi aux vi nf vt

kabisari
 ka- na -bisa -haari
 COMIT AUX also IP.E+M
 aux

'My uncle came running, carrying a shotgun.'

57 *Taokana tama* *kane* *taokana isiborita* , *tama*
 taokana tama ka- na+M taokana isiborita , tama
 shotgun hold onto COMIT AUX shotgun muzzle-loader hold onto
 nf vt aux nf nf vt

kane , *hiyama* *me ati*
 ka- na+M , hiyama me ati
 COMIT AUX white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS voice
 aux nm pron pn

itemetemoneke
 ita -hemete -mone -ke
 be located FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'He was carrying a muzzle-loader. The peccaries were still there making noise.'

58 *Okobise* *kake* , *Hii* , *hii* ,
 o- ka abise kake -kI , hii , hii ,
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle go/come coming yoohoo yoohoo
 nm vi interj interj

tikamake *tikamake* , *tikamake*
 ti- ka -makI ti- ka -makI , ti- ka -makI
 2SG.S go/come following 2SG.S go/come following 2SG.S go/come following
 vi vi vi

ma ohini , *ma toe wanahari*
 maa o- to- ha -ni , maa to- ha+M wana -haari ,
 be tired 1SG.S CH AUX BKG+F be tired CH AUX be attached IP.E+M
 vi aux vi aux vi

neme ya
 neme ya
 up ADJU
 nf prt

'My uncle came. "Here, here, come here, come here, come here, I'm tired," he said, holding on up high, tired.'

WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES ARE FIERCE

65 *Mera tonakamebona kana ni*
 mera to- na- ka -ma -hibona kana na.NFIN
 3PL.O away CAUS go/come back INT+M run AUX
 pron vt vi aux

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

'He went running home to get them.'

66 *Faya okobise me habo hina me*
 faya o- ka abise me habo hi- na+F me
 so 1SG.POSS POSS uncle 3PL.O bark OC AUX 3PL.S
 conj nm pron vi aux pron

kamemetemoneni
 ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni
 go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi

'My uncle made a barking sound at them, and they came back.'

67 *Me kama me hikawa me me*
 me ka -ma+F me hi- ka- waa me me
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.O OC COMIT stay 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vt pron pron

hiwasima me me tisa hinemetemoneke
 hi- wasi -ma+F me me tisa hi- na -hemete -mone -ke
 OC find back 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt pron pron vt aux

fahi
 fahi
 then
 dem

'They came back and he stood in the midst of them. They came upon them and shot them with bow and arrow.'

68 *Me me tisa hina me aaba*
 me me tisa hi- na+F me a- ahaba
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX 3PL.S DUP die
 pron pron vt aux pron vi

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

'They shot them with arrows, and they died.'

69 *Me katomari kitemetemone okobi*
 me katoma -ri kita -hemete -mone o- ka abi
 3PL.POSS attack PN be strong FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father
 pron pn vi nm

aati toemari hiyama mati
 a- ati to- ha -himari hiyama mati
 DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M white-lipped peccary 3PL
 vt aux nm pron

'They were really violent, my father always said.'

WHITE-LIPPED PECCARIES ARE FIERCE

70	Hiyama		me	hama	me	kasirote		me
	hiyama		me	hama+F	me	kasiro -tee		me
	white-lipped peccary		3PL.S	be mean	3PL.S	persist HAB		3PL.S
	nm		pron	vi	pron	vt		pron

amake

ama -ke
SEC DECL+F
sec

'White-lipped peccaries are really fierce.'

71	Ehene	Boroko	ohi	nemari	ama	hari	
	ehene	Boroko	ohi	na -himari	ama	haari	
	because of+M	(man's name)	cry	AUX FP.E+M	SEC	that one+M	
	post	npropm	vi	aux	sec	dem	

hiyama	me	hiyama	me	me
hiyama	me	hiyama	me	me
white-lipped peccary	3PL	white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	3PL.S
nm	pron	nm	pron	pron

katomamina

mati
katoma -mina+F mati
kill many morning 3PL.S
vt pron

'Boroko cried because of him, when they killed peccaries one morning.'

72	Okasima		ka	yome	okasima	
	o- ka asima		ka	yomee	o- ka asima	
	1SG.POSS POSS younger sister		POSS dog	1SG.POSS POSS younger sister		
	nf		prt nm	nf		

ka	yomera	?	ohi	ni	ati	nemari	amaka	ahi
ka	yomee -ra		ohi	na.NFIN	ati	na -himari	ama -ka	ahi
POSS jaguar NPQ			cry	AUX	say	AUX FP.E+M	SEC DECL+M	then
prt nm			vi	aux	vt	aux	sec	dem

'"Where is my younger sister's dog?" he said, crying.'

73	Yama	hamaterawa	amake	hiyama	mati
	yama	hama -tee -rawa+F	ama -ke	hiyama	mati
	thing	be mean HAB F.PL	SEC DECL+F	white-lipped peccary	3PL
	nf	vi	sec	nm	pron

'White-lipped peccaries are really fierce.'

74	Oka	tanakone	tokake
	o- ka	tanakone	to- ka -ke
	1SG.POSS POSS	sweat	away go/come DECL+F
	prt	pn	vi

'I'm sweating.'

75	Hima
	hima
	let's go
	interj

'Let's go.'

76	Faya	amake
	faya	ama -ke
	enough	be DECL+F
	adj	vc

'That's all.'

MY FATHER FOUGHT A COUGAR

Free Translation

My father went out. He didn't see any game. He came back a ways. His rifle was setting against a tree. There was a miriti palm in the swamp. My father felt with his feet in the mud for miriti fruits, making them come to the surface. He picked the miriti fruits up and set them on dry ground. He picked the fruits up one at a time. The fruits were in a pile. He was waving his leg back and forth, then picking up the fruits and throwing them. "I don't have a basket for the miriti fruits, there are some *hawa* palm leaves for making a makeshift basket."

As he was looking at the leaves and thinking about making the basket, a cougar came at him. It came and attacked him. It almost killed him. He grabbed its front paws. "Oh," my father said, struggling to stay up. My father was kneeling in the mud. The cougar was trying to bite him in the face. He was holding it as far away as he could. He stood up. "You are messing with me." He got up with it, and turned toward the miriti palm. He moved it over, and pushed it against the miriti palm. "Tee," went its head.

He ran off and got his rifle, and came right back. He put a bullet in the rifle, and looked around for the cougar. It was gone. After having its head hit on the miriti palm, it went away. It didn't come back. It went away, hurt. "Why did you run away? Come back, you fierce animal," my father said.

He weaved a makeshift basket, and put the miriti fruits in it. He lifted the basket on his back. "That fierce animal who fought with me has disappeared. I didn't have my weapon, and I would have shot it, but it disappeared."

My father left and came back. He arrived. "Whew! You almost didn't have a father. The miriti fruits I'm bringing almost brought disaster on me. As I was getting the fruits, an animal attacked me. A cougar attacked me. I grabbed it, and it made me go down in the mud. I stood up with the cougar and pushed it, and it hit the back of its head. I went running and quickly got the rifle and came right back. I thought it was still around, but it was gone. I looked for it, and finally came on home."

The others laughed at him as he spoke back home. "Did it attack you?"

"Yes, it attacked me. The women go there all the time [to get miriti fruits. It would have killed them if it had been them.] It came at me lifting up its paws, and almost killed me. I lifted up its paws, holding on. I was going to shoot it, but it disappeared. It went away. It wanted to mess me up, but I held onto its paws. I was kneeling in the mud. I almost couldn't get back up with it. I stood back up with it. I was going to shoot it, but it disappeared."

Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Okobi</i>		,	<i>okobi</i>		
	o-	ka	abi	o-	ka	abi
	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	1SG.POSS	POSS	father
	nm			nm		

MY FATHER FOUGHT A COUGAR

tokematamonaka

to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi
 'My father went out.'

2 **Okobi** **toke** , **okobi** **toke**
 o- ka abi to- ka+M , o- ka abi to- ka+M
 1SG.POSS POSS father away go/come 1SG.POSS POSS father away go/come
 nm vi nm vi

noko **honare** **kame** , **okobi** **ka**
 noko hona -ra+M ka -ma+M , o- ka abi ka
 eye+M have something NEG go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS father POSS
 pn vi vi nm prt

taokana **wemetemone**
 taokana waa -hemete -mone
 rifle stand FP.N+F REP+F
 nf vi

'My father went out. He didn't see any game. He came back. His rifle was setting against a tree.'

3 **Yifo** **waifimatamonaka** **ahi**
 yifo waa -fI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 miriti stand water FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm vi dem

'There was a miriti palm in the swamp.'

4 **Okobi** **yifo** **tebo** **kanematamona** **ahi**
 o- ka abi yifo tebo ka- na -himata -mona ahi
 1SG.POSS POSS father miriti feel in water COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 nm nm vt aux dem

'My father felt with his feet for miriti fruits, making them come to the surface.'

5 **Yifo** **okobi** **yabe** , **yifo** **so**
 yifo o- ka abi yaba+M , yifo soo
 miriti 1SG.POSS POSS father take out miriti lie
 nm nm vt nm vi

tonihematamonaka
 to- niha- na -himata -mona -ka
 CH CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'My father picked the miriti fruits up and set them on dry ground.'

6 **Yifo** **yabe** **yifo** **so** **tonihe** , **okobi**
 yifo yaba+M yifo soo to- niha- na+M , o- ka abi
 miriti take out miriti lie CH CAUS AUX 1SG.POSS POSS father
 nm vt nm vi aux nm

yifo **itikani** **nematamonaka**
 yifo iti -kani na -himata -mona -ka
 miriti pick up one at a time AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vt aux

'He picked up the miriti fruits and set them on the ground. My father was picking the miriti fruits up one at a time.'

MY FATHER FOUGHT A COUGAR

7 **Yifo ta torematamona ahi**
 yifo taa to- na -rI -himata -mona ahi
 miriti be piled up CH AUX raised surface FP.N+M REP+M then
 nm vi aux dem

'The miriti fruits were in a pile.'

8 **Yifo ta tore , yifo tebo**
 yifo taa to- na -rI yifo tebo
 miriti be piled up CH AUX raised surface miriti feel in water
 nm vi aux nm vt

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

'The miriti fruits were in a pile. He was feeling them with his feet in the mud, making them come to the surface.'

9 **Iso weo ne , yifo yabe , yifo were**
 iso weho na+M yifo yaba+M yifo were
 leg+M wave AUX miriti take out miriti throw
 pn vt aux nm vt nm vt

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

'He was waving his leg back and forth. He was picking up the miriti fruits and throwing them.'

10 **Yifo were nematamona ahi**
 yifo were na -himata -mona ahi
 miriti throw AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 nm vt aux dem

'He was throwing the miriti fruits.'

11 **Yifo were ne , yifo were nematamonaka**
 yifo were na+M yifo were na -himata -mona -ka
 miriti throw AUX miriti throw AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vt aux nm vt aux

'He was throwing the miriti fruits.'

12 **Yifo were ne ya , yifo ta**
 yifo were na.NOM+M ya yifo taa
 miriti throw AUX ADJU miriti be piled up
 nm vt aux prt nm vi

torematamonaka ahi
 to- na -rI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 CH AUX raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'He was throwing the miriti fruits. The miriti fruits were in a pile.'

13 **Yifo wiyene kikiha ora , tabasi**
 yifo wiyene ki- kiha o- na -ra+F tabasi
 miriti container+M DUP have 1SG.S AUX NEG makeshift basket
 nm pn vt aux nf

kawariani ha
 ka- waa -rI -hani haa
 COMIT stand raised surface IP.N+F DEM
 vi dem

MY FATHER FOUGHT A COUGAR

hinematamonaka

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

'My father was kneeling in the mud. The cougar was trying to bite him in the face. He was holding it far away.'

20 **Ta**

toba **hine** , **okobi**
 taa to- na -baa hi- na+M o- ka abi
 extend CH AUX at a distance OC AUX 1SG.POSS POSS father
 vt aux aux nm

wamisamematamonaka

waa -misa -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi
 stand up back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem

'He was holding it as far away as he could. My father stood up.'

21 **Owa**

ai **tina** **ama** **tini**
 owa ahi ti- na+F ama ti- ni
 1SG.O mess with 2SG.S AUX SEC 2SG.S BKG+F
 pron vt aux sec prt

"You are messing with me."

22 **Owa**

ahi **tina** **ama** **ti**
 owa ahi ti- na+F ama ti-
 1SG.O mess with 2SG.S AUX SEC 2SG.S
 pron vt aux sec prt

"You are messing with me."

23 **Faya**

okobi **yana** **hikane**
 faya o- ka abi yana hi- ka- na+M
 so 1SG.POSS POSS father get up OC COMIT AUX
 conj nm vi aux

hinawawamematamonaka

hi- na- waa -waha -ma -himata -mona -ka yifo wai ka ya
 OC CAUS stand change back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M miriti stand LOC ADJU
 vt nm vi prt prt

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

'My father got up with it, and turned it toward the miriti palm.'

24 **Hinawawame**

fata
 hi- na- waa -waha -ma+M fata
 OC CAUS stand change back push
 vt vt

hiwitiimatamonaka

hi- to- na -witI -himata -mona -ka ahi tee
 OC away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then (sound of hitting)
 aux dem sound

'He moved it over, and pushed it away. "Teee."

25 **Okobi**

fata **hiwiti** **okobi**
 o- ka abi fata hi- to- na -witI+M o- ka abi
 1SG.POSS POSS father push OC away AUX out 1SG.POSS POSS father
 nm vt aux nm

MY FATHER FOUGHT A COUGAR

kana ni tokome hifi itikabote wete
 kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma+M , hifi iti -kabote wete
 run AUX away go/come back rifle pick up quickly return
 vi aux vi nf vt vi

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

'My father pushed it, and then ran off and got his rifle, and came right back.'

26 **Faya okobi kame bara**
 faya o- ka abi ka -ma+M , bara
 so 1SG.POSS POSS father go/come back bullet
 conj nm vi nf
ibewame yama ki tonikimematamonaka
 ibi -waha -ma+M yama kii to- na -kima -himata -mona -ka
 put inside change back thing look at CH AUX two FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt nf vt aux

'My father came back. He put a bullet in the rifle, and looked around.'

27 **Watarematamonaka**
 wata -ra -himata -mona -ka
 exist NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'It wasn't there.'

28 **Tokomematamonaka tati karimari ahi**
 to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka , tati karima -haari ahi
 away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M head hit IP.E+M there
 vi pn vi dem

yifo ya
 yifo ya
 miriti ADJU
 nm prt

'After hitting its head on the miriti palm, it went away.'

29 **Faya tati karime kamarematamonane**
 faya tati karima+M ka -ma -ra -himata -mona -ne
 so head hit go/come back NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 conj pn vi vi

'After hitting its head on the miriti palm, it didn't come back.'

30 **Towakamematamona**
 to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona
 away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M
 vt

'It went away, hurt.'

31 **Fawafawa raba re kamamatare**
 fawa- fawa na -raba na -ra+M ka -ma -mata -ra+M
 DUP disappear AUX a bit AUX NEG go/come back short time NEG
 vi aux aux vi

hamahari okobi ati nematamonaka
 hama -haari , o- ka abi ati na -himata -mona -ka
 be mean IP.E+M 1SG.POSS POSS father say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi nm vt aux

MY FATHER FOUGHT A COUGAR

"It disappeared. The fierce animal didn't come back," my father said.'

32 **Faya okobi** , **tabasi** **kowawe** **yifo**
 faya o- ka abi , tabasi kowa -waha+M yifo
 so 1SG.POSS POSS father makeshift basket weave change miriti
 conj nm nf vt nm
te **nematamona** **fahi** .
 tee na -himata -mona fahi
 put inside AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 vt aux dem
 'My father weaved a makeshift basket, and put the miriti fruits in it.'

33 **Yifo te ne** , **yifo te ne** , **yifo**
 yifo tee na+M , yifo tee na+M , yifo
 miriti put inside AUX miriti put inside AUX miriti
 nm vt aux nm vt aux nm
te **nematamonaka** .
 tee na -himata -mona -ka
 put inside AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux
 'He put the miriti fruits in.'

34 **Yifo te ne yifo** , **weye kamise** ,
 yifo tee na+M yifo , weye ka- na -misa+M ,
 miriti put inside AUX miriti carry COMMIT AUX up
 nm vt aux nm vt aux
Hamahama raba re owa mono ne fawa
 hama- hama na -raba na -ra+M owa mono na+M fawa
 DUP be mean AUX a bit AUX NEG 1SG.O struggle with AUX disappear
 vi aux aux pron vt aux vi
na , **oye** **hone** **tama** **okara**
 na.CONT+M , o- yehe hone tama o- ka- na -ra+F
 AUX 1SG.POSS hand weapon+F hold onto 1SG.S COMMIT AUX NEG
 aux pn pn vt aux
rama , **tao okanena** **fawa** **nane** .
 rama tao o- ka- na -hina fawa na.CONT+M -ne
 unusual shoot 1SG.S COMMIT AUX IRR+M disappear AUX BKG+M
 prt vt aux vi aux
 'He put the miriti fruits in. He lifted the basket on his back. "That fierce animal who fought with me has disappeared. I didn't have my weapon, and I would have shot it, but it disappeared."

35 **Faya okobi** **yana ne kame**
 faya o- ka abi yana na+M ka -ma+M
 so 1SG.POSS POSS father get up AUX go/come back
 conj nm vi aux vi
kamematamonaka .
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi
 'My father started out and came back.'

36 **Kame kame kobo name** , **Oo** , **owa**
 ka -ma+M ka -ma+M kobo na -ma+M , oo , owa
 go/come back go/come back arrive AUX back whew 1SG.O
 vi vi vi aux interj pron

MY FATHER FOUGHT A COUGAR

its head."

42 *Faya kakamare* *hifi oko bete ni*
 faya ka- ka -ma -ra+M hifi o- ka bete na.NFIN
 so COMIT go/come back NEG rifle 1SG.POSS POSS run AUX
 conj vi nf prt vi aux

tokoma hifi itikabote wete kabote
 to- ka -ma+F hifi iti -kabote wete na -kabote ,
 away go/come back rifle pick up quickly return AUX quickly
 vi nf vt vi aux

wabakani one fawa nareka
 waa -ba -kani ati o- na+M fawa na -hare -ka
 stand FUT CNTRFACT say 1SG.S AUX disappear AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 vi vt vi aux

"I went running and quickly got the rifle and came right back. I thought it was still around, but it was gone."¹²

43 *Fawa ne tabiyo yama siba ona*
 fawa na+M tabiyo yama siba o- na+F
 disappear AUX wanting thing look for 1SG.S AUX
 vi aux pn nf vt aux

okomawahine o waha
 o- ka -ma -waha -ne o- waha
 1SG.S go/come back change CONT+F 1SG.S now
 vi prt prt

"It was gone. I looked for it, and finally came on home."

44 *Faya okobi yana ne kame hiyarame*
 faya o- ka abi yana na+M ka -ma+M , hiyara -ma+M
 so 1SG.POSS POSS father get up AUX go/come back speak back
 conj nm vi aux vi vi

ati me haha kanemetemone fahi
 ati me haahaa ka- na -hemete -mone fahi
 voice 3PL.S laugh COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 pn pron vi aux dem

'My father started out and came home. The others laughed at him as he spoke back home.'

45 *Tiwa fito kano* ?
 tiwa fito ka- na.NOM+M -no
 2SG.O rush COMIT AUX IP.N+M
 pron vi aux

"Did it attack you?"

46 *Owa fito kanarene*
 owa fito ka- na -hare -ne
 1SG.O rush COMIT AUX IP.E+M BKG+M
 pron vi aux

"It attacked me."

47 *Me fanawi yoyobi toha yama mani tiwa*
 me fanawi yo- yobi to- ha+F , yama mani tiwa
 women DUP go back and forth CH AUX thing arm+F carry
 nf vi aux nf pn vt

12 *Kakamare* is obscure. It may be an incorrect transcription, or a mistake; in any case, the meaning does not fit in the context.

MY FATHER FOUGHT A COUGAR

kani **kamakiha** **owa** **nabowareka** **ahi**
ka- na.NFIN ka -makI+F owa na- aboha -hare -ka ahi
COMIT AUX go/come following 1SG.O CAUS die IP.E+M DECL+M then
aux vi pron vt dem

"The women are always going. It came at me lifting up its paws, and almost killed me."

48 **Mano** **wara** **okomisareka** **ahi**
mano wara o- to- ka- na -misa -hare -ka ahi
arm+M grab 1SG.S CH COMIT AUX up IP.E+M DECL+M then
pn vt aux dem

"I lifted up its paws, holding on."

49 **Mano** **wara** **okomise** , **mano** **wara**
mano wara o- to- ka- na -misa+M , mano wara
arm+M grab 1SG.S CH COMIT AUX up , arm+M grab
pn vt aux pn vt

okomise **ya** , **mano** **wara**
o- to- ka- na -misa.NOM+M ya , mano wara
1SG.S CH COMIT AUX up ADJU arm+M grab
aux prt pn vt

okomise , **tao** **okanebona**
o- to- ka- na -misa+M , tao o- ka- na -hibona
1SG.S CH COMIT AUX up , shoot 1SG.S COMIT AUX INT+M
aux vt aux

one **fawa** **nareka** , **tokaraba**
ati o- na+M fawa na -hare -ka , to- ka -raba
say 1SG.S AUX disappear AUX IP.E+M DECL+M , away go/come a bit
vt vi aux vi

ranoho
na -ra.NOM+M -no -ho
AUX NEG IP.N+M DUP
aux

"I lifted up its paws, holding on. I was going to shoot it, but it disappeared. It went away."

50 **Owa** **aahi** **nare** **owa** **aahi** **re** **mano**
owa a- ahi na -ra+M owa a- ahi na -ra+M mano
1SG.O DUP mess with AUX NEG 1SG.O DUP mess with AUX NEG arm+M
pron vt aux pron vt aux pn

wara **okanareka**
wara o- to- ka- na -hare -ka
grab 1SG.S CH COMIT AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
vt aux

"It wanted to mess me up, but I held onto its paws."

51 **Atabo** **owitifehara** **oni**
atabo o- ita -fI -hara o- ni
mud 1SG.S sit water IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F
nf vi prt

"I was kneeling in the mud."

52 **Kawamisamare** **okowamisamarene**
ka- waa -misa -ma -ra+M o- ka- waa -misa -ma -hare -ne
COMIT stand up back NEG 1SG.S COMIT stand up back IP.E+M BKG+M
result

"I almost couldn't get back up with it."

MY FATHER FOUGHT A COUGAR

53 *Okawamisame* , *tao* *okanebona* ,
 o- ka- waa -misa -ma+M , tao o- ka- na -hibona ,
 1SG.S COMIT stand up back shoot 1SG.S COMIT AUX INT+M
 vt vt aux
fawa *nawahareka* *waha* .
 fawa na -waha -hare -ka waha
 disappear AUX change IP.E+M DECL+M now
 vi aux prt
 "I stood back up with it. I was going to shoot it, but it disappeared."

KANI METE

Free Translation

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

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

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

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

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

"Yei," it said. It cried out.

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

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

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

His son came after him.

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

He came carrying arrows. He met his father.

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

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

"Are there two of them?"

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

He came back. He arrived home with his father.

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

He arrived home with his father.

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

"Father, stay here."

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

"A jaguar ate my father's grandfather."

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

KANI METE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Was he working?"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Do you have snuff in the bag?"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Sikari."

"Yes?"

"Come here."

Sikari went there.

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

"Sikari sings badly."

"Kani Fese, Kani Fese, Kani Fese."

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

"Kani Mete, right, Kani Mete."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Sikari continued doing Kani Fese.

"Sing the same one again."

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

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

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

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

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

"Well, are all the poles stuck in?"

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

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

"Is the *kona* root done?"

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

"How many baskets are there?"

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

They were ready. They came back.

"Should we sing E Onira?"

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

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

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

"Should it be by itself?"

"Kabasi, Kabasi."

"Huh?"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Right, let's go."

They went.

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

"We will wipe them."¹³

They laughed. They went.

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

"What?"

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

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

"He is right. Aifa is right."

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

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

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

"I want to have sex," he said.

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Where will it begin?"

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

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

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

"Well, have they all passed?"

"Yes, they have all passed already."

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

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

13 That is, we will stroke their vaginas.

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

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

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

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

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

They left. "Shall we have a festa?"

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

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

"Grandpa, Grandpa, Bono Wiyo."

"Huh?"

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

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

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

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

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

"Grandpa, you sing one night by yourself."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Do as we did."

The women sang until dawn.

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

They sang until dawn. The women sang until dawn.

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

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

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

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

"You two come here," their grandmother said.

They came back and lay in their hammocks.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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"Father, Father, Father," the boy said.

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

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

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

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

He sucked on his son. The father sucked on the boy all night. Dawn came. The boy died.

"I killed their mother with bow and arrow, and they came after my son."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Then he came.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He ate after arriving. He ate.

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

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

"Come and get water for your grandfather."

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

"Grandpa, suck it hard."

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

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

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

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

"What is he eating?"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Yes, he is coming."

He came. He arrived.

"Well, where is the food?"

"There is no food."

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

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

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

"Uncle, are you angry with my father?"

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

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

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

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

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

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

He threw the monkey down, and went.

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

"Take the female monkey for him."

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

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

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

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

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

"Bono Wiyo."

"Huh?"

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

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

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

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

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

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

Interlinear Presentation

1	Me		biyo		fora		narawebona		yana
	me	,	biyo		fora		na -rawa -hibona		yana
	3PL		spider monkey		shoot with blowgun		AUX F.PL INT+M		start
	pron		nf		vt		aux		vi

tonematamona		fahi		
to- na -himata -mona		fahi		.
CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M		then		
aux		dem		

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

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

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

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

KANI METE

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

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

12 Biyo biyo spider monkey nf	ati ati voice pn	amake ama -ke be DECL+F vc	.
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"It's the voices of spider monkeys."

13 Biyo biyo spider monkey nf	ati ati voice pn	amake ama -ke be DECL+F vc	ati ati say vt	ne na+M AUX aux	, biyo biyo spider monkey nf
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biyo biyo spider monkey nf	kamarawemetemoneke ka -ma -rawa -hemete -mone -ke go/come back F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi	.
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"It's the voices of spider monkeys," he said. The spider monkeys came toward him.'

14 Biyo biyo spider monkey nf	kamarawa ka -ma -rawa+F go/come back F.PL vi	, biyo biyo spider monkey nf
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kamarawa ka -ma -rawa+F go/come back F.PL vi	, iti iti grandfather nm	bote bote old adj	wai waa.NOM stand vt	yokana yokana true adj	ya ya ADJU prt
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kamarawemetemoneke ka -ma -rawa -hemete -mone -ke go/come back F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi	.
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'The spider monkeys came. The spider monkeys came right to where the old man was standing.'

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

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

nematamonaka

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

'He twirled darts in his mouth.'

17 **Sare** **rofi** **ne** **ya** , **biyo**
 sarehe rofi na.NOM+M ya , biyo
 blowgun dart twirl in mouth AUX ADJU spider monkey
 nf vt aux prt nf

kama **kati** **namemetemoneke** **ahi**
 ka -ma+F kati na -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 go/come back swing AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi vi aux dem

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

18 **Iti** **bote** **awahani** **ki** **toba** **na** **baki**
 iti bote awa -hani kii to- na -baa na+F baki
 grandfather old see IP.N+F look CH AUX at a distance AUX chest+F
 nm adj vt vi aux aux pn

hikaraboa **rama** **ahi** , **fai toko**
 hi- karaboha+F rama ahi , fai toko
 OC shoot with blowgun unusual then (sound of blowgun dart)
 vt prt dem sound

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

19 **Yei** **ati** **nemetemoneke**
 yei ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 (cry of pain) say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 interj vt aux

'"Yei," it said.'

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

'It cried out.'

21 **Faya** , **tokometemoneke**
 faya , to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 so away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj vi

'They went away.'

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

hikaraboatasematamonaka **ahi**
 hi- karaboha -tasa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 OC shoot with blowgun again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt dem

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

KANI METE

<p>23 Maki maki 3SG.POSS.husband nm</p>	<p>, Iti iti 2SG.POSS grandfather nm</p>	<p>bote bote old adj</p>	<p>ehene ehene victim of+M pn</p>	<p>itika iti -ka exist DECL+M vi</p>
<p>, inamati hinahari inamati ati hi- na -haari someone say OC AUX IP.E+M nm vt</p>				

'No one said, "The old man killed game.'"

<p>24 Ene ehene victim of+M pn</p>	<p>itimatamona iti -himata -mona exist FP.N+M REP+M vi</p>
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'He killed game.'

<p>25 Kokofafa ko- kofa DUP be unsteady vi</p>	<p>-fa DUP</p>	<p>nematamonaka na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux</p>	
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'He was unsteady.'

<p>26 Kofafa kofa be unsteady vi</p>	<p>-fa DUP</p>	<p>nawi na -wi AUX steadily aux</p>	<p>ne na+M AUX aux</p>
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'He remained unsteady.'

<p>27 Biyo biyo spider monkey nf</p>	<p>sona sona+F fall vi</p>	<p>, biyo biyo spider monkey nf</p>	<p>sonemetemoneke sona -hemete -mone -ke fall FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi</p>
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'The spider monkey fell.'

<p>28 Biyo biyo spider monkey nf</p>	<p>sona sona+F fall vi</p>	<p>totimakehibona to- iti -makI -hibona away take out following INT+M vt</p>	
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<p>tokomake to- ka -makI away go/come following vi</p>	<p>, tokomake to- ka -makI away go/come following vi</p>	<p>biyo biyo spider monkey nf</p>	<p>iti iti+M pick up vt</p>
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<p>biyo biyo spider monkey nf</p>	<p>horo ni horo na.NFIN drag AUX vt aux</p>	<p>kame ka -ma+M go/come back vi</p>	<p>, Biyo biyo spider monkey nf</p>
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<p>tamarawa tama -rawa+F be many F.PL vi</p>	<p>, owa owa 1SG.O pron</p>	<p>awarawa awa -rawa+F see F.PL vt</p>	<p>tokomarawineke to- ka -ma -rawa -ne -ke away go/come back F.PL CONT+F DECL+F vi</p>
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'He went to pick up the spider monkey that had fallen. He picked up the spider monkey. He came back dragging the spider monkey. "There are many spider monkeys, but they saw me and went away.'"

KANI METE

29 **Okitarimakoni** **ama** **oke**
 o- kita -ra -makoni ama o- ke
 1SG.S be strong NEG for this reason+F SEC 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi sec prt

"I'm not strong."

30 **Okitemenehe** **fora** **orawene**
 o- kita -hemenehe fora o- na -rawa -hene
 1SG.S be strong HYPOTH+F shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX F.PL IRR+F
 vi vt aux

amani

ama -ni
 SEC BKG+F
 sec

"If I were strong, I would have killed many of them with my blowgun."

31 **Famarawamatahi**
 fama -rawa -mata -hi
 be two F.PL short time IMP+F
 vi

"Let them be two for now."

32 **Yana** **ne** **biyo** , **wete** **narawe** **biyo** **wete**
 yana na+M biyo , wete na -rawa+M biyo wete
 get up AUX spider monkey tie AUX F.PL spider monkey tie
 vi aux nf vt aux nf vt

narawe **biyo** , **biyo** **wete** **ne** , **biyo**
 na -rawa+M biyo , biyo wete na+M , biyo
 AUX F.PL spider monkey spider monkey tie AUX spider monkey
 aux nf nf vt aux nf

weye **namisarawe** , **karaboa** **kakitikabote** **wati** **tiwa**
 weye na -misa -rawa+M , karaboha ka- iti -kabote wati tiwa
 carry AUX up F.PL blowgun COMMIT pick up quickly arrow carry
 vt aux nf vt nm vt

kamisakabote , **tokomematamonaka**
 ka- na -misa -kabote , to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 COMMIT AUX up quickly away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux vi

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

33 **Tokome** , **tokome** **biti** , **biti**
 to- ka -ma+M , to- ka -ma+M biti , biti
 away go/come back away go/come back 3SG.POSS.son 3SG.POSS.son
 vi vi nm nm

hinakamakimatamonane

hi- na- ka -makI -himata -mona -ne
 OC CAUS go/come following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vt

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

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

KANI METE

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

41 *Famarawaharani*

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

"There are two of them."

42 *Fora*

fora shoot with blowgun vt
 oraweneke o- na -rawa -hene -ke
 1SG.S AUX F.PL IRR+F DECL+F
 aux

"I would have shot more."

43 *Owa*

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

onafama

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

onimakoni

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

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

44 *Kofafa*

kofafa be unsteady DUP vt
 -fa
 nawi AUX steadily
 aux
 onimakoni 1SG.S AUX for this reason+F
 aux
 owa 1SG.O
 pron

awarawarake

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

"They saw me because I was unsteady."

45 *Tokomarawarake*

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

"They went away."

46 *Maki*

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

awe

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

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

KANI METE

47 *Faya kame me bati kobo kaname* ,
 faya ka -ma+M me bati kobo ka- na -ma+M
 so go/come back 3PL 3SG.POSS.father arrive COMMIT AUX back
 conj vi pron nm vi aux

Te amo kariyahi
 tee amo ka- na -ra -yahi
 2PL.S sleep COMMIT AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron vi aux

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

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

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

'He arrived home with his father.'

49 *Bati kobo kaname Oka biyo* ,
 bati kobo ka- na -ma+M o- ka biyo
 3SG.POSS.father arrive COMMIT AUX back 1SG.POSS POSS spider monkey
 nm vi aux prt nf

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

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

50 *Abi tiwitahi*
 abi ti- ita -hi
 father 2SG.S stay IMP+F
 nm vi

""Father, stay here.""

51 *Owita fanawi ama oni* ,
 o- ita+F fanawi ama o- ni
 1SG.S stay woman be 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi adj vc prt

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

52 *Fanawi ama okere*
 fanawi ama o- ke -re
 woman be 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F
 adj vc prt

""I'm not a woman.""

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

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

""A jaguar ate my father's grandfather.""

KANI METE

65 *Me kobo nama me , yama me*
 me kobo na -ma+F me , yama me
 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S thing 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron nf pron

wareminehemetemoneke ahi
 waa -rI -mina -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 cook raised surface morning FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt dem

"They arrived back. They cooked the meat the next day."

66 *Bani me me waremetemoneni*
 bani me me waa -rI -hemete -mone -ni
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S cook raised surface FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 nm pron pron vt

"They cooked the game."

67 *Bani me me ware me , bani bani me*
 bani me me waa -rI me , bani bani me
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S cook raised surface 3PL.S animal animal 3PL.O
 nm pron pron vt pron nm nm pron

me ware Haro te tafa
 me waa -rI haaro tee tafa
 3PL.S cook raised surface that one+F 2PL.S eat
 pron vt dem pron vi

"They cooked the game. "There, eat."

68 *Ee , Kani Mete te hiri nibeya*
 ee , Kani Mete tee hiri na -be -ya
 (pause) (name of song) 2PL.S sing AUX IMMED+F now
 interj npropf pron vt aux

"Ah, do Kani Mete."

69 *Bani me te kabahi*
 bani me tee kaba -hi
 animal 3PL.O 2PL.S eat IMP+F
 nm pron pron vt

"Eat the game."

70 *Bani me kabaha me , tahimetemone*
 bani me kaba+F me , tahi -mete -mone
 animal 3PL.O eat 3PL.POSS song about FP.N+F REP+F
 nm pron result pron pn

Kani Mete tohineke
 Kani Mete to- ha -ne -ke
 (name of song) CH be CONT+F DECL+F
 npropf vc

"Kani Mete is the song about the game that is eaten."

71 *Kani Mete te hiri nibeya*
 Kani Mete tee hiri na -be -ya
 (name of song) 2PL.S sing AUX IMMED+F now
 npropf pron vt aux

"Do the Kani Mete."

KANI METE

72 *Te tafahi*
 tee tafa -hi
 2PL.S eat IMP+F
 pron vi
 "Eat."

73 *Bani me kaya na me me kabemetemone ahi* ,
 bani me kaya na+F me me kaba -hemete -mone ahi
 animal 3PL.S lie AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F then
 nm pron vi aux pron pron vt dem
me me hekama mati
 me me hi- ka- ka -ma+F mati
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back 3PL.O
 pron pron vt pron
 'They ate the game that was lying on the grill, which they had brought back.'

74 *Faya , bese ami ni ya tikamahi*
 faya , bese ami ni ya ti- to- ka -ma -hi
 so son 2SG.POSS.mother to ADJU 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
 conj voc nf prt prt vi
amo tibe
 amo ti- na -be
 sleep 2SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 vi aux
 'Son, go to your mother, and sleep.'¹⁵

75 *Me tafemetemoneke ahi*
 me tafa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi dem
 'They ate.'

76 *Me tafa me , me tafemetemoneke me nafi*
 me tafa+F me , me tafa -hemete -mone -ke me nafi
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS all
 pron vi pron pron vi pron pn
ahi , me fanawi me yoro tokana mati me fanawi
 ahi me fanawi me yoro to- ka- na+F mati me fanawi
 then women 3PL.S be together CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S women
 dem nf pron vi aux pron nf
ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem
 'They ate, all of them, all the women together.'

77 *Me tafa me , ayaka me wati kana me* ,
 me tafa+F me , ayaka me wati ka- na+F me ,
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S song 3PL.S think about COMIT AUX 3PL.S
 pron vi pron nf pron vt aux pron
me tamaremetemoneke
 me tama -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S be many NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi
 'They were eating. Some of them wanted to sing, not many of them.'

15 Siko was speaking to a child present.

KANI METE

78 *Me tamara me , wabori ya*
 me tama -ra+F me , wabori ya
 3PL.S be many NEG 3PL.S 3SG.POSS brother-in-law ADJU
 pron vi pron nm prt

famematamona wabori
 fama -himata -mona wabori
 be with FP.N+M REP+M 3SG.POSS brother-in-law
 vi nm

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

79 *Fara me fara me tafa me yoro ni ya me*
 fara me fara me tafa+F me yoro na.NOM+F ya me
 same+F 3PL same+F 3PL.S eat 3PL.S sit AUX ADJU 3PL.POSS
 dem pron dem pron vi pron vi aux prt pron

ati yana kanemetemoneke
 ati yana ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
 voice start COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pn vi aux

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

80 *Me ati yana kana me , me me ati*
 me ati yana ka- na+F me , me me ati
 3PL.POSS voice start COMIT AUX 3PL.POSS 3PL 3PL.POSS voice
 pron pn vi aux pron pron pron pn

fafamawa nemetemoneke ahi
 fa- fama -waha na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 DUP be two change AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi aux dem

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

81 *Nokobisa fata hine itari hari*
 nokobisa fata hi- na+M ita -rI+M hari
 sleepiness push OC AUX sit raised surface that one+M
 nf vt aux vi dem

one oke
 ati o- na -ne o- ke
 say 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vt prt

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

82 *Me ati fafamawa na owa ati nafi owa*
 me ati fa- fama -waha na+F owa ati nafi.LIST owa
 3PL.POSS voice DUP be two change AUX one+M voice be big other+M
 pron pn vi aux adj pn vi adj

ati iisi , faya owa ati nafirematamonaka
 ati i- isi.LIST , faya owa ati nafi -ra -himata -mona -ka
 voice DUP be small so other+M voice be big NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pn vi conj adj pn vi

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

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

¹⁶ Siko was talking about the child that was present.

KANI METE

83	Kani Mete	me	hiri	na	me	ati	fafamawa	
	Kani Mete	me	hiri	na+F	me	ati	fa- fama	-waha
	(name of song)	3PL.S	sing	AUX	3PL.POSS	voice	DUP be two	change
	npropf	pron	vt	aux	pron	pn	vi	
	na	me	ati	amosarimakoni			me	ati
	na+F	me	ati	amosa	-ra	-makoni	me	ati
	AUX	3PL.POSS	voice	be good	NEG	for this reason+F	3PL.POSS	voice
	aux	pron	pn	vi			pron	pn
	ati	ihi	me	ka	ayaka	ihi	yiwa	waka
	ati	ihi	me	ka	ayaka	ihi	yiwa	waka
	voice	because of+F	3PL	POSS	song	because of+F	pot	destroy
	pn	post	pron	prt	nf	post	nf	vi

nemetemone

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

'They sang Kani Mete. The two of them sang. They sang well. Because of their singing, because of their song the women broke pots.'

84	Yiwa	yiwa tebe	ahaba	yiwa boni	ahaba	yiwa	yama
	yiwa	yiwaha tebe	ahaba+F	yiwaha boni	ahaba+F	yiwa	yama
	pot	ceramic pot	end	ceramic pot	end	pot	thing
	nf	nf	vi	nf	vi	nf	nf
	kakawari		ahabarawa	yama	me	waka	
	ka- ka- waa -rI		ahaba -rawa+F	yama	me	waka	
	DUP COMIT cook raised surface		end F.PL	thing	3PL.S	destroy	
	pn		vi	nf	pron	vt	

nemetemoneke

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

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

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

'He sang without stopping.'

86	Ayaka	amosarimakoni	ayaka	ihi	yiwa
	ayaka	amosa -ra -makoni	ayaka	ihi	yiwa
	song	be good NEG for this reason+F	song	because of+F	pot
	nf	vi	nf	post	nf
	yiwa	waka	nemetemoneni		
	yiwa	waka	na -hemete -mone -ni		
	pot	destroy	AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F		
	nf	vt	aux		

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

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

'He sang Kani Mete.'

KANI METE

88 *Hinaka* , *hinaka* *yamata* *wasi* , *hinaka* *yamata* *wasi*
 hinaka hinaka yamata wasi.NFIN hinaka yamata wasi.NFIN
 3SG.POSS 3SG.POSS food cook 3SG.POSS food find
 pron pron nf result pron nf result

ihi , *tanatanako* *kainihi* *ati*
 ihi tana- tanako na -kai -ni -hi ati
 because of+F DUP perspire AUX ? IP.N+F DUP say
 post vi aux vt

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

"Because of her cooking of food she is sweating," he said.'

89 *Hine* *hine* *wayawaya* *kainihi* *hine* , *ati* *yana*
 hine hine waya- waya na -kai -ni -hi hine ati yana
 3.REFL 3.REFL DUP fan AUX ? IP.N+F DUP 3.REFL voice start
 pron pron vt aux pron pn vi

tohiti *rama* *ahi* .
 to- na -hitI+M rama ahi
 CH AUX along the way unusual then
 aux prt dem

"She is fanning herself." Then he started a different song.'

90 *Me* , *nafi* *tohawa* *rama* *ahi* .
 me nafi to- ha -waha+F rama ahi
 3PL.POSS all CH be change unusual then
 pron pn vc prt dem

'Then all of them sang.'

91 *Amosemetemone* , *okobi* *na*
 amosa -hemete -mone o- ka abi ati na
 be good FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father say AUX
 vi nm vt

hiahamaro *amani* .
 hi- to- ha -hamaro ama -ni
 OC CH AUX FP.E+F SEC BKG+F
 aux sec

'My father used to say it was beautiful.'

92 *Hinaka* *yamata* *wasiani* *yamata* *wasi* , *hinaka* *yamata*
 hinaka yamata wasi -hani yamata wasi.NFIN hinaka yamata
 3SG.POSS food cook IP.N+F food cook 3SG.POSS food
 pron nf vt nf result pron nf

wasi *ihi* *tanatanako* *kainihi* *ati*
 wasi.NFIN ihi tana- tanako na -kai -ni -hi ati
 cook because of+F DUP perspire AUX ? IP.N+F DUP say
 result post vi aux vt

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

"Because of her cooking of food, she is sweating," he said.'

KANI METE

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

KANI METE

98 *Me yayaka na nemetemoneke ahi*
 me ya- yaka na na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S DUP walk AUX AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi aux aux dem

'They were dancing.'

99 *Sare tafowe sana neno*
 sarehe tafowe sana na -hino
 blowgun dart wrapped carry strapped on shoulder AUX IP.N+M
 nf pn vt aux

sare tafowe sana neno sare
 sarehe tafowe sana na -hino sarehe
 blowgun dart wrapped carry strapped on shoulder AUX IP.N+M blowgun dart
 nf pn vt aux nf

tafowe hinaka sare tafowe mowari tati ta
 tafowe hinaka sarehe tafowe mowari tati taa
 wrapped 3SG.POSS blowgun dart wrapped cotton head protrude
 pn pron nf pn pn pn vi

tonakainihi ati nematamonaka ai
 to- na -kai -ni -hi ati na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 CH AUX ? IP.N+F DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux vt aux dem

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

100 *Hinaka sare rofi ni mowari tati*
 hinaka sarehe rofi na.NFIN mowari tati
 3SG.POSS blowgun dart twirl in mouth AUX cotton head
 pron nf result aux pn pn

ta tonakainihi ati nematamonaka
 taa to- na -kai -ni -hi ati na -himata -mona -ka
 protrude CH AUX ? IP.N+F DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux vt aux

'"His darts were twirled, and their cotton heads were sticking out," he said.'

101 *Sare tafowe sanasana*
 sarehe tafowe sana- sana
 blowgun dart wrapped DUP carry strapped on shoulder
 nf pn vt

kainoho ati kabote nematamonaka ahi
 na -kai -no -ho ati na -kabote na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 AUX ? IP.N+M DUP say AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux vt aux aux dem

'"He was carrying the package of darts," he said.'

102 *Ayaka ya amosemetemone okobi na*
 ayaka ya amosa -hemete -mone o- ka abi ati na
 song ADJU be good FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father say AUX
 nf prt vi nm vt

hiamaroke
 hi- to- ha -hamaro -ke
 OC CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F
 aux

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

KANI METE

110 *Awa bore nenoho ahi*
 awa bore na -hino -ho ahi
 tree pull out AUX IP.N+M DUP then
 nf vt aux dem

"He was clearing the forest for a new garden."

111 *Awa ti neno*
 awa tii na -hino
 tree cut through AUX IP.N+M
 nf vt aux

"He was clearing the brush."

112 *Awa ti nenoka*
 awa tii na -hino -ka
 tree cut through AUX IP.N+M DECL+M
 nf vt aux

"He was clearing the brush."

113 *Hinaka yama ahi neno hinaka hinaka hinaka*
 hinaka yama ahi na -hino hinaka hinaka hinaka
 3SG.POSS thing work on AUX IP.N+M 3SG.POSS 3SG.POSS 3SG.POSS
 pron nf vt aux pron pron pron

matafo matafo ti nakosi fehene nowiri
 matafo matafo tii na -kosa.NFIN fehene nowi -ri
 vine sp vine sp cut through AUX middle juice+M drip DISTR
 nm nm result aux pn vi

tonakosakainoho ati nematamonaka
 to- na -kosa -kai -no -ho ati na -himata -mona -ka
 CH AUX middle ? IP.N+M DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux vt aux

"He was doing his work. The water of the *matafo* vine that he had cut through was dripping," he said.'

114 *Hinaka yama ahi ni moni hinaka yama ahi*
 hinaka yama ahi na.NFIN moni hinaka yama ahi
 3SG.POSS thing work on AUX sound 3SG.POSS thing work on
 pron nf result aux pn pron nf result

ni moni amakainihi kainihi ati
 na.NFIN moni ama -kai -ni -hi na -kai -ni -hi ati
 AUX sound be ? BKG+F DUP AUX ? IP.N+F DUP say
 aux pn vc aux vt

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

"The sound of him working could be heard," he said.'

115 *Hinaka yama ahi ni moni teo tonakainihi*
 hinaka yama ahi na.NFIN moni teo to- na -kai -ni -hi
 3SG.POSS thing work on AUX sound hit CH AUX ? IP.N+F DUP
 pron nf result aux pn vt aux

ati ne rama ahi
 ati na+M rama ahi
 say AUX unusual then
 vt aux prt dem

"The sound of him working was heard as he was hitting," he said.'

KANI METE

129 *Ayaka fara hinama tohake*
 ayaka fara hinama to- ha -ke
 song same+F all CH be DECL+F
 nf dem adj vc

"All the songs are the same."

130 *Ayaka hiri naba nematamona okobi*
 ayaka hiri na nahaba+F na -himata -mona , o- ka abi ,
 song sing AUX at night AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father
 nf vt aux aux nm

okobi ta okiti aati
 o- ka abi taa o- ka iti a- ati
 1SG.POSS POSS father contrast 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather DUP say
 nm prt nm vt

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

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

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

'He sang the songs until dawn.'

132 *Ayaka me hirihiri naba me me hiri naba*
 ayaka me hiri- hiri na nahaba+F me me hiri na nahaba+F
 song 3PL.S DUP sing AUX at night 3PL.S 3PL.S sing AUX at night
 nf pron vt aux pron pron vt aux

, *yiwa me yiwa me waka hina ibe so*
 yiwa me yiwa me waka hi- na+F ibe soo
 pot 3PL pot 3PL.S destroy OC AUX piece lie
 nf pron nf pron vt aux pn vi

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

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

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

'They didn't start a different song.'

134 *Afa me hiri hinemetemonehe ra me hiri na*
 afa me hiri hi- na -hemete -mone -he ra me hiri na+F
 this+F 3PL.S sing OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP O 3PL.S sing AUX
 dem pron vt aux prt pron vt aux

mera Sikari Sikari yaka ne Sikari yaka
 mera , Sikari , Sikari yaka ne , Sikari yaka
 3PL.O (man's name) (man's name) visit AUX (man's name) visit
 pron npropm npropm vt aux npropm vi

KANI METE

nematamonaka

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

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

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

ahi Boto
 ahi Boto
 there (village name)
 dem npropf

'Sikari was visiting. He arrived at Boto.'

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

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

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

137 *Aba me aba me e kabibana ?*
 aba me aba me ee kaba+F -bana
 fish 3PL fish 3PL.O 1IN.S eat FUT
 nm pron nm pron pron vt

""Shall we eat fish?""

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

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

kabarima nahi
 kaba -rima na -hi
 eat NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F
 vt aux

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

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

""Let's eat meat.""

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

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

KANI METE

141 *Bani me kaba me , bani me me*
 bani me kaba+F me , bani me me
 animal 3PL.S eat 3PL.S animal 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nm pron vt pron nm pron pron

kabemetemoneke hiyama mati
 kaba -hemete -mone -ke hiyama mati
 eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F white-lipped peccary 3PL
 vt nm pron

'They ate meat. They ate animals, white-lipped peccaries.'

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

me me tabasi na hiyama me me
 me me tabasi na+F hiyama me me
 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron pron vt aux nm pron pron

kaba me , hiyama me me mari na
 kaba+F me , hiyama me me mari na+F
 eat 3PL.S white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S feast on AUX
 vt pron nm pron pron vt aux

hiyama me me kabemetemone
 hiyama me me kaba -hemete -mone
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F
 nm pron pron vt

'They fought white-lipped peccaries. They roasted the peccaries on a grill. They ate the peccaries. They feasted on the peccaries. They ate the peccaries.'

143 *Faya me tafa me , bai itematamona amake*
 faya me tafa+F me , bahi ita -himata -mona ama -ke
 so 3PL.S eat 3PL.S sun be located FP.N+M REP+M be DECL+F
 conj pron vi pron nm vi vc

ahi
 ahi
 there
 dem

'They ate. It was noon.'

144 *Kanawanemetemone ama ahi*
 kanawana -hemete -mone ama ahi
 start FP.N+F REP+F SEC then
 vi sec dem

'It started then.'

145 *Kanawanemetemone ahi bai ite ya ahi , me*
 kanawana -hemete -mone ahi bahi ita.NOM+M ya ahi , me
 start FP.N+F REP+F then sun be located ADJU there 3PL.S
 vi dem nm vi prt dem pron

ati nemetemone
 ati na -hemete -mone
 say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vt aux

'It began at noon,' they said.'

KANI METE

146 **Yama kayomaremetemone amani**
 yama ka- yoma -ra -hemete -mone ama -ni
 thing COMMIT be dark NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
 nf vi sec

"It was not getting dark."

147 **Bai ite ya yama , kanawanemetemone amake**
 bahi ita.NOM+M ya yama , kanawana -hemete -mone ama -ke
 sun be located ADJU thing start FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 nm vi prt nf vi sec

"When it was noon it started."

148 **Kanawanabanake ahi**
 kanawana -habana -ke ahi
 start FUT+F DECL+F here
 vi dem

"It will start now."

149 **E e famahi**
 ee ee fama -hi
 1IN 1IN.S be two IMP+F
 pron pron vi

"I will go with you."

150 **Ee me famemetemoneke**
 ee me fama -hemete -mone -ke
 yes 3PL.S be two FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 interj pron vi

"Yes, there were two of them."

151 **Me fama me hikanawanemetemone amani**
 me fama+F me hi- kanawana -hemete -mone ama -ni
 3PL.S be two 3PL.S OC start FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
 pron vi pron vt sec

"The two of them started it."

152 **Me hikanawana me hiri hinemetemone , amake**
 me hi- kanawana+F me hiri hi- na -hemete -mone , ama -ke
 3PL.S OC start 3PL.S sing OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 pron vt pron vt aux sec

"They started it. They sang it."

153 **Ee , faya me , me hikanawanabone me tafa**
 ee , faya me , me hi- kanawana -habone me tafa+F
 (pause) so 3PL 3PL.S OC start INT+F 3PL.S eat
 interj conj pron pron vt pron vi

me fara me yoro ni ya
 me fara me yoro na.NOM+F ya
 3PL.S same+F 3PL.S sit AUX ADJU
 pron dem pron vi aux prt

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

154 **Sina tekibini ?**
 sina ti- ka- kibI -ni
 snuff 2SG.S COMMIT be inside BKG+F
 nf vt

KANI METE

"Do you have snuff in the bag?"

155 *Sina owakibe oke*
 sina o- ka- kibI o- ke
 snuff 1SG.S COMIT be inside 1SG.S DECL+F
 nf vt prt

"I have snuff in the bag."

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

"There is snuff in here."

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

watarimatamona

wata -rI -himata -mona
 put raised surface FP.N+M REP+M
 vt

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

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

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

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

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

'He took the snuff.'

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

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

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

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

'He was about to start the song.'

KANI METE

162 *Ayaka wati kane ayaka iti Himata tai*
 ayaka wati ka- na+M ayaka iti+M , himata , tai
 song think about COMIT AUX song say what? be ahead
 nf vt aux nf vt interrog vi
toibana ee He Eniya tai toibana ?
 to- ha+F -bana ee , He Eniya tai to- ha+F -bana
 CH AUX FUT (pause) (name of song) be ahead CH AUX FUT
 aux interj npropf vi aux

'He was about to start the song. He named a song. "Will it be first, will He Eniya be first?'"

163 *Ee He Eniya tai tiniha*
 ee He Eniya tai ti- to- niha- ha
 yes (name of song) be ahead 2SG.S CH CAUS AUX
 interj npropf vi aux

"All right, do He Eniya first."

164 *E wati kana amani*
 ee wati ka- na+F ama -ni
 1IN.S think about COMIT AUX SEC BKG+F
 pron vt aux sec

"We want to sing it."

165 *Ki rima tinahi*
 kii na -rima ti- na -hi
 look at AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vt aux aux

"Let's go now."

166 *Hinaka yama hinaka yama hinaka hinaka biha*
 hinaka yama hinaka yama , hinaka hinaka biha ,
 3SG.POSS thing 3SG.POSS thing 3SG.POSS 3SG.POSS yam
 pron nf pron nf pron pron nf
hinaka bia kawariani
 hinaka biha ka- waa -rI -hani
 3SG.POSS yam COMIT cook raised surface IP.N+F
 pron nf vt
kawariani bi wayawaya kainihi
 ka- waa -rI -hani , bihi waya- waya na -kai -ni -hi
 COMIT cook raised surface IP.N+F fan DUP fan AUX ? IP.N+F DUP
 vt nf vt aux

"She is cooking her yams. She fans the fire."

167 *Yifo wayawaya kainihi ati nematamonaka*
 yifo waya- waya na -kai -ni -hi ati na -himata -mona -ka
 fire DUP fan AUX ? IP.N+F DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf vt aux vt aux

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

"She fans the fire," he said.'

168 *E nematamona ahi*
 ee na -himata -mona ahi
 be similar AUX FP.N+M REP+M this
 vi aux dem

'He did this.'

KANI METE

169 **Faya** , **ayaka** **hiri** **nematamonaka** **fahi** .
 faya , ayaka hiri na -himata -mona -ka fahi
 so dance do AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj nf vt aux dem

'He danced.'

170 **Me** , **wabori** **wabori** **he** **nowati**
 me , wabori wabori hee nowati
 3PL 3SG.POSS brother-in-law 3SG.POSS brother-in-law 3SG.POSS behind
 pron nm nm pron pn

ya **yotohimatamonane** .
 ya yoto -himata -mona -ne
 ADJU follow FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 prt vi

'His brother-in-law came on behind him.'

171 **Yaya** **tibisahi** .
 ya- yaa ti- na -bisa -hi
 DUP dance 2SG.S AUX also IMP+F
 vi aux

""You dance, too.""

172 **Era** **me** , **era** **me** **wasimakibeya** .
 era me , era me wasi -makI -be -ya
 1IN.O 3PL 1IN.O 3PL.S find following IMMED+F now
 pron pron pron pron vt

""They will grab our hands again.""

173 **Me** **nafi** **toemetemone** .
 me nafi to- ha -hemete -mone
 3PL.POSS all CH be FP.N+F REP+F
 pron pn vc

'They were all together.'

174 **Sikari** **sawi** **nematamonane** .
 Sikari sawi.LIST na -himata -mona -ne
 (man's name) be present AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 npropm vi aux

'Sikari was there, too.'

175 **Sikari** **sawimatamona** .
 Sikari sawi -himata -mona
 (man's name) be present FP.N+M REP+M
 npropm vi

'Sikari was present.'

176 **Sikari** .
 Sikari
 (man's name)
 npropm

""Sikari.""

177 **Oo** .
 oo
 yes?
 interj

KANI METE

"Yes?"

178 **Tikamakehi**
 ti- ka -makI -hi
 2SG.S go/come following IMP+F
 vi

"Come here."

179 **Sikari tokomakematamonaka ahi**
 Sikari to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 (man's name) away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 npropm vi dem

'Sikari went there.'

180 **Sikari tokomake He He Eniya**
 Sikari to- ka -makI He He Eniya
 (man's name) away go/come following (name of song)
 npropm vi npropf

He Eniya He Eniya ati nematamonaka ahi
 He Eniya He Eniya ati na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 (name of song) (name of song) say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 npropf npropf vt aux dem

'Sikari went there. "He Eniya, He Eniya, He Eniya," he said.'

181 **Hinaka hinaka yamata wasi ihi ihi**
 hinaka hinaka yamata wasi.NFIN ihi ihi
 3SG.POSS 3SG.POSS food cook because of+F because of+F
 pron pron nf result post post

tanatanako kainihi kainihi ati
 tana- tanako na -kai -ni -hi na -kai -ni -hi ati
 DUP perspire AUX ? IP.N+F DUP AUX ? IP.N+F DUP say
 vi aux vt

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

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

182 **Sikari ayaki hiyareba sawino ya**
 Sikari ayaka.NFIN hiya -ra -hiba sawi -hino ya
 (man's name) sing be bad NEG FUT+M be present IP.N+M ADJU
 npropm vi vi vi prt

ahi
 ahi
 there
 dem

"Sikari sings badly."

183 **Kani Fese Kani Fese**
 Kani Fese Kani Fese
 (mispronunciation of Kani Mete) (mispronunciation of Kani Mete)
 npropf npropf

Kani Fese
 Kani Fese
 (mispronunciation of Kani Mete)
 npropf

"Kani Fese, Kani Fese, Kani Fese."

KANI METE

184 **Sikari** , **asi nao** , **ai oto** , **me ati**
 Sikari , asi nao , ai oto , me ati
 (man's name) tree sp 3PL.S say
 npropm nm pron vt

nemetemoneke

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

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

185 **Kani Mete** **Kani Mete** **tinahi**
 Kani Mete Kani Mete ati ti- na -hi
 (name of song) (name of song) say 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 npropf npropf vt

"Say, 'Kani Mete, Kani Mete.'"

186 **Kani Mete** **ee** **Kani Mete**
 Kani Mete ee Kani Mete
 (name of song) yes (name of song)
 npropf interj npropf

"Kani Mete, right, Kani Mete."

187 **Faya Sikari** **hinihawaha** , **hinihawaha**
 faya Sikari hi- to- niha- ha -waha+F , hi- to- niha- ha -waha+F
 so (man's name) OC CH CAUS be change OC CH CAUS be change
 conj npropm vt vt

fara totoniha hiemetemone
 fara to- to- niha- ha hi- to- ha -hemete -mone
 same+F DUP CH CAUS be OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 dem vt aux

'Then Sikari got it right. He got it right after that.'

188 **Makoni** **me** **haha** **nemetemoneni**
 makoni me haahaa na -hemete -mone -ni
 for this reason 3PL.S laugh AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 conj pron vi aux

'That's why they laughed.'

189 **Fara** **Kani Fese** **ini** **kakayaka** **ne** ,
 fara Kani Fese ini ka- ka- ayaka na+M
 same+F (mispronunciation of Kani Mete) name+F DUP COMIT sing AUX
 dem npropf pn vt aux

Kani Fese **ini** **kayake** **mera** **haha**
 Kani Fese ini ka- ayaka+M mera haahaa
 (mispronunciation of Kani Mete) name+F COMIT sing 3PL.O laugh
 npropf pn vt pron vi

ni , **faya** **me** **haha** **nemetemone** **Sikari**
 niha+M- na , faya me haahaa na -hemete -mone Sikari
 CAUS AUX so 3PL.S laugh AUX FP.N+F REP+F (man's name)
 aux conj pron vi aux npropm

ayaki **me** **haha** **kana** **mati**
 ayaka.NFIN me haahaa ka- na+F mati
 sing 3PL.S laugh COMIT AUX 3PL.S
 vi pron vi aux pron

'When he sang "Kani Fese," he made them laugh. They laughed, laughing at Sikari's singing.'

KANI METE

190 *Hibare mata* , *Sikari* *ayaki* *ota* *haha*
 hibare mata , Sikari ayaka.NFIN otaa haahaa
 wait for now (man's name) sing 1EX.S laugh
 interj prt npropm vi pron vi

kasa *ke*
 ka- na -saa na -ke
 COMIT AUX still AUX DECL+F
 aux prt

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

191 *Sare* *sare* *rofi* *nani* , *yome*
 sarehe sarehe rofi na -hani yomee
 blowgun dart blowgun dart twirl in mouth AUX IP.N+F dog
 nf nf vt aux nm

Sayi *ee* , *yome* *Sayi* , *yome* *Sayi* ,
 Sayi ee , yomee Sayi , yomee Sayi ,
 (woman's name) (pause) dog (woman's name) dog (woman's name)
 npropf interj nm npropf nm npropf

yome *Sayi* *toaha* *towakani* *yome*
 yomee Sayi to- ha+F to- ka- ka -hani yomee
 dog (woman's name) CH be away COMIT go/come IP.N+F dog
 nm npropf vc vt nm

Sayi *eheehe* *kainihi* *ati* *nematamonane*
 Sayi ehe- ehe na -kai -ni -hi ati na -himata -mona -ne
 (woman's name) DUP call AUX ? IP.N+F DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 npropf vt aux vt aux

"She was twirling darts in her mouth. Sayi went after the dog. Sayi called the dog," he said.'

192 *Yome* *Sayi* *eheehe* *kainihi* *ati*
 yomee Sayi ehe- ehe na -kai -ni -hi ati
 dog (woman's name) DUP call AUX ? IP.N+F DUP say
 nm npropf vt aux vt

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

"Sayi called the dog," he said.'

193 *Hiwaka* *hiwakani* *eheehe*
 hi- to- ka- ka+F hi- to- ka- ka -hani ehe- ehe
 OC away COMIT go/come OC away COMIT go/come IP.N+F DUP call
 vt vt vt

kainihi *ati* *nematamona* , *okobi* *aati*
 na -kai -ni -hi ati na -himata -mona , o- ka abi a- ati
 AUX ? IP.N+F DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say
 aux vt aux nm vt

toemari *amane*
 to- ha -himari ama -ne
 CH AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M
 aux sec

"She went after it. She called it," he said, my father used to say.'

194 *Maki* *maki* *maki* *sare*
 maki maki maki sarehe
 3SG.POSS.husband 3SG.POSS.husband 3SG.POSS.husband blowgun dart
 nm nm nm nf

KANI METE

rofi	nenō	sare	tafowe
rofi	na -hino	sarehe	tafowe
twirl in mouth	AUX IP.N+M	blowgun dart	wrapped
vt	aux	nf	pn
sanasana		kainoho	ati ne
sana- sana		na -kai -no -ho	ati na+M
DUP carry strapped on shoulder		AUX ? IP.N+M DUP	say AUX
vt		aux	vt aux

Sare	sare	mowari	tabi	ta
sarehe	sarehe	mowari	tabi	taa
blowgun dart	blowgun dart	cotton	cluster+F	protrude
nf	nf	pn	pn	vi

tonakainihi	ati	nematamonane
to- na -kai -ni -hi	ati	na -himata -mona -ne
CH AUX ? IP.N+F DUP	say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
aux	vt	aux

"Her husband was twirling darts in his mouth. He was carrying a package of darts across his chest," he said.
 "The bunch of cotton of the darts was protruding," he said.'

195 Sikari	ayaki	hiyabisare	sawi	ya
Sikari	ayaka.NFIN	hiya -bisa -ra+M	sawi.NOM	ya
(man's name)	sing	be bad also NEG	be present	ADJU
npropm	vi	vi	vi	prt

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

196 Kani Fese	Kani Fese
Kani Fese	Kani Fese
(mispronunciation of Kani Mete)	(mispronunciation of Kani Mete)
npropf	npropf

Kani Fese	ati	nematamonaka	ahi
Kani Fese	ati	na -himata -mona -ka	ahi
(mispronunciation of Kani Mete)	say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	then
npropf	vt	aux	dem

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

197 Hiwa	ayaka	na	bisa
hiwa	ayaka.NOM+M	na	bisa
only.M	sing	AUX	also
pron	vi	aux	prt

"Let him sing."

198 Ayaki	te	haha	karama	naho
ayaka.NFIN	tee	haahaa	ka- na -rama	na -ho
sing	2PL.S	laugh	COMIT AUX NEG.IMP+M	AUX IMP+M
vi	pron	vi	aux	aux

"Don't laugh at his singing."

199 Ayaki	te	haha	karama	naho
ayaka.NFIN	tee	haahaa	ka- na -rama	na -ho
sing	2PL.S	laugh	COMIT AUX NEG.IMP+M	AUX IMP+M
vi	pron	vi	aux	aux

"Don't laugh at his singing."

200 Hiwa	ayakabisa	na
hiwa	ayaka -bisa.NOM+M	na
only.M	sing also	AUX
pron	vi	aux

KANI METE

"Let him sing."

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

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

'Sikari continued doing Kani Fese.'

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

"Sing the same one again."

203 Fara	te	tonihahi
fara	tee	to- niha- ha -hi
same+F	2PL.S	CH CAUS be IMP+F
dem	pron	vt

"Sing the same one again."

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

'The chief sang it.'

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

toemari ?

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

'What was the chief's name?'

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

Towisawa Rowi

Towisawa Rowi
(man's name)
npropm

'Towisawa Rowi was a chief, Towisawa Rowi.'

207 Ee	,	ino	owato	okara
ee	,	ino	o- wato	o- ka -ra
yes		name+M	1SG.S know	1SG.S DECL NEG+M
interj		pn	vt	prt

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

KANI METE

208 *Faya ayaka me hiri nemetemoneke ahi*
 faya ayaka me hiri na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 so song 3PL.S sing AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 conj nf pron vt aux dem
 'They sang the song.'

209 *Sikari Kani Fese nasa*
 Sikari Kani Fese na -saa
 (man's name) (mispronunciation of Kani Mete) AUX still
 npropm vi aux

nabisematamona ati kawahebana ahi
 na -bisa -himata -mona ati ka- waha -hibana ahi
 AUX also FP.N+M REP+M voice COMIT dawn FUT+M then
 aux pn vi dem
 'Sikari continued doing Kani Fese until dawn.'

210 *Me ati kawahemetemoneni*
 me ati ka- waha -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL.POSS voice COMIT dawn FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron pn vi
 'They sang until dawn.'

211 *Hinaka mafiko , mafiko ti nakosi , fehene*
 hinaka mafiko , mafiko tii na -kosa.NFIN , fehene
 3SG.POSS plant sp plant sp cut through AUX middle liquid+M
 pron nm nm result aux pn
nowiri ee , ha ta ama ha
 nowi -ri ee , haa taa ama haa
 drip DISTR (pause) DEM contrast be DEM
 vi interj dem prt vc dem
 "'The water from the *mafiko* plant that he had cut..." no, this is it.'

212 *Mafiko mafiko ti nakosi , moni*
 mafiko mafiko tii na -kosa.NFIN , moni
 plant sp plant sp cut through AUX middle sound
 nm nm result aux pn

teo tonakainoho kainoho ati
 teo to- na -kai -no -ho na -kai -no -ho ati
 (sound of hitting) CH AUX ? IP.N+M DUP AUX ? IP.N+M DUP say
 sound aux aux vt

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

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

213 *Ee haha yotohemetemoneni*
 ee haaha yoto -hemete -mone -ni
 (pause) this+F follow FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 interj dem vi
 'This one was after that.'

214 *Hinaka yama , ahi ni kasiro hikanani*
 hinaka yama , ahi ni kasiro hi- ka- na -hani ,
 3SG.POSS thing work on AUX hurry up OC COMIT AUX IP.N+F
 pron nf result aux vt aux

KANI METE

me me bata hikano ka matafo
 me me bata hi- ka.NOM+M- na -no ka , matafo ,
 3PL 3PL.S surprise OC COMIT AUX IP.N+M because vine sp
 pron pron vt aux prt nm

fene nowiri ni wehimatamona
 fehene nowi -ri na.NFIN waa -himata -mona
 liquid+M drip DISTR AUX stand FP.N+M REP+M
 pn vi aux vi

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

215 *Fene nowiri ni wematamona okobi*
 fehene nowi -ri na.NFIN waa -himata -mona o- ka abi
 liquid+M drip DISTR AUX stand FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father
 pn vi aux vi nm

na hiemari
 ati na hi- to- ha -himari
 say AUX OC CH AUX FP.E+M
 vt aux

'My father used to say that the cut off vine was upright, dripping water.'

216 *Faya me bote , me bote ayaka hihiri toemetemone*
 faya me bote , me bote ayaka hi- hiri to- ha -hemete -mone
 so 3PL old 3PL old song DUP sing CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 conj pron adj pron adj nf vt aux

me amani
 me ama -ni
 3PL.S SEC BKG+F
 pron sec

'The old people sang the song.'

217 *Aba me tani , aba me tani me me*
 aba me tani , aba me tani me me
 fish 3PL.POSS song about fish 3PL.POSS song about 3PL 3PL.S
 nm pron pn nm pron pn pron pron
hiri nawaha , aba me tani me hiri nawaha
 hiri na -waha+F , aba me tani me hiri na -waha+F ,
 sing AUX change fish 3PL.POSS song about 3PL.S sing AUX change
 vt aux nm pron pn pron vt aux

kona me wi na kona me sa na mati
 kona me wii na+F kona me saa na+F mati
 plant sp 3PL.S dig AUX plant sp 3PL.S release AUX 3PL.S
 nm pron vt aux nm pron vt aux pron

'Then they sang songs about fish. They dug up *kona* roots. They put *kona* in the water.'

218 *Kona me sa na , e iti bote me*
 kona me saa na+F , ee iti bote me
 plant sp 3PL.S release AUX 1IN grandfather old 3PL.S
 nm pron vt aux pron nm adj pron

tamakosi ya kona me sa nemetemone
 tama -kosa.NOM+F ya kona me saa na -hemete -mone
 be many middle ADJU plant sp 3PL.S release AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vi prt nm pron vt aux

okobi aati toemari amake , wati mati
 o- ka abi a- ati to- ha -himari ama -ke , wati mati
 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+F Jamamadi 3PL
 nm vt aux sec npropm pron

KANI METE

	wati	bote	mati		okobi		okobi		me		
	wahati	bote	mati	,	o-	ka	abi	o-	ka	abi	me
	Jamamadi	old	3PL		1SG.POSS	POSS	father	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	3PL
	npropm	adj	pron		nm			nm			pron

ka	abi	mati	
ka	abi	mati	.
POSS	father	3PL	
prt	nm	pron	

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

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

'They put *kona* root into the water.'

220	Kona	me		sa	na		wawasi	wawasi	me
	kona	me		saa	na+F	,	wa- wasi	wa- wasi	me
	plant sp	3PL.S		release	AUX		DUP get caught	DUP get caught	3PL.S
	nm	pron		vt	aux		nf	nf	pron

kowa	me	ka		wawasi		me	one	serima	kowa
kowa+F	me	ka	,	wa- wasi		me	one	serima	kowa.LIST
weave	3PL	POSS		DUP get caught		3PL	other+F	fish wier	weave
vt	pron	prt		nf		pron	adj	nf	vt

si	narebonehe			ahi	awa	awa	was
sii	na -rI			-habone -he	ahi	awa	awa wasa
stand	AUX raised surface	INT+F		DUP	there	wood	wood stick in ground
vi	vi				dem	nf	nf result

na	ya	si		narebonehe		wawasi	bari
na+F	ya	sii		na -rI		-habone -he	wa- wasi
AUX	ADJU	stand		AUX raised surface	INT+F	DUP	DUP get caught
aux	prt	vi		vi		nf	vt

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

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

221	Hikehike	ka		me	was	hinemetemoneke		ahi
	hike-	hike	ka	me	was	hi- na -hemete -mone -ke		ahi
	DUP	far	LOC	3PL.S	enclose	OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F		there
	nf		prt	pron	vt	aux		dem

isawa	ya
isawa+F	ya
be shallow	ADJU
vi	prt

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

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

KANI METE

natia	me	kona	me	baro	na	me	one	kona
na nahatI+F	me	kona	me	baro	na+F	me	one	kona
AUX daytime	3PL.S	plant sp	3PL.S	beat	AUX	3PL	other+F	plant sp
aux	pron	nm	pron	vt	aux	pron	adj	nm

baro	na	me	hawa	toani	me
baro	na+F	me	hawa	to- ha -hani	me
beat	AUX	3PL.S	be finished	CH AUX IP.N+F	3PL.S
vt	aux	pron	vi	aux	pron

tokomakeni	me	one	towamake	Fara
to- ka -makI -hani	me	one	to- awa -makI	faa -ra
away go/come following IP.N+F	3PL	other+F	away see following	that NPQ
vi	pron	adj	vt	dem

awa	was	ni	abini	?
awa	was	na.NFIN	ahaba -ni	
wood	enclose	AUX	end BKG+F	
nf	result	aux	vi	

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

223 Ee	yama	was	ni	abarake	hibati
ee	yama	was	na.NFIN	ahaba -hara -ke	hibati
yes	thing	stick in ground	AUX	end IP.E+F DECL+F	already
interj	nf	result	aux	vi	nf

ya
ya
ADJU
prt

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

224 Serima	ee	serimabone	ota	kowa	so
serima	ee	serima -bone	otaa	kowa+F	soo
fish wier	(pause)	fish wier INT+F	1EX.S	weave	lie
nf	interj	nf	pron	vt	vi

tosine	haro	si	narebone	ahi
to- na -kosa -ne	haaro	sii	na -rI	-habone
CH AUX middle CONT+F	that one+F	stand	AUX raised surface INT+F	then
aux	dem	vi	aux	dem

"The fish wier pieces that we weaved are there on the ground. They will be upright."

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

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

226 Ee	wawasi	abake
ee	wa- wasi	ahaba -ke
yes	DUP get caught	end DECL+F
interj	nf	vi

"Yes, the trap is ready."

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

"The weaving of the fish trap is already finished."

KANI METE

228 *Wawasi* *kowi* *abarake* *hibati* *ya* .
 wa- wasi kowa.NFIN ahaba -hara -ke hibati ya
 DUP get caught weave end IP.E+F DECL+F already ADJU
 nf result vi nf prt

"The weaving of the fish trap is already finished."

229 *Faya* *okomakehara* *oke* *hiba* .
 faya o- to- ka -makI -hara o- ke hiba
 so 1SG.S away go/come following IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F wait
 conj vi prt interj

"I went over there."

230 *Haha* *me* *te* *totowama* , *awa* *me* *was*
 haaha me tee to- to- awa -ma , awa me wasa
 this+F 3PL.O 2PL.S DUP away see back wood 3PL.S stick in ground
 dem pron pron vt nf pron vt

na *mati* *ahi* .
 na+F mati ahi
 AUX 3PL.S there
 aux pron dem

"Go over there and see them, the ones who are sticking the poles in."

231 *Awa* *me* *was*
 awa me wasa *na* *me* *me*
 wood 3PL.S stick in ground na+F me me
 nf pron vt aux pron pron

tonakamakia *me* , *awa* *me*
 to- na- ka -makI+F me , awa me
 away CAUS go/come following 3PL.S wood 3PL.S
 vt pron nf pron

karabani *me* *me* *hiwasimakia* *me* ,
 ka- raba -hani me me hi- to- wasi -makI+F me
 COMIT lash together IP.N+F 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away find following 3PL.S
 vt pron pron vt pron

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

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

232 *Me* *kama* *me* , *Kona* *abe* ?
 me ka -ma+F me , kona ahaba+M
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S plant sp end
 pron vi pron nm vi

"They came back. "Is the *kona* root done?""

233 *Kona* *abareka* *hibati* *ya* .
 kona ahaba -hare -ka hibati ya
 plant sp end IP.E+M DECL+M already ADJU
 nm vi nf prt

"The *kona* is done already."

KANI METE

234 *Ota tamimakoni ota amake*
 otaa tama -makoni otaa ama -ke
 1EX.S be many for this reason+F 1EX.S SEC DECL+F
 pron vi pron sec

"It's because there are many of us."

235 *Ota baro nareka nafi*
 otaa baro na -hare -ka nafi
 1EX.S beat AUX IP.E+M DECL+M all
 pron vt aux pn

"We beat all of it."

236 *Ota baro ne ota kamawaineke waha*
 otaa baro na+M otaa ka -ma -waha -ne -ke waha
 1EX.S beat AUX 1EX.S go/come back change CONT+F DECL+F now
 pron vt aux pron vi prt

"We beat it, and we have come back."

237 *Te kamara te kamara te*
 tee ka -ma -ra+F tee ka -ma -ra+F tee
 2PL.S go/come back NEG 2PL.S go/come back NEG 2PL.POSS
 pron vi pron vi pron

ehene ota kamakiwahine waha
 ehene otaa ka -makI -waha -ne waha
 because of+M 1EX.S go/come following change CONT+F now
 post pron vi prt

"You didn't come back. Because you didn't come back, we came here."

238 *Isiri e ri ?*
 isiri ee na -ri ?
 basket (question) AUX CQ+F
 nf vi aux

"How many baskets are there?"

239 *Isiri ha fama ha fama , ee ha ohari*
 isiri haa fama.LIST haa fama.LIST , ee haa ohari.LIST
 basket DEM be two DEM be two (pause) DEM be one
 nf dem vi dem vi interj dem vi

narake ahi
 na -hara -ke ahi
 AUX IP.E+F DECL+F here
 aux dem

"There are five baskets."

240 *One üisi kabote na , ya , e ye*
 one i- isi na -kabote na+F , ya , ee yehe
 other+F DUP be small AUX quickly AUX ADJU 1IN.POSS hand
 adj vi aux aux prt pron pn

oharia ya , e ye oharia ya isi ni bite
 ohari+F ya , ee yehe ohari+F ya isi ni bite
 be one ADJU 1IN.POSS hand be one ADJU little bit small+F
 vi prt pron pn vi prt pn adj

toha , narake , me ati nemetemone
 to- ha.LIST , na -hara -ke , me ati na -hemete -mone
 CH be AUX IP.E+F DECL+F 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vc aux pron vt aux

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

KANI METE

241 **Me yana tonemetemoneke**
 me yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

"They were ready."

242 **Me yana tona me kama me , me**
 me yana to- na+F me ka -ma+F me , me
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron vi pron pron

kama me , E Onira e hiri nibana
 ka -ma+F me , Ee Onira ee hiri na+F -bana ,
 go/come back 3PL.S (name of song) 1IN.S sing AUX FUT
 vi pron npropf pron vt aux

E Onira ?
 Ee Onira
 (name of song)
 npropf

"They were ready. They came back. "Should we sing E Onira?"

243 **E Onira e hiri nahi**
 Ee Onira ee hiri na -hi
 (name of song) 1IN.S sing AUX IMP+F
 npropf pron vt aux

"Let's sing E Onira."

244 **Me fanawi atabo toibeya**
 me fanawi atabo to- ha -be -ya
 women mud CH be IMMED+F now
 nf nf vc

"The women will be muddy."

245 **Me fanawi tafaba amani**
 me fanawi tafa -haba ama -ni
 women eat FUT+F SEC BKG+F
 nf vi sec

"The women are going to eat."

246 **Me fanawi tafibeya**
 me fanawi tafa -be -ya
 women eat IMMED+F now
 nf vi

"The women are going to eat."

247 **Me fanawi e tonahiyahi**
 me fanawi ee to- na- hiya -hi
 women 1IN.S away CAUS be bad IMP+F
 nf pron vt

"Let's make the women dirty."

248 **Me fanawi e tonahiyahi**
 me fanawi ee to- na- hiya -hi
 women 1IN.S away CAUS be bad IMP+F
 nf pron vt

"Let's make the women dirty."

KANI METE

249 *Yama me , awa me baka na , awa bite , afe*
 yama me , awa me baka na+F , awa bite , afe
 thing 3PL tree 3PL.S break AUX tree small+F leaf+F
 nf pron nf pron vt aux nf adj pn

bayiha , me baka na me ati saiha me ,
 bayi+F , me baka na+F me ati sai+F me ,
 be thick 3PL.S break AUX 3PL.POSS voice be heard 3PL.POSS
 vi pron vt aux pron pn vi pron

me ati saihemetemoneke
 me ati sai -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.POSS voice be heard FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pn vi

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

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

nene
 na -hene
 AUX IRR+F
 aux

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

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

"I don't know."

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

"The burns hurt."

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

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

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

amake
 ama -ke
 SEC DECL+F
 sec

"They really burn us a lot."

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

KANI METE

miti **ya** **E Onira** **e** **kakamabanake**
 mita.NOM+F ya Ee Onira ee ka- ka -ma -habana -ke
 hear ADJU (name of song) 1IN.S COMIT go/come back FUT+F DECL+F
 vt prt npropf pron vt

"When we have heard what they have to say, we will come back singing E Onira."

278 **Ee** **hima**
 ee hima
 yes let's go
 interj interj

"Right, let's go."

279 **Me** **tokometemone**
 me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vi

'They went.'

280 **Me** **tokoma** **me** **Yama** **wawaha** **tonake**
 me to- ka -ma+F me yama wa- waha to- na -ke
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S thing DUP shine CH AUX DECL+F
 pron vi pron nf vi aux

haro
 haaro
 that one+F
 dem

"They went. "It's still daylight."

281 **Yama** **soki** **ihabanake**
 yama soki.NFIN iha -habana -ke
 thing be dark put FUT+F DECL+F
 nf vi result

"It will be at night."

282 **Me** **howe** **nibana** ?
 me howe na+F -bana
 3PL.S wipe AUX FUT
 pron result aux

"Will they be wiped?"

283 **Me** **e** **howe** **nibeya**
 me ee howe na -be -ya
 3PL.O 1IN.S wipe AUX IMMED+F now
 pron pron vt aux

"We will wipe them."

284 **Me** **e** **howe** **nibeya** **me** **ati** **nemetemone**
 me ee howe na -be -ya me ati na -hemete -mone
 3PL.O 1IN.S wipe AUX IMMED+F now 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron pron vt aux pron vt aux

"We will wipe them."

285 **Me** **haha** **nemetemoneke** **ahi**
 me haahaa na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S laugh AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi aux dem

'They laughed.'

KANI METE

286 *Me* *haha* *na* *me* , *tokoma* *me* ,
 me haahaa na+F me , to- ka -ma+F me ,
 3PL.S laugh AUX 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron vi pron

E Onira *watarabone* *ota* *ati* *na* *otake*
 Ee Onira wata -ra -habone otaa ati na+F otaa -ke
 (name of song) exist NEG INT+F 1EX.S say AUX 1EX.S DECL+F
 npropf vi pron vt aux pron
 "They laughed. They went. "We decided there is not going to be E Onira."

287 *Aifa* , *Aifa*
 Aifa , Aifa
 (man's name) (man's name)
 npropm npropm
 "Aifa, Aifa."

288 *Hoo*
 hoo
 huh?
 interj
 "What?"

289 *Aifa* *E Onira* *watarabone* *ota* *ati* *na*
 Aifa Ee Onira wata -ra -habone otaa ati na+F
 (man's name) (name of song) exist NEG INT+F 1EX.S say AUX
 npropm npropf vi pron vt aux

otake
 otaa -ke
 1EX.S DECL+F
 pron
 "Aifa, we don't want there to be E Onira."

290 *E Onira* *te* *hiri* *nahi*
 Ee Onira tee hiri na -hi
 (name of song) 2PL.S sing AUX IMP+F
 npropf pron vt aux
 "Sing E Onira."

291 *E Onira* *hiri* *te* *ama* *fari*
 Ee Onira hiri na -tee ama -ke
 (name of song) sing AUX HAB SEC DECL+F
 npropf result aux sec
 "E Onira should be sung."

292 *Kona* *hinita* *toharayaho*
 kona hinita to- ha -ra -yaho
 plant sp alone CH be NEG DIST.IMP+M
 nm pn vc
 "The *kona* shouldn't be by itself."

293 *Ati* *siba* *tere* *ama* *fari*
 ati siba na -tee -ra+M ama faari
 voice be all right AUX HAB NEG SEC that one+M
 pn vi aux sec dem
 "He is right."

KANI METE

294 *Aifa* *Aifa* *yokana* , *Aifa* *yokana* *ati*
 Aifa Aifa yokana Aifa yokana ati
 (man's name) (man's name) true (man's name) true voice
 npropm npropm adj npropm adj pn

siba *kara* *fari*
 siba na ka -ra faari
 be all right AUX DECL NEG+M that one+M
 vi prt dem

"Aifa is right."

295 *E* *awakere*
 ee awa -ke -re
 1IN.S see DECL+F NEG+F
 pron vt

"I don't know."

296 *Okobise* *ati* *hiyarareka*
 o- ka abise ati hiya -ra -hare -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle voice be bad NEG IP.E+M DECL+M
 nm pn vi

"My uncle doesn't agree."

297 *Okobise* , *yama noko* *yor* *nemona* *ati*
 o- ka abise yama noko yori na -himona ati
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle vagina have sex with AUX REP+M voice
 nm nm vt aux pn

himitare *awa* ?
 hi- mita -ra+M awa
 OC hear NEG seem+M
 vt sec

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

298 *Ati* *himitare* *awaka* *fari* , *fari* *yama* ,
 ati hi- mita -ra+M awa -ka faari faari yama
 voice OC hear NEG seem+M DECL+M that one+M that one+M thing
 pn vt sec dem dem nf

kakamarahari
 ka- ka -ma -ra -haari
 COMIT go/come back NEG IP.E+M
 vt

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

299 *Yama noko* *yor* *nima* *o* *ati*
 yama noko yori na -nima o- ati
 vagina have sex with AUX about to 1SG.S say
 nm vt aux prt vt

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

"I want to have sex," he said.'

300 *Wabori* *ati* *hani* *kane* ,
 wabori ati haani ka- na+M
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law voice be funny COMIT AUX
 nm pn vi aux

KANI METE

Okasima	mahika	nofarawe	amane
o- ka asima	mahika	na nofa -rawa+M	ama -ne
1SG.POSS POSS younger sister	consume a lot	AUX recently F.PL	SEC BKG+M
nf	vt	aux	sec

'He made fun of what his brother-in-law said. "He is having sex with my younger sisters a lot."'

301 Faya me	E Onira	hine	nake
faya me	Ee Onira	hine na -ke	
so 3PL	(name of song)	only exist DECL+F	
conj pron	npropf	pron vi	

"Let E Onira be."

302 Hinita	toebanaka
hinita to- ha -hibana -ka	
alone CH be FUT+M DECL+M	
pn vc	

"It will be by itself."

303 Hahi	yotohi	ya	E Onira	yotoabanani
haahi	yoto+M	ya	Ee Onira	yoto -habana -ni
this one+M	follow	ADJU	(name of song)	follow FUT+F BKG+F
dem	vi	prt	npropf	vi

"E Onira will be at the one that follows."

304 Oko	aba	me	owa	me	tani	hiri
o- ka	aba	me	o- awa+F	me	tani	hiri
1SG.POSS POSS	fish	3PL.O	1SG.S see	3PL.POSS	song about	sing
prt	nm	pron	vt	pron	pn	vt

owabanake	hike	ka	mati	ahi
o- na -waha -habana -ke	hike	ka	mati	ahi
1SG.S AUX change FUT+F DECL+F	far	which	3PL	there
aux	nf	prt	pron	dem

"I am going to sing a song about my fish that I saw far away."

305 Faya me	amo	nemetemone	sina	me	hisi	na	mati
faya me	amo	na -hemete -mone	sina	me	hisi	na+F	mati
so 3PL.S	sleep	AUX FP.N+F REP+F	snuff	3PL.S	sniff	AUX	3PL.S
conj pron	vi	aux	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron

'Then they slept, after taking snuff.'

306 Sina	me	hisi	na	me	Te	amo	nibote	nahi
sina	me	hisi	na+F	me	tee	amo	na -bote	na -hi
snuff	3PL.S	sniff	AUX	3PL.S	2PL.S	sleep	AUX quickly	AUX IMP+F
nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	pron	vi	aux	aux

"They took snuff. "Go to sleep right away."

307 Te	ati	watarima	nahi
tee	ati	wata -rima	na -hi
2PL.POSS	voice	exist NEG.IMP+F	AUX IMP+F
pron	pn	vi	aux

"Don't talk."

KANI METE

308 **E Onira** **te** **nofara** **te** **amani**
 Ee Onira tee nofa -ra+F tee ama -ni
 (name of song) 2PL.S want NEG 2PL.S SEC BKG+F
 npropf pron vt pron sec

"You don't want E Onira."

309 **Te** **amo** **nibote** **nahi**
 tee amo na -bote na -hi
 2PL.S sleep AUX quickly AUX IMP+F
 pron vi aux aux

"Go to sleep right away."

310 **Te** **hiyararima** **nahi**
 tee hiyara -rima na -hi
 2PL.S speak NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F
 pron vi aux

"Don't talk."

311 **Hiyara** **onofa** **okere**
 hiyara o- nofa o- ke -re
 talk 1SG.S want 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F
 nf vt prt

"I don't want conversation."

312 **Te** **afo** **oriyahi**
 tee afo o- na -ra -yahi
 2PL.O blow snuff into 1SG.S AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron vt aux

"Don't make me blow snuff into you."

313 **Te** **afo** **oriyahi**
 tee afo o- na -ra -yahi
 2PL.O blow snuff into 1SG.S AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron vt aux

"Don't make me blow snuff into you."

314 **Te** **amo** **nibote** **nahi**
 tee amo na -bote na -hi
 2PL.S sleep AUX quickly AUX IMP+F
 pron vi aux aux

"Go to sleep quickly."

315 **Faya** **me** **sina** **me** **hisi** **na** **me** **sina** **me** **hisi** **na**
 faya me sina me hisi na+F me sina me hisi na+F
 so 3PL snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX 3PL.S snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX
 conj pron nf pron vt aux pron nf pron vt aux

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

'They took snuff.'

316 **Me** **bote** , **wawasi** **kowa** , **serima** , **serima**
 me bote , wa- wasi kowa.LIST , serima , serima
 3PL old DUP get caught weave fish wier fish wier
 pron adj nf vt nf nf

KANI METE

toha , **me one** **awa wasa** , **awa me**
 to- ha.LIST , me one awa wasa.LIST , awa me
 CH be 3PL other+F wood stick in ground wood 3PL.S
 vc pron adj nf vt nf pron

wasa na me , **Awa ota wasa** **na ota**
 wasa na+F me , awa otaa wasa na+F otaa
 stick in ground AUX 3PL.S wood 1EX.S stick in ground AUX 1EX.S
 vt aux pron nf pron vt aux pron

karaba te awateba awine
 ka- raba+F tee awa -tee -haba awine
 COMIT lash together 2PL.S see HAB FUT+F seem+F
 vt pron vt sec

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

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

"The fish wier downstream is very tight."

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

"The fish won't go downstream."

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

"The fish will stop as they go downstream."

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

'The ones who were sleeping got up early.'

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

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

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

322 **Hibaka yana raba** ?
 hibaka yana na -ra -ba
 where start AUX CQ+M IMMED+M
 interrog vi aux

"Where will it begin?"

KANI METE

323 *Yana na ahi*
 yana na ahi
 start AUX here
 vi aux dem

"It will start here."

324 *Aba me tamake*
 aba me tama -ke
 fish sp 3PL.S be many DECL+F
 nm pron vi

"There are many *aba* fish."

325 *Aba me tama me , ababanake*
 aba me tama+F me , ahaba -habana -ke
 fish sp 3PL.S be many 3PL.S end FUT+F DECL+F
 nm pron vi pron vi

"Many *aba* fish will die."

326 *Me sa hinematamonaka*
 me saa hi- na -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.S release OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt aux

'They put it in the water.'

327 *Kona me sa na me , ye kawa*
 kona me saa na+F me , yee ka- na -waha
 plant sp 3PL.S release AUX 3PL.S yell COMMIT AUX change
 nm pron vt aux pron vi aux

nemetemoneke *ahi Hioo* , *hioo*
 na -hemete -mone -ke ahi hioo , hioo
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then (sound of yelling) (sound of yelling)
 aux dem interj interj

hioo *hioo* *hioo* ,
 hioo hioo hioo
 (sound of yelling) (sound of yelling) (sound of yelling)
 interj interj interj

yee , *yee* , *yee* ,
 yee yee yee
 (sound of yelling) (sound of yelling) (sound of yelling)
 interj interj interj

yee
 yee
 (sound of yelling)
 interj

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

328 *Aba me kishemetemoneke ahi* ,
 aba me ka -risa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 fish sp 3PL.S go/come down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nm pron vi dem

okiti *aati* *toematamona*
 o- ka iti a- ati to- ha -himata -mona
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather DUP say CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm vt aux

KANI METE

335 *Fara me fawa tosini* ?
 faa -ra me fawa to- na -kosa -ni
 that NPQ 3PL.S disappear CH AUX middle BKG+F
 dem pron vi aux

"Well, have they all passed?"

336 *Ee me fawa tosara hibati ya*
 ee me fawa to- na -kosa -hara hibati ya
 yes 3PL.S disappear CH AUX middle IP.E+F already ADJU
 interj pron vi aux nf prt

"Yes, they have all passed already."

337 *Me te tonakamakihi hike ka mati*
 me tee to- na- ka -makI -hi hike ka mati
 3PL.O 2PL.S away CAUS go/come following IMP+F far which 3PL
 pron pron vt nf prt pron

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

338 *Serima me kanawaremetemone*
 serima me ka- na- waa -rI -hemete -mone
 fish wier 3PL.S COMIT CAUS stand raised surface FP.N+F REP+F
 nf pron vt

'They put the parts of fish wier together.'

339 *Wawasi me kawatemetemoneke ahi*
 wa- wasi me ka- wata -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 DUP get caught 3PL.S COMIT put FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf pron vt dem

'They put the fish trap in place.'

340 *Wawasi me inohoti me sako nemetemone ahi*
 wa- wasi me inohoti me sako na -hemete -mone ahi
 DUP get caught 3PL mouth 3PL.S tie AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 nf pron pn pron vt aux dem

'They tied the open end of the trap in place.'

341 *Wawasi inohoti me sako na me serima me*
 wa- wasi inohoti me sako na+F me serima me
 DUP get caught mouth 3PL.S tie AUX 3PL.S fish wier 3PL.S
 nf pn pron vt aux pron nf pron

nawariemetemoneke

na- waa -rI -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 CAUS stand raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt dem

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

342 *Serima me nawaria me serima me*
 serima me na- waa -rI+F me serima me
 fish wier 3PL.S CAUS stand raised surface 3PL.S fish wier 3PL.S
 nf pron vt pron nf pron

nawariemetemoneke

na- waa -rI -hemete -mone -ke
 CAUS stand raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'They put the fish wier in place.'

KANI METE

- 343 *Me nafi me sako hinemetemoneke nafi*
 me nafi me sako hi- na -hemete -mone -ke nafi
 3PL all 3PL.S tie OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F all
 pron pn pron vt aux pn
 'They tied the whole thing fast.'
- 344 *Me sako hina me hekanakosa Aba me*
 me sako hi- na+F me hi- ka- kana -kosa+F aba me
 3PL.S tie OC AUX 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle fish sp 3PL.S
 pron vt aux pron vt nm pron
tokomi faro
 to- ka -ma.NOM+F faaro
 away go/come back that+F
 vi dem
 'They tied it fast, and left it. "The *aba* fish are going there."
- 345 *Aba me tokomini*
 aba me to- ka -ma -ni
 fish sp 3PL.S away go/come back BKG+F
 nm pron vi
 "'The *aba* fish are going there."
- 346 *Aba me tokomibana*
 aba me to- ka -ma+F -bana
 fish sp 3PL.S away go/come back FUT
 nm pron vi
 "'The *aba* fish are going to go."
- 347 *Aba me tokomibana me ati*
 aba me to- ka -ma+F -bana me ati
 fish sp 3PL.S away go/come back FUT 3PL.S say
 nm pron vi pron vt
nemetemoneke ahi
 na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux dem
 "'The *aba* fish are going to go," they said.'
- 348 *Me aba me kamemetemone okobi*
 me aba me ka -ma -hemete -mone o- ka abi
 3PL fish sp 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father
 pron nm pron vi nm
aati toematamona
 a- ati to- ha -himata -mona
 DUP say CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vt aux
 'My father said that the *aba* fish came back.'
- 349 *Aba me kama wawasi wawasi inohoti*
 aba me ka -ma+F wa- wasi wa- wasi inohoti
 fish sp 3PL.S go/come back DUP get caught DUP get caught mouth
 nm pron vi nf nf pn
aba me tokiyomarawemetemoneke me
 aba me to- ka -yoma -rawa -hemete -mone -ke me
 fish sp 3PL.S away go/come through F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS
 nm pron vi pron

KANI METE

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

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

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

kanamarawemetemoneni

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

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

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

ihi

ihi
 because of+F
 post

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

352 *Me* *me* *tisa* *hina* *me* , *me* *ahaba*
 me me tisa hi- na+F me me ahaba+F
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S die
 pron pron vt aux pron pron vi

hisiri *mo* *nemetemone* *ahi*
 hisiri moo na -hemete -mone ahi
 basket be full AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 nf vi aux dem

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

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

'They killed lots of *aba* fish.'

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

'They were carrying them off.'

355 *Wawasi* *ka* *me* *me* *hohoro* *hikanama* *me*
 wa- wasi ka me me ho- horo hi- ka- na -ma+F me
 DUP get caught LOC 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP pull OC COMIT AUX back 3PL.O
 nf prt pron pron vt aux pron
 , *me* *me* *titiwa* *hikamisemetemone* *awa* *awa*
 me me ti- tiwa hi- ka- na -misa -hemete -mone awa awa
 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP carry OC COMIT AUX up FP.N+F REP+F wood wood
 pron pron vt aux nf nf

KANI METE

awa ya
 awa ya
 wood ADJU
 nf prt

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

356 *Wawasi sosoki nakeha ya me me titiwa*
 wa- wasi so- soki na -kI+F ya me me ti- tiwa
 DUP get caught DUP tie up AUX coming ADJU 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP carry
 nf prt result aux prt pron pron vt

hikamisemetemone , nafi me soki hinaharo
 hi- ka- na -misa -hemete -mone , nafi me soki hi- na -haaro
 OC COMIT AUX up FP.N+F REP+F all 3PL.S tie up OC AUX IP.E+F
 aux pn pron vt aux

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

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

'They tied the poles.'

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

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

'They tied the poles. They were ready.'

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

'They carried the *aba* fish.'

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

'They carried the *aba* fish.'

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

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

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

KANI METE

362 *Me fanawi tafatafa raba ribana , atabo kiakia*
 me fanawi tafa- tafa na -raba na -ra+F -bana , atabo kiha- kiha
 women DUP eat AUX a bit AUX NEG FUT mud DUP have
 nf vi aux aux nf vt

raro
 na -ra -haaro
 AUX NEG IP.E+F
 aux

"The women are going to eat a lot, even though they didn't have mud."

363 *Me fanawi atabo kiabone onara okene*
 me fanawi atabo kiha -habone ati o- na -hara o- ke -ne
 women mud have INT+F say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F IRR+F
 nf nf vt vt prt

te ati hiyara teke
 tee ati hiya -ra+F tee -ke
 2PL.POSS voice be bad NEG 2PL.POSS DECL+F
 pron pn vi pron

"I wanted the women to have mud, but you didn't agree."

364 *Te ati hiyara teni*
 tee ati hiya -ra+F tee -ni
 2PL.POSS voice be bad NEG 2PL.POSS BKG+F
 pron pn vi pron

"You didn't agree."

365 *Me fanawi atabo kiabone ona tafarawibanake*
 me fanawi atabo kiha -habone ati o- na+F tafa -rawa+F -bana -ke
 women mud have INT+F say 1SG.S AUX eat F.PL FUT DECL+F
 nf nf vt vt vi

"I wanted the women to have mud on them, but they ate."

366 *Me tafatafa raba ribana*
 me tafa- tafa na -raba na -ra+F -bana
 3PL.S DUP eat AUX a bit AUX NEG FUT
 pron vi aux aux

"They are eating a lot."

367 *Me tafari me tafake*
 me tafa -ra.NOM+F me tafa -ke
 3PL.S eat NEG 3PL.S eat DECL+F
 pron vi pron vi

"They weren't going to eat, but they ate."

368 *Me tafatasaba me ama*
 me tafa -tasa -haba me ama
 3PL.S eat again FUT+F 3PL.S SEC
 pron vi pron sec

"They are going to eat again."

369 *Me tafamina me tafamina me tafamina*
 me tafa -mina+F me tafa -mina+F me tafa -mina.LIST
 3PL.S eat morning 3PL.S eat morning 3PL.S eat morning
 pron vi pron vi pron vi

KANI METE

naba me amake ahi , me watakiba karo
na -haba me ama -ke ahi , me wataka.NOM+F -ba karo
AUX FUT+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F then 3PL.S be fatty FUT so that
aux pron sec dem pron vi prt
""They will eat for many days, so they will become fat.""

370 *Owatakaraba siba ori haro*
o- wataka -ra -haba siba o- na -ra.NOM+F haaro
1SG.S be fatty NEG FUT+F be all right 1SG.S AUX NEG that one+F
vi vi aux dem

""I'm not going to get fat.""

371 *Owataki onofara ama oni*
o- wataka o- nofa -ra+F ama o- ni
1SG.S be fatty 1SG.S recently NEG SEC 1SG.S BKG+F
vi prt sec prt

""I'm not fat.""

372 *Fara owa otine oni*
fara owa iti -ne ni
same+F 1SG.O 1SG.S be CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
dem pron vt prt

""I just stay the same.""

373 *Faya me , yana na me Ayaka e hiri nibana ?*
faya me , yana na+F me ayaka ee hiri na+F -bana ?
so 3PL.S start AUX 3PL.S festa 1IN.S make AUX FUT
conj pron vi aux pron nf pron vt aux

""They left. "Shall we have a festa?""

374 *Ayaka e hiri na E Onira watari ka ayaka*
ayaka ee hiri na+F Ee Onira wata -ra.NOM+F ka ayaka
song 1IN.S sing AUX (name of song) exist NEG because song
nf pron vt aux npropf vi prt nf

watarabanake
wata -ra -habana -ke
exist NEG FUT+F DECL+F
vi

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

375 *Ati hiyara ha , ota tafarimakoni*
ati hiya -ra.CONT+M haa , otaa tafa -ra -makoni
voice be bad NEG DEM 1EX.S eat NEG for this reason+F
pn vi dem pron vi

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

376 *Iti , iti , Bono Wiyo*
iti , iti , Bono Wiyo
grandfather grandfather (man's name)
nm nm npropm

""Grandpa, Grandpa, Bono Wiyo.""

377 *Hii*
hii
huh?
interj

KANI METE

"Huh?"

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

"Bono Wiyo, the song."

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

"Grandpa, sing a little song."

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

nibeya
 na -be -ya
 AUX IMMED+F now
 aux

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

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

"Start the song."

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

"I will take it on."

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

"I will take it on."

384 *Te* *kanawanahi* .
 tee kanawana -hi
 2PL.S start IMP+F
 pron vt

"You start it."

385 *Faya* *ayaka* *me* *hiri* *na* *me* *ayaki* *ya*
 faya ayaka me hiri na+F me ayaka.NOM+F ya
 so song 3PL.S sing AUX 3PL.S sing ADJU
 conj nf pron vt aux pron vi prt

okiti
 o- ka iti
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather , o- ka iti
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
 nm nm

KANI METE

tokomakematamonaka

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

okobi

o- ka abi
1SG.POSS POSS father
nm

okobi

o- ka abi bati
1SG.POSS POSS father 3SG.POSS.father
nm nm

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

386 **Abi ayaka hiri tibone me ati ke**
abi ayaka hiri ti- na.NOM -bone me ati na -ke
father song sing 2SG.S AUX INT+F 3PL.S say AUX DECL+F
nm nf vt aux pron vt prt

'''Father, they want you to sing.'''

387 **Ayaka hiri tinahi**
ayaka hiri ti- na -hi
song sing 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
nf vt aux

'''Sing a song.'''

388 **Ayaka ota hiri nibeya okobi ati**
ayaka otaa hiri na -be -ya o- ka abi ati
song 1EX.S sing AUX IMMED+F now 1SG.POSS POSS father say
nf pron vt aux nm vt

nematamona

na -himata -mona o- ka abi a- ati to- ha -himari
AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M
aux nm vt aux

'''Let's us sing," my father said that he said.'

389 **Ayaka okiti hiri nebona sina hisi ne**
ayaka o- ka iti hiri na -hibona sina hisi na+M
song 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather sing AUX INT+M snuff sniff AUX
nf nm vt aux nf vt aux

tokomake

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

'My grandfather took snuff so he could sing a song. He went there.'

390 **Tokomake ayaka me hiri na me ayaki**
to- ka -makI ayaka me hiri na+F me ayaka.NFIN
away go/come following song 3PL.S sing AUX 3PL.S sing
vi nf pron vt aux pron vi

yokana me tohara me ayaki okiti
yokana me to- ha -ra+F me ayaka.NFIN o- ka iti
true 3PL.S CH be NEG 3PL.S sing 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
adj pron vc pron vi nm

wara tone ayaka hiri nabe okiti
wara to- na+M ayaka hiri na nahaba+M o- ka iti
respond to CH AUX song sing AUX at night 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
vt aux nf vt aux nm

KANI METE

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

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

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

"Grandpa, you sing one night by yourself."

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

"We will sing it."

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

"We will sing it."

394 **Ota inohoti wata ota awineni yiko me**
 otaa inohoti wata+F otaa awine -ni yiko me
 1EX.POSS mouth be located 1EX.POSS seem+F BKG+F howler monkey 3PL
 pron pn vi pron sec nm pron
 , **yiko me kakaba me ota**
 yiko me ka- kaba me otaa
 howler monkey 3PL.POSS DUP eat 3PL.COMPL 1EX.S
 nm pron pn pron pron

"We have mouths, because we are eaters of howler monkeys."

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

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

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

396 **Kanamometemone amake ahi**
 kanamo -mete -mone ama -ke ahi
 armband FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then
 nm vc dem

'They had armbands.'

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

KANI METE

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

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

398 Yaki	yaki	me	weyeri	
yaki	yaki	me	weye -ri	
toucan sp	headdress	3PL.S	carry DISTR	
nm	nm	pron	vt	

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

'They were wearing headdresses of toucan feathers.'

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

fifito	kanikimakani		ahi	
fi- fito	na -kanikima -kani		ahi	
DUP run	AUX scattered ?+F		then	
vi	aux		dem	

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

400 Faya	yowi	me	ini	me
faya yowi		me	ini	me
so brown capuchin		3PL.POSS	tooth+F	3PL.S
conj nm		pron	pn	pron

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

'They were decorated with brown capuchin teeth.'

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

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

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

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

kamakiemetemone			amake	
ka -makI -hemete -mone			ama -ke	
go/come following FP.N+F REP+F			SEC DECL+F	
vi			sec	

'They sang all night, and dawn came.'

KANI METE

403 *Yama we kamakia , Me fanawi yowiri*
 yama wehe ka -makI+F , me fanawi yowiri
 thing light+F go/come following women sing woman's song
 nf pn vi nf vi

nabanake , me tafa mati
 na -habana -ke , me tafa+F mati
 AUX FUT+F DECL+F 3PL.S eat 3PL.S
 aux pron vi pron

'Dawn came. "The women are going to sing, they have been eating."

404 *Fe e ra eke*
 fee ee na -ra+F ee -ke
 3SG 1IN.S AUX NEG 1IN.S DECL+F
 pron pron aux pron

"We already sang."

405 *E ayaka nabake*
 ee ayaka nahaba -ke
 1IN.S sing at night DECL+F
 pron vi prt

"We have already sung all night."

406 *Okiti ayaki e hiri naba*
 o- ka iti ayaka.NFIN ee hiri na nahaba+F
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather sing 1IN.S sing AUX at night
 nm vi pron vt aux

ereke
 ere -ke
 1IN.S DECL+F
 pron

"We have sung my grandfather's song all night."

407 *Me fanawi me fanawi me ka aki me yowiri*
 me fanawi me fanawi me ka aki me yowiri
 women women 3PL POSS grandmother 3PL.S sing woman's song
 nf nf pron prt nf pron vi

ni me hiri nabisabanake
 na.NFIN me hiri na -bisa -habana -ke
 AUX 3PL.S sing AUX also FUT+F DECL+F
 aux pron vt aux

"The women will sing their grandmothers' song."

408 *Fe e ra eke*
 fee ee na -ra+F ee -ke
 3SG 1IN.S AUX NEG 1IN.S DECL+F
 pron pron aux pron

"We already sang."

409 *Okiti ohari ayaki e mahika*
 o- ka iti ohari+M ayaka.NFIN ee mahika
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather be only sing 1IN.S consume a lot
 nm vi vi pron vt

nababisa eke
 na nahaba -bisa+F ee -ke
 AUX at night also 1IN.S DECL+F
 aux pron

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

KANI METE

410 *Me fanawi me fanawi me fanawi me te mari*
 me fanawi me fanawi me fanawi me tee mari
 women women women 3PL.O 2PL.S offer a feast to
 nf nf nf pron pron vt

nahi

na -hi
 AUX IMP+F
 aux

"Give food of the feast to the women."

411 *Me fanawi me te mari nahi aba me*
 me fanawi me tee mari na -hi aba me
 women 3PL.O 2PL.S offer a feast to AUX IMP+F fish sp 3PL
 nf pron pron vt aux nm pron

one ya
 one ya
 other+F ADJU
 adj prt

"Give food of the feast to the women, other *aba* fish."

412 *Me fanawi me ka aba mebone me*
 me fanawi me ka aba me -bone me
 women 3PL POSS fish sp 3PL INT+F 3PL.S
 nf pron prt nm pron pron

hikawarerawa faya me fanawi me me
 hi- ka- waa -rI -rawa+F , faya me fanawi me me
 OC COMIT cook raised surface F.PL so women 3PL.O 3PL.S
 vt conj nf pron pron

nakabemetemoneke aba me ya
 na- kaba -hemete -mone -ke aba me ya
 CAUS eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F fish sp 3PL ADJU
 vt nm pron prt

'They cooked *aba* fish for the women. They fed *aba* fish to the women.'

413 *Me fanawi tafebone me kakibemetemoneke*
 me fanawi tafebone -bone me ka- ibI -hemete -mone -ke
 women food+F INT+F 3PL.S COMIT put inside FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf pn pron vt

aba mati
 aba mati
 fish sp 3PL
 nm pron

'They put food for the women on leaves, *aba* fish.'

414 *Hiba te yowiri naboneke ota ati na*
 hiba tee yowiri na -habone -ke otaa ati na+F
 wait 2PL.S sing woman's song AUX INT+F DECL+F 1EX.S say AUX
 interj pron vi aux pron vt aux

otani
 otaa -ni
 1EX.S BKG+F
 pron

"We have decided you are going to sing."

KANI METE

- 415 **Te tafatafa bote nahi**
 tee tafa- tafa na -bote na -hi
 2PL.S DUP eat AUX quickly AUX IMP+F
 pron vi aux aux
 "Eat."
- 416 **Te yobiri riyahi**
 tee yobi -ri na -ra -yahi
 2PL.S go back and forth DISTR AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron vi aux
 "Don't go back and forth."
- 417 **Te yobiri riyahi**
 tee yobi -ri na -ra -yahi
 2PL.S go back and forth DISTR AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron vi aux
 "Don't go back and forth."
- 418 **Me boti homa me te yobi**
 me boti homa+F me tee yobi
 3PL.POSS bunch+F lie on ground 3PL.O 2PL.S go back and forth
 pron pn vi pron pron vi
kariya haro
 ka- na -ra -yahi haaro
 COMIT AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F that one+F
 aux dem
 "Don't go back and forth to the bunch of young men in their hut."
- 419 **Te nafi tohitohiro niya**
 tee nafi tohi- to- ha -ro na -yahi
 2PL.POSS all DUP CH be without stopping AUX DIST.IMP+F
 pron pn vc aux
 "All of you stay there."
- 420 **Faya me yowiri nabone me yowiri**
 faya me yowiri na -habone me yowiri
 so 3PL.S sing woman's song AUX INT+F 3PL.S sing woman's song
 conj pron vi aux pron vi
nemetemoneke
 na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux
 "They decided to sing, and they sang."
- 421 **Me fanawi yowiri nemetemoneni**
 me fanawi yowiri na -hemete -mone -ni
 women sing woman's song AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 nf vi aux
 "The women sang."
- 422 **Me fanawi yowiri na Fara ota nima te na**
 me fanawi yowiri na+F fara otaa nima tee na+F
 women sing woman's song AUX same+F 1EX like 2PL.S AUX
 nf vi aux dem pron prt pron aux

KANI METE

te	ka	te	ka	aki	me	yowiri	ni	te
tee	ka	tee	ka	aki	me	yowiri	na.NFIN	tee
2PL	POSS	2PL	POSS	grandmother	3PL.S	sing woman's song	AUX	2PL.S
pron	prt	pron	prt	nf	pron	vi	aux	pron

hiri nahi
 hiri na -hi
 sing AUX IMP+F
 vt aux

"The women sang. "Do just like us and sing your grandmothers' songs."

423	Fe	ota	ra	otake	okiti			
	fee	otaa	na -ra+F	otaa -ke	o-	ka	iti	
	3SG	1EX.S	AUX NEG	1EX.S DECL+F	1SG.POSS	POSS	grandfather	
	pron	pron	aux	pron	nm			

ayaki ota nahari naba ota
 ayaka.NFIN otaa na- ohari nahaba+F otaa
 sing 1EX.S CAUS be one at night 1EX.S
 vi pron vt prt pron

"We already sang. We sang my grandfather's songs one whole night."

424	Okiti			ayaki	ota	nahari	naba
	o-	ka	iti	ayaka.NFIN	otaa	na- ohari	nahaba+F
	1SG.POSS	POSS	grandfather	sing	1EX.S	CAUS be one	at night
	nm			vi	pron	vt	prt

otake ati nematamonaka
 otaa -ke , ati na -himata -mona -ka
 1EX.S DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt aux

"We sang my grandfather's songs one whole night."

425	Me fanawi	yowiri	na	kirabote	yowiri	ni
	me fanawi	yowiri	na+F	kirabote	yowiri	na.NFIN
	women	sing woman's song	AUX	old woman	sing woman's song	AUX
	nf	vi	aux	nf	vi	aux

hiyarawara yowiri ni me haha
 hiya -rawa -ra+F , yowiri na.NFIN me haha
 be bad F.PL NEG sing woman's song AUX 3PL.S laugh
 vi vi aux pron vi

hikarawa okaki
 hi- ka- na -rawa+F , o- ka aki
 OC COMIT AUX F.PL 1SG.S POSS grandmother
 aux nf

okakiteba ya
 o- ka aki -tee -ba ya ,
 1SG.POSS POSS grandmother HAB FUT ADJU
 nf prt

okakiteba ta yowiri
 o- ka aki -tee -ba taa yowiri
 1SG.POSS POSS grandmother HAB FUT contrast sing woman's song
 nf prt vi

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

"The women sang. The old women's singing was not good, and the others were laughing at their singing. Only my grandmother sang."

KANI METE

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

KANI METE

- 431 *Faya ee me fanawi kawahemetemone fahi*
 faya ee me fanawi ka- waha -hemete -mone fahi
 so yes women COMIT dawn FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj interj nf vi dem
 'The women sang until dawn.'
- 432 *Me fanawi kawaha , Te awa*
 me fanawi ka- waha+F , tee awa
 women COMIT dawn 2PL.S see
 nf vi pron vt
 'The women sang until dawn. "Look at them."'
- 433 *Me kawaharabone me ota ati nahara*
 me ka- waha -ra -habone me otaa ati na -hara
 3PL.S COMIT dawn NEG INT+F 3PL.O 1EX.S say AUX IP.E+F
 pron vi pron pron vt aux
 '"We thought that they would not sing until dawn."'
- 434 *Me kawahemetemone fahi*
 me ka- waha -hemete -mone fahi
 3PL.S COMIT dawn FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron vi dem
 'They sang until dawn.'
- 435 *Me fanawi kawaha haha wati me , wati me*
 me fanawi ka- waha+F haaha wahati me , wahati me
 women COMIT dawn this+F Jamamadi 3PL Jamamadi 3PL.S
 nf vi dem npropm pron npropm pron
sawibisa me , faya me wati me sawibisa
 sawi -bisa+F me , faya me wahati me sawi -bisa+F
 be present also 3PL.S so 3PL Jamamadi 3PL.S be present also
 vi pron conj pron npropm pron vi
me tokomemetemone , ayaka ini me mita
 me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone , ayaka ini me mita+F
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F song name+F 3PL.S hear
 pron vi nf pn pron vt
mati , ayaka me hiri rabone mati
 mati ayaka me hiri rabone mati
 3PL.S song 3PL.S sing AUX NEG INT+F 3PL.S
 pron nf pron vt aux pron
 'The women sang until dawn. The Jamamadis that were there went home when they heard that the Jarawaras wanted them to sing, so they wouldn't have to sing.'
- 436 *Wati me tokomemetemoneke*
 wahati me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 Jamamadi 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 npropm pron vi
 'The Jamamadis went home.'
- 437 *Me , ayaka me nofara me tokomineke*
 me , ayaka me nofa -ra+F me to- ka -ma -ne -ke
 3PL song 3PL.S want NEG 3PL.S away go/come back CONT+F DECL+F
 pron nf pron vt pron vi
me tafi me nofara mati
 me tafa.NFIN me nofa -ra+F mati
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S want NEG 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vt pron

KANI METE

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

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

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

439	Okobi			nisori		famabise	na
	o- ka abi			nisori		fama -bisa+M	na+F
	1SG.POSS POSS father			3SG.POSS.younger brother		be with also	AUX
	nm			nm		vi	aux
	nisori			aba me		aba me	
	nisori			aba me		aba me	
	3SG.POSS.younger brother			fish 3PL		fish 3PL.O	
	nm			nm pron		nm pron	
	okiti			ki	nebona	tokome	
	o- ka iti			kii na -hibona		to- ka -ma+M	
	1SG.POSS POSS grandfather			look at AUX INT+M		away go/come back	
	nm			vt aux		vi	
	okobi			okobi		nisori	me
	o- ka abi			o- ka abi		nisori	me
	1SG.POSS POSS father			1SG.POSS POSS father		3SG.POSS.younger brother	3PL.S
	nm			nm		nm	pron
	yoro	na	me	yama	me	tisa	nemetemone
	yoro	na+F	me	yama	me	tisa	na -hemete -mone
	stand	AUX	3PL.S	thing	3PL.S	shoot with arrow	AUX FP.N+F REP+F
	vi	aux	pron	nf	pron	vt	aux
	okobi			aati	toemari		
	o- ka abi			a- ati to- ha -himari			
	1SG.POSS POSS father			DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M			
	nm			vt	aux		

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

440	Okobi			hiwa	totoha	ne	okobi
	o- ka abi			hiwa	to- to- ha	na+M	o- ka abi
	1SG.POSS POSS father			only.M	DUP CH be	AUX	1SG.POSS POSS father
	nm			pron	vc	aux	nm
	nisori			fame	nisori		yama
	nisori			fama+M	nisori		yama
	3SG.POSS.younger brother			be two	3SG.POSS.younger brother		thing
	nm			vi	nm		nf
							pron

KANI METE

tisa na me yoro nemetemoneke
 tisa na+F me yoro na -hemete -mone -ke
 shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.S stand AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux pron vi aux

'My father was the older one. My father was with his younger brother. They were in the plaza playing at shooting bow and arrow.'

441 **Me yoro na , Te kakamini , me ka**
 me yoro na+F , tee ka- ka -ma -ni , me ka
 3PL.S stand AUX 2PL.S COMIT go/come back BKG+F 3PL POSS
 pron vi aux pron vi pron prt

aki ati nemetemone
 aki ati na -hemete -mone
 grandmother say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nf vt aux

'They were in the plaza. "You two come here," their grandmother said.'

442 **Faya me kakama me watama me**
 faya me ka- ka -ma+F me wata -ma+F me
 so 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S lie in hammock back 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron vi pron
ahi Niso wiwina karama tinahi
 ahi , niso wi- wina na -karahama ti- na -hi
 then younger brother DUP lie in hammock AUX only do 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 dem nm vi aux aux

'They came back and lay in their hammocks. "Brother, stay in your hammock."

443 **Wiwina karama tinahi**
 wi- wina na -karahama ti- na -hi
 DUP lie in hammock AUX only do 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux aux

""Stay in your hammock.""

444 **Amo tibeya**
 amo ti- na -be -ya
 sleep 2SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 vi aux

""Sleep.""

445 **Okobi kamaba amake**
 o- ka abi ka -ma.NOM+M -ba ama -ke
 1SG.POSS POSS father go/come back FUT be DECL+F
 nm vi vc
okobi ati nematamona okobi aati
 o- ka abi ati na -himata -mona o- ka abi a- ati
 1SG.POSS POSS father say AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say
 nm vt aux nm vt
toemari amake
 to- ha -himari ama -ke
 CH AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+F
 aux sec

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

KANI METE

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

KANI METE

kakamemata

ka- ka -ma -himata ama -ka
COMIT go/come back FP.N+M SEC DECL+M
vt sec

amaka

"My grandfather was carrying the *aba* fish that would make my younger brother a victim."

452 **Faya** , **okobi**

faya o- ka abi o- ka abi aba weye
so 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father fish sp carry
conj nm nm nm vt

namata

na.NOM+M -mata , **aba** **homemari** **amani** **ahi** **tabaki**
AUX FP.N+M aba homa -himari ama -ni ahi tabaki
aux nm vi sec dem nf
fish sp lie on ground FP.E+M SEC BKG+F then tambaqui

nima

nima
like
prt

"My father carried the *aba* fish. The *aba* fish lay on the ground like a *tabaki* fish."

453 **Tone** **sa**

tone saa **hikanemetemoneke**
bone shoot with arrow hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
pn vt OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux

wabasaharo

waa -basa -haaro
be located edge IP.E+F
vi

"He shot it in the bone as it was near the edge of the stream."

454 **Tone** **sa**

tone saa **hikana** **fara** **aba** **oharia**
bone shoot with arrow hi- ka- na+F fara aba ohari+F
pn vt OC COMIT AUX same+F fish sp be one
aux dem nm vi

wiye

wiye **nafihemetemone** **okobi** **aati**
container+F be big FP.N+F REP+F o- ka abi a- ati
pn vi nm vt say

toemarine

to- ha -himari -ne
CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M
aux

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

455 **Aba**

aba **kakameno** **aba** **me** **hora**
fish sp ka- ka -ma -hino aba me hora
nm vt COMIT go/come back IP.N+M fish sp 3PL.S exclaim
pron vi

kanemetemone

ka- na -hemete -mone , **afa** **me** **hora** **nofara**
COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F afa me hora na nofa -ra+F
aux dem pron vi AUX recently NEG
prt

me **ama** ?

me ama
3PL.S SEC
pron sec

"Are they exclaiming about the *aba* fish that he brought back and they exclaimed about long ago?"

KANI METE

456 **Me** **ati** **itehemetemoneke**
me ati ita -hemete -mone -ke
3PL.POSS voice exist FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron pn vi

'They were all talking.'

457 **Aii** **aba** **tiwahi** **aba** **sawitehanihi**
aai aba ti- awa -hi aba sawi -tee -hani -hi
wow! fish sp 2SG.S see IMP+F fish sp be present HAB IP.N+F DUP
interj nm vt nm vi

'''Wow, look at that *aba* fish. I didn't know such an *aba* fish existed.'''

458 **Aba** **sawiteni** **te** **awa** **haro**
aba sawi -tee -hani tee awa haaro
fish sp be present HAB IP.N+F 2PL.S see that one+F
nm vi pron vt dem

'''Look at the *aba* fish that existed without our knowing it.'''

459 **Me** **ati** **itehemetemoneke** **okobi**
me ati ita -hemete -mone -ke o- ka abi
3PL.POSS voice exist FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 1SG.POSS POSS father
pron pn vi nm

nisori **me** **yokohaba** **mati**
nisori me yoko -haba mati
3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.S bring misfortune on FUT+F 3PL.S
nm pron vt pron

'They were all talking. They brought misfortune on my father's younger brother.'

460 **Okobi** **nisori** **me**
o- ka abi nisori me
1SG.POSS POSS father 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.S
nm nm pron

yokohaba **me** **ati** **ita** **me** , **me**
yoko -haba me ati ita+F me , me
bring misfortune on FUT+F 3PL.POSS voice exist 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS
vt pron pn vi pron pron

ati **ita** **me** **ni** **ya** **biti** **tiwa** **namise** **biti**
ati ita+F me ni ya biti tiwa na -misa+M biti
voice exist 3PL to ADJU 3SG.POSS.son hold AUX up 3SG.POSS.son
pn vi pron prt prt nm vt aux nm

nawarisame , **okiti** **biti**
na- waa -risa -ma+M o- ka iti biti
CAUS stand down back 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 3SG.POSS.son
vt nm nm

nawarisamematamonaka

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

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

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

KANI METE

- Niso*
 niso tee fa- fama na -karama na+F
 2SG.POSS.younger brother 2PL.S DUP be two AUX only do AUX
 nm pron vi aux aux
 "You stay with your younger brother."
- 462 *Yifo tafa omateya*
 yifo tafa o- na -mate -ya
 firewood split 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F now
 nf vt aux
 "I'm going to split firewood."
- 463 *Yifo okiti tafa nebona biti*
 yifo o- ka iti tafa na -hibona biti
 firewood 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather split AUX INT+M 3SG.POSS.son
 nf nm vt aux nm
nawarisame Niso tikama
 na- waa -risa -ma+M niso ti- ka -ma
 CAUS stand down back younger brother 2SG.S go/come back
 vt nm vi
 'My grandfather set his son down so he could split firewood. "Brother, come here."
- 464 *Tiwa otakoribe okobi ati*
 tiwa o- takora -be o- ka abi ati
 2SG.O 1SG.S be in hammock with IMMED+F 1SG.POSS POSS father say
 pron vt nm vt
nematamonaka
 na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux
 "I will stay in the hammock with you," my father said.'
- 465 *Faya nisori takore wine*
 faya nisori takora+M wina+M
 so 3SG.POSS.younger brother be in hammock with lie in hammock
 conj nm vt vi
okiti yifo tafa nematamona
 o- ka iti yifo tafa na -himata -mona
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather firewood split AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm nf vt aux
 'He got in the hammock with his brother. He lay in the hammock. My grandfather split firewood.'
- 466 *Aba me bobi hikanare ebe me*
 aba me bobi hi- ka- na -rI ebe me
 fish sp 3PL.S slit OC COMIT AUX raised surface piece 3PL.S
 nm pron vt aux pn pron
hiwarimatamona okobi aati
 hi- waa -rI -himata -mona o- ka abi a- ati
 OC cook raised surface FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say
 vt nm vt
toemari aba ebote
 to- ha -himari aba ehebote
 CH AUX FP.E+M fish sp big
 aux nm adj
 'They cut the *aba* fish up, and they cooked the pieces, my father used to say.'

KANI METE

467 *Tabaki nima aba ne sasawi tere aba*
 tabaki nima aba na+M sa- sawi na -tee -ra+M aba
 tambaqui like fish sp AUX DUP be present AUX HAB NEG fish sp
 nf prt nm aux vi aux nm

sawiteno okiti saka
 sawi -tee -hino o- ka iti saka
 be present HAB IP.N+M 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather pierce repeatedly
 vi nm vt

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

'There was never an *aba* fish like that, it was like a *tabaki*. It was there and they didn't know it. My grandfather shot it with bow and arrow.'

468 *Faya me tafehemetemoneke*
 faya me tafa -hemete -mone -ke
 so 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj pron vi

'They ate.'

469 *Me tafa me me tafemetemoneke*
 me tafa+F me me tafa -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi pron pron vi

'They ate.'

470 *Me tafa me ni ya hinamate ati yana*
 me tafa+F me ni ya hinamate ati yana
 3PL.S eat 3PL to ADJU child voice start
 pron vi pron prt prt nm pn vi

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

'As they were eating, the voice of pain of the boy came to them.'

471 *Hinamate ee kari nematamonaka ahi*
 hinamate e- ee ka- na -ri na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 child DUP yell COMIT AUX DISTR AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm vi aux aux dem

'The boy was yelling.'

472 *Himata okatao ebe ne ati amara ?*
 himata okatao ebe na+M ati ama -ra
 what? my son purpose AUX voice be CQ+M
 interrog nm vt aux pn vc

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

473 *Okaniso ati yana kanareka*
 o- ka niso ati yana ka- na -hare -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother voice start COMIT AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 nm pn vi aux

ahi otakore onawarisamari
 ahi o- takora+M o- na- waa -risa -ma -haari
 then 1SG.S be in hammock with 1SG.S CAUS stand down back IP.E+M
 dem vt vt

KANI METE

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

474 *Faya ee kari ne hiwa*
 faya e- ee ka- na -ri na+M , hiwa
 so DUP yell COMIT AUX DISTR AUX 3SG.REFL.M
 conj vi aux aux pron

kawasinoho

ka- wasi -hino -ho
 COMIT make sick IP.N+M DUP
 vt

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

475 *Hiwa kawasino ati ee kari*
 hiwa ka- wasi -hino ati e- ee ka- na -ri
 3SG.REFL.M COMIT make sick IP.N+M voice DUP yell COMIT AUX DISTR
 pron vt aux

nematamonaka

na -himata -mona -ka *ahi Abi abi abi abi*
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then father father father father father
 aux dem nm nm nm nm nm nm nm

abi abi abi abi abi abi
 abi abi abi abi abi abi
 father father father father father father
 nm nm nm nm nm nm nm

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

476 *Afa me ati wato nofara wareha*
 afa me ati wato nofa -ra+F , waa -rI+F ,
 this+F 3PL.POSS voice know recently NEG stand raised surface
 dem pron pn result prt vi

Abi abi abi abi abi abi hinamate ati
 abi abi abi abi abi abi hinamate ati
 father father father father father father child say
 nm nm nm nm nm nm nm vt

nematamonaka

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

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

477 *Okobi okobi aba kabebona*
 o- ka abi , o- ka abi aba kaba -hibona
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father fish sp eat INT+M
 nm nm nm vt

aba sa tonakose nisori
 aba saa to- na -kosa+M , nisori
 fish release CH AUX middle 3SG.POSS.younger brother
 nm vt aux nm

totimake nisori tiwa ni we
 to- iti -makI nisori tiwa ni waa+M ,
 away take out following 3SG.POSS.younger brother hold AUX stand
 vt nm vt aux vi

faya okiti tafematamona
 faya o- ka iti tafa -himata -mona
 so 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather wrap FP.N+M REP+M
 conj nm vt

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

KANI METE

484 *Biti* *toma* *nematamona*
 biti toma na -himata -mona
 3SG.POSS.son suck AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm vt aux

'He sucked on his son.'

485 *Biti* *toma* *ne* , *biti* *toma* *nematamonaka*
 biti toma na+M , biti toma na -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS.son suck AUX 3SG.POSS.son suck AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vt aux nm vt aux

'He sucked on his son.'

486 *Inamatewe* , *bati* *toma* *hinabe* , *hinamate* , *yama*
 inamatewe bati toma hi- nahaba+M , hinamate yama
 child 3SG.POSS.father suck OC at night child thing
 nm nm vt prt nm nf

we *kamakiemetemoneke*
 wehe ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke
 light+F go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pn vi

'The father sucked on the boy all night. Dawn came.'

487 *Yama* *we* *kamakia* , *hinamate* *ati* *fawa*
 yama wehe ka -makI+F , hinamate ati fawa
 thing light+F go/come following child voice stop
 nf pn vi nm pn vi

nematamona *fahi*
 na -himata -mona fahi
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 aux dem

'Dawn came. The boy died.'

488 *Okatao* *me* *yokohaba* *me* , *me* *ka* *ami*
 okatao me yoko -haba me , me ka ami
 my son 3PL.S bring misfortune on FUT+F 3PL 3PL POSS mother
 nm pron vt pron pron prt nf

sa *okine* *orani*
 saa o- ka- na -ne o- na.NOM+F -rani
 shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX CONT+F 1SG.S AUX ?
 vt aux prt

"I killed their mother with bow and arrow, and they came after my son."

489 *Okiti* *okiti* *yana*
 o- ka iti o- ka iti yana
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather start
 nm nm vi

tonematamona *okobi* *aati* *toemari*
 to- na -himata -mona o- ka abi a- ati to- ha -himari
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M
 aux nm vt aux

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

KANI METE

493 *Amo nati* , *Abi abi abi* , *ee* ,
 amo na nahatI+M , abi abi abi , ee ,
 sleep AUX daytime father father father (pause)
 vi prt nm nm nm interj

okobi ati nematamona
 o- ka abi ati na -himata -mona
 1SG.POSS POSS father say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm vt aux

'He slept during the day. "Father, Father, Father," my father said.'

494 *Abi titafihi*
 abi ti- tafi -hi
 father 2SG.S wake up IMP+F
 nm vi

'"Father, wake up."'

495 *Titafabone okaki ati narake*
 ti- tafa -habone o- ka aki ati na -hara -ke
 2SG.S eat INT+F 1SG.S POSS grandmother say AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 vi nf vt aux

'"My grandmother says you should eat."'

496 *Okiti tafi ni ya yana*
 o- ka iti tafi+M ni ya yana
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather wake up to ADJU start
 nm vi prt prt vi

tonemetemone okiti tafi ni ya yana
 to- na -hemete -mone , o- ka iti tafi+M ni ya yana
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather wake up to ADJU start
 aux nm vi prt prt vi

tonemetemone yana tonofa amake haro
 to- na -hemete -mone , yana to- na nofa+F ama -ke haaro
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F start CH AUX recently SEC DECL+F that one+F
 aux vi aux sec dem

'The thing that started up to my grandfather when he woke up starts up today.'

497 *Yama moni yana tonemetemoneke ahi*
 yama moni yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 thing sound start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf pn vi aux dem

okiti tafi ni ya ahi
 o- ka iti tafi+M ni ya ahi
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather wake up to ADJU then
 nm vi prt prt dem

'A sound started up to my grandfather when he woke up.'

498 *Yama moni nokomemetemone ahi mera*
 yama moni noko -ma -hemete -mone ahi mera
 thing sound point back FP.N+F REP+F then 3PL.O
 nf pn vi dem pron

nofarabanihi
 nofa -ra -haba -ni -hi
 want NEG FUT+F IP.N+F DUP
 vt

'The sound came to them, not liking them.'

KANI METE

499 *Okiti* *aba* *mera*
o- ka iti aba mera
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather fish sp 3PL.O
nm nm pron

kahabaneno *aba* *me* *me* *mowa*
ka- habana -hino , aba me me mowa
COMIT order someone against IP.N+M fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S fight
vt nm pron pron vt

nabone *me* *okiti* *me*
na -habone me o- ka iti me
AUX INT+F 3PL 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 3PL.O
aux pron nm pron

hikahabanani *me* *tahi* *moni* *yana*
hi- ka- habana -hani , me tahi moni yana
OC COMIT order someone against IP.N+F 3PL.POSS killer sound start
vt pron pn vi

tonemetemone *okobi* *aati* *toemari*
to- na -hemete -mone o- ka abi a- ati to- ha -himari
CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M
aux nm vt aux

amani *aba* *me* *me* *kabamateraba* *mati*
ama -ni , aba me me kaba -ma -tee -ra -haba mati
SEC BKG+F fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S eat back HAB NEG FUT+F 3PL.S
sec nm pron pron vt pron

'My grandfather sent spirits against the *aba* fish. My grandfather sent spirits against the *aba* fish, so they would fight against them. The sound of their killers started up, my father used to say. They would not eat *aba* fish anymore.'

500 *Me* *moni* *nokometemoneke* *ahi* *ooo*
me moni noko -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi ooo
3PL.POSS sound point back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then (sound of wind)
pron pn vi dem sound

ooo *betebetererere* *ooo*
ooo betebetererere ooo
(sound of wind) (sound of trees breaking) (sound of wind)
sound sound sound

'The sound of them came, ooo, ooo, betebetererere, ooo.'

501 *Awa* *moni* *awa* *moni* *itehemetemone* *amake* *ahi* *aba*
awa moni awa moni ita -hemete -mone ama -ke ahi aba
tree sound tree sound exist FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F then fish sp
nf pn nf pn vi sec dem nm

me *fawa* *nitehabana*
me fawa niha- na -tee -habana
3PL.O disappear CAUS AUX HAB FUT+F
pron vi aux

'There was the sound of the trees. It made the *aba* fish go away.'

502 *Ha* *me* *ka* *yobe* *yobe* *yama* *katomemetemoneke* *ahi*
haa me ka yobe , yobe yama katoma -hemete -mone -ke ahi
DEM 3PL POSS house house thing attack FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
dem pron prt nm nm nf vt dem

'The wind lifted up the thatch of their houses.'

KANI METE

503 *Yobe yama katoma , yama afi tonihemetemone*
 yobe yama katoma+F , yama afi to- niha- na -hemete -mone
 house thing attack thing bathe CH CAUS AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nm nf vt nf vi aux

okobi aati toemari amane
 o- ka abi a- ati to- ha -himari ama -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M
 nm vt aux sec

'The wind lifted up the thatch. It made things wet, my father used to say.'

504 *Okobi , okaki hinaka noti*
 o- ka abi , o- ka aki hinaka noti
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.S POSS grandmother 3SG.POSS grandson
 nm nf pron nm

weweye nawa nemetemoneke ahi
 we- weye na -waha na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 DUP carry AUX change AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt aux aux dem

'My grandmother carried her grandson on her back.'

505 *Hinaka noti weye na , nisori ihawa*
 hinaka noti weye na+F , nisori ihawa
 3SG.POSS grandson carry AUX 3SG.POSS.younger brother put change
 pron nm vt aux nm result

kanibote nisori nisori
 ka- na -bote nisori nisori
 COMIT AUX quickly 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3SG.POSS.younger brother
 aux nm nm

tama nawi nemetemoneke ahi
 tama na -wi na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 hold onto AUX steadily AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt aux aux dem

'She carried her grandson. She took his younger brother along. She held his younger brother's arm.'

506 *Inamate me iiha watara me , yama yama*
 inamate me i- iha wata -ra+F me , yama yama
 child 3PL.POSS DUP put exist NEG 3PL.POSS thing thing
 nm pron pn vi pron nf nf

hisiri kanemetemone aba me fawa
 hisiri ka- na -hemete -mone aba me fawa
 pull off COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F fish sp 3PL.O disappear
 vt aux nm pron vi

nitebana ahi
 niha- na -tee -habana ahi
 CAUS AUX HAB FUT+F then
 aux dem

'There was no one to take care of the children. The wind was taking all the leaves off the trees. It made the *aba* fish go away.'

507 *Bofe ka yama kakemetemone okobi*
 bofe ka yama ka -kI -hemete -mone o- ka abi
 ground LOC thing go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father
 nf prt nf vi nm

aati toemari ahi , yama nafi nima ahi
 a- ati to- ha -himari ahi , yama nafi nima ahi
 DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M then thing all like then
 vt aux dem nf pn prt dem

KANI METE

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

508 *Faha ate ka yama mowa ni moni itemetemone*
 faha ate ka yama mowa na.NFIN moni ita -hemete -mone
 stream bank+F LOC thing fight AUX sound exist FP.N+F REP+F
 nf pn prt nf result aux pn vi
amake ahi
 ama -ke ahi
 SEC DECL+F then
 sec dem

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

509 *Aba me yoyowa toimetemone wene boni*
 aba me yo- yowa to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone wene boni
 fish sp 3PL.S DUP reach CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F tree sp fruit+F
 nm pron vi aux nf pn
watineke ahi
 wata -ne -ke ahi
 be located CONT+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

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

510 *Aba me kitakita toa na toemetemone*
 aba me kita- kita to- ha na to- ha -hemete -mone
 fish sp 3PL.S DUP be hard CH AUX AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nm pron v aux aux aux

'The *aba* fish filled the stream.'

511 *Faya fa bara toni ya , me , faya aba me ,*
 faya faha bara to- na.NOM+F ya , me , faya aba me ,
 so water stop CH AUX ADJU 3PL so fish sp 3PL.S
 conj nf vi aux prt pron conj nm pron
ahabani me , aba me watimetemonehe
 ahaba -hani me , aba me wata.NOM+F -mete -mone -he
 end IP.N+F 3PL.S fish sp 3PL.S be located FP.N+F REP+F DUP
 vi pron nm pron vi

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

512 *Aba me wataremetemone me amani*
 aba me wata -ra -hemete -mone me ama -ni
 fish sp 3PL.S exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F
 nm pron vi pron sec

'There were no *aba* fish.'

513 *Fa ki nebona tokome hinita*
 faha kii na -hibona to- ka -ma+M hinita
 stream look at AUX INT+M away go/come back empty
 nf vt aux vi pn
kama , Aba me fawa ni yama
 ka -ma.LIST , aba me fawa na.NFIN yama
 go/come back fish sp 3PL.S disappear AUX thing
 vi nm pron vi aux nf

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

KANI METE

514 *Aba me yama towaka ama kanani* ,
 aba me yama to- ka- ka+F ama ka- na -hani ,
 fish sp 3PL.O thing away COMIT go/come SEC COMIT AUX IP.N+F
 nm pron nf vt sec aux

ona owati wati nawaha
 ati o- na+F o- ati wati na -waha+F
 say 1SG.S AUX 1SG.POSS voice think about AUX change
 vt pn vt aux

okomine oke .
 o- ka -ma -ne o- ke
 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt

"I think the wind took the *aba* fish away, and I am coming back thinking about it."

515 *Aba aba me wawa biti*
 aba aba me wa- waa na -biti
 fish sp fish sp 3PL.S DUP be located AUX a little
 nm nm pron vi aux

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

"There aren't any *aba* fish at all."

516 *Yama fawafawa narake* .
 yama fawa- fawa na -hara -ke
 thing DUP disappear AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 nf vi aux

"It's all empty."

517 *Te okeye owati ama ?*
 tee o- keyeha o- ati ama ?
 2PL.O 1SG.S deceive 1SG.POSS voice be
 pron vt pn vc

"Am I lying to you?"

518 *Me te awabanani* .
 me tee awa -habana -ni
 3PL.O 2PL.S see FUT+F BKG+F
 pron pron vt

"You will see them."

519 *Me te kiki na* .
 me tee ki- kii na
 3PL.O 2PL.S DUP look at AUX
 pron pron vt aux

"Look at them."

520 *Faya me nafi tokomamina me me* , *me*
 faya me nafi to- ka -ma -mina+F me me
 so 3PL.POSS all away go/come back morning 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS
 conj pron pn vi pron pron

nafi tokomamina me honaraba mati .
 nafi to- ka -ma -mina+F me hona -ra -haba mati
 all away go/come back morning 3PL.S have something NEG FUT+F 3PL.S
 pn vi pron vi pron

'So all of them went there on the next day, and they didn't get anything.'

KANI METE

521 *Me honara me hinita kama fa*
 me hona -ra+F me hinita ka -ma+F faha
 3PL.S have something NEG 3PL.POSS empty go/come back stream
 pron vi pron pn vi nf

kasikasi , nemetemone amani okobi aati
 kasi- kasi , na -hemete -mone ama -ni o- ka abi a- ati
 DUP be bald AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say
 vi aux sec nm vt

toemari amani
 to- ha -himari ama -ni
 CH AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+F
 aux sec

'They didn't get anything. They came back with nothing. The stream was empty, my father used to say.'

522 *Fa kasikasi nemetemone amani*
 faha kasi- kasi na -hemete -mone ama -ni
 stream DUP be bald AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
 nf vi aux sec

'The stream was empty.'

523 *Abe waremetemone amake*
 abe waa -ra -hemete -mone ama -ke
 creature+F be located NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 pn vi sec

'The creatures of the stream were gone.'

524 *Faya , okaki , okaki*
 faya o- ka aki , o- ka aki
 so 1SG.S POSS father's sister 1SG.S POSS father's sister
 conj nf nf

nafiri ya , okaki bati
 nafi -ra.NOM+F ya , o- ka aki bati
 be big NEG ADJU 1SG.S POSS father's sister 3SG.POSS.father
 vi prt nf nm

okaki bati aate na , Abi abi
 o- ka aki bati a- ate na+F , abi abi
 1SG.S POSS father's sister 3SG.POSS.father DUP ask AUX father father
 nf nm vt aux nm nm

aba me , aba me tikahabanani
 aba me , aba me ti- ka- habana -hani
 fish sp 3PL fish sp 3PL.O 2SG.S COMIT order someone against IP.N+F
 nm pron nm pron vt

me awineni ?
 me awine -ni
 3PL.O seem+F BKG+F
 pron sec

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

525 *Aba me fawa namone me ati nini*
 aba me fawa na -hamone me ati na -ni
 fish sp 3PL.S disappear AUX REP+F 3PL.S say AUX BKG+F
 nm pron vi aux pron vt aux

""They said the *aba* fish are gone.""

KANI METE

526 *Aba me okahabana me me*
 aba me o- ka- habana+F me me
 fish sp 3PL.O 1SG.S COMIT order someone against 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nm pron vt pron pron

kabineke

kaba -ne -ke
 eat CONT+F DECL+F
 vt

"They are eating the *aba* fish I sent spirits against."

527 *Hine me me hikabi okatao manakone*
 hine me me hi- kaba.NOM+F okatao manakone
 only 3PL.O 3PL.S OC eat my son price
 pron pron pron vt nm pn

"Let them eat them, to pay for my son."

528 *Okatao manakone okatao manakone owara oke*
 okatao manakone okatao manakone o- awa -hara o- ke
 my son price my son price 1SG.S avenge IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 nm pn nm pn vt prt

"I have avenged my son."

529 *Aba me wawata toaremetemone*
 aba me wa- wata to- ha -ra -hemete -mone
 fish sp 3PL.S DUP exist CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 nm pron vi aux

'There weren't any *aba* fish anymore.'

530 *Fa me ki na fa ihi me*
 faha me kii na+F faha ihi me
 stream 3PL.S look at AUX water victim of+F 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux nf pn pron

kakamara me hinita kamarima
 ka- ka -ma -ra+F me hinita ka -ma -rima
 COMIT go/come back NEG 3PL.POSS alone go/come back intermittent
 vt pron pn vi

sako fana ta sako fana ta me kaba tawi
 sako fana taa sako fana taa me kaba+F tawi
 fish sp contrast fish sp contrast 3PL.S eat fish sp
 nf prt nf prt pron vt nf

'When they went fishing, they didn't bring back any fish. They kept coming back with nothing. They only ate sako fana and tawi fish.'

531 *Aba biti wawa toarematamona*
 aba biti wa- waa to- ha -ra -himata -mona
 fish small+M DUP be located CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M
 nm adj vi aux

okobi aati toemari amani
 o- ka abi a- ati to- ha -himari ama -ni
 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+F
 nm vt aux sec

'There weren't even little fish, my father used to say.'

KANI METE

532 **Yama fawafawa**
 yama fawa- fawa
 thing DUP disappear
 nf vi

'There weren't any fish.'

533 **Me yoyowa toemetemone hike ya ahi**
 me yo- yowa to- ha -hemete -mone hike ya ahi
 3PL.S DUP reach CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F far ADJU there
 pron vi aux nf prt dem

'The area where there weren't any fish reached far away.'

534 **Fa bite me howa toniharihi na**
 faha bite me howa to- niha- na -rihi na
 stream small+F 3PL.S be open CH CAUS AUX NEG.LIST AUX
 nf adj pron vi aux aux

toemetemone okobi me na
 to- ha -hemete -mone o- ka abi me na
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.O say AUX
 aux nm pron vt

hiamaro me ama
 hi- to- ha -hamaro me ama
 OC CH AUX FP.E+F 3PL.O SEC
 aux pron sec

'They had filled the streams before, my father used to say.'

535 **Faya me me fa me ki na me kama**
 faya me me faha me kii na+F me ka -ma+F
 so 3PL 3PL stream 3PL.S look at AUX 3PL.S go/come back
 conj pron pron nf pron vt aux pron vi

me Aba me watararake
 me aba me wata -ra -hara -ke
 3PL.S fish sp 3PL.S exist NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron nm pron vi

'They went fishing and came back. "There aren't any *aba* fish.''

536 **Aba me fawa narake**
 aba me fawa na -hara -ke
 fish sp 3PL.S disappear AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 nm pron vi aux

'"'The *aba* fish are all gone.''

537 **Aba me Bono Wiyo kahabanenoka**
 aba me Bono Wiyo ka- habana -hino -ka
 fish sp 3PL.O (man's name) COMIT order someone against IP.N+M DECL+M
 nm pron npropm vt

'"'Bono Wiyo sent spirits against the *aba* fish.''

538 **Okobi aba me kahabanemona**
 o- ka abi aba me ka- habana -himona
 1SG.POSS POSS father fish sp 3PL.O COMIT order someone against REP+M
 nm nm pron vt

ati narene okaki ati nemetemone
 ati na -hare -ne o- ka aki ati na -hemete -mone
 say AUX IP.E+M BKG+M 1SG.S POSS grandmother say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vt aux nf vt aux

'"'My father said he sent spirits against the *aba* fish," my aunt said.'

KANI METE

539 **Okobi** **aate** **one** **okobi** **aba**
 o- ka abi a- ate o- na+M o- ka abi aba
 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP ask 1SG.S AUX 1SG.POSS POSS father fish sp
 nm vt aux nm nm

me **kahabanemona** **ati** **nareka**
 me ka- habana -himona ati na -hare -ka
 3PL.O COMIT order someone against REP+M say AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 pron vt vt aux

"I asked my father, and he said he had sent spirits against the *aba* fish."

540 **Ota** **ka** **niso** , **aba** **me** , **manakone** **aba**
 otaa ka niso , aba me , manakone aba
 1EX POSS younger brother fish sp 3PL.POSS price fish sp
 pron prt nm nm pron pn nm

me **toha** **me** , **aba** **okobi** **me**
 me to- ha+F me , aba o- ka abi me
 3PL.S CH be 3PL.S fish sp 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.O
 pron vc pron nm nm nm pron

hikahabanamone **me** **fawa** **namone**
 hi- ka- habana -hamone me fawa na -hamone
 OC COMIT order someone against REP+F 3PL.S disappear AUX REP+F
 vt pron vi aux

okobi **ati** **narene**
 o- ka abi ati na -hare -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS father say AUX IP.E+M BKG+M
 nm vt aux

"The *aba* fish were payment for our younger brother. My father said that the *aba* fish disappeared because he sent spirits against them."

541 **Faya** **aba** **me** **fawa** **na** **me** , **me** **kabara** **me**
 faya aba me fawa na+F me , me kaba -ra+F me
 so fish sp 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S eat NEG 3PL.S
 conj nm pron vi aux pron pron vt pron

, **aba** **me** **babata** **ra** **me** **fawa**
 aba me ba- bata na -ra+F me fawa
 fish sp 3PL.S DUP be rotten AUX NEG 3PL.S disappear
 nm pron vi aux pron vi

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

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

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

'A louse is tickling my head.'

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

KANI METE

yawehemetemoneke

yawa -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 be upset FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

'The *aba* fish were gone, and they were upset.'

544 *Me yawa me , me yawemetemoneni*

me yawa+F me , me yawa -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL.S be upset 3PL.S 3PL.S be upset FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron vi pron pron vi

'They were upset.'

545 *Me yawa me aba me me sasa*

me yawa+F me aba me me sa- saa
 3PL.S be upset 3PL.S fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP shoot with arrow
 pron vi pron nm pron pron vt

kana ra me fimifakoha me bani me

ka- na na -ra+F me fimi -fako+F me bani me
 COMMIT AUX AUX NEG 3PL.S be hungry constantly 3PL.S animal 3PL
 aux aux pron vi pron nm pron

ta me me kakaba tohemetemone bani mati

taa me me ka- kaba to- ha -hemete -mone bani mati.LIST
 contrast 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F animal 3PL
 prt pron pron vt aux nm pron

hiyama mati kobaya mati ,

hiyama mati.LIST kobaya mati.LIST
 white-lipped peccary 3PL collared peccary 3PL
 nm pron nm pron

yowi fanarawaha

yowi fana -rawa -ha.LIST
 brown capuchin F.PL DUP
 nf

'They were upset. They weren't killing *aba* fish with bow and arrow, and they were always hungry. They were eating meat, white-lipped peccaries, collared peccaries, and brown capuchins.'

546 *Faya yama me yeyete nawa toemetemone fahi*

faya yama me ye- yete na -waha to- ha -hemete -mone fahi
 so thing 3PL.S DUP hunt AUX change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj nf pron vt aux aux

'Then they were hunting.'

547 *Yama me yete na bani me me fofora*

yama me yete na+F bani me me fo- fora
 thing 3PL.S hunt AUX animal 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP shoot with blowgun
 nf pron vt aux nm pron pron vt

toemetemoneke

to- ha -hemete -mone -ke , yiko mati
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F howler monkey 3PL
 aux nm pron

biyorawaha

biyo -rawa -ha.LIST
 spider monkey F.PL DUP
 nf

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

KANI METE

548 *Yowi* *me* *me* *fora* *sariwa*
 yowi me me fora.LIST sariwa
 brown capuchin 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun squirrel monkey
 nm pron pron vt nm

mati
 mati.LIST
 3PL
 pron

'They killed brown capuchins, too, and squirrel monkeys.'

549 *Faya bani me me kakaba toemetemone bani*
 faya bani me me ka- kaba to- ha -hemete -mone bani
 so animal 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F animal
 conj nm pron pron vt aux nm

hinama mati
 hinama mati
 all 3PL
 adj pron

'They ate meat, only meat.'

550 *Bani hinama me me kakaba toa , bani me , faya*
 bani hinama me me ka- kaba to- ha+F , bani me , faya
 animal all 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX animal 3PL so
 nm adj pron pron vt aux nm pron conj

me yana na me okobi me wiwina
 me yana na+F me o- ka abi me wi- wina
 3PL.S start AUX 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.S DUP live
 pron vi aux pron nm pron vi

toimetemone ya
 to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ya
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F ADJU
 aux prt

'They were eating only meat. Then they left, from where my father and the others were living.'

551 *Bati Sawa ka yobe taboro bote wataka hari*
 Bati Sawa ka yobe taboro bote wata -ka haari
 (man's name) POSS house place+M old stand DECL+M that one+M
 npropm prt nm pn adj vi dem

'Bati Sawa's old village is there.'

552 *Ai okobi me , kama me*
 ahi o- ka abi me , ka -ma+F me
 then 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S
 dem nm pron vi pron

okobi me kama me kobo
 o- ka abi me ka -ma+F me kobo
 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive
 nm pron vi pron vi

namimetemone ama ahi
 na -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone ama ahi
 AUX back FP.N+F REP+F be here
 aux vc dem

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

KANI METE

553 *Me kobo nama* , *me kobo nama*
 me kobo na -ma+F , me kobo na -ma+F
 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S arrive AUX back
 pron vi aux pron vi aux

hiyama me hiyama me me kobo
 hiyama me hiyama me me kobo
 white-lipped peccary 3PL white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S meet
 nm pron nm pron pron vt

nani hiyama , *hiyama me me*
 na -hani hiyama hiyama me me
 AUX IP.N+F white-lipped peccary white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S
 aux nm nm pron pron

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

ama okobi nafire ya
 ama o- ka abi nafi -ra.NOM+M ya
 SEC 1SG.POSS POSS father be big NEG ADJU
 sec nm vi prt

'They arrived. They met up with some white-lipped peccaries, and went after them, my father used to say, when my father was small.'

554 *Faya hiyama me me mowa na*
 faya hiyama me me mowa na+F
 so white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX
 conj nm pron pron vt aux

hiyama me me tabasi na
 hiyama me me tabasi na+F
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX
 nm pron pron vt aux

hiyama me me kaba me hiyama
 hiyama me me kaba+F me hiyama
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S white-lipped peccary
 nm pron pron vt pron nm

me me kabemetemone ahi
 me me kaba -hemete -mone ahi
 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron pron vt dem

'They killed some peccaries, and roasted the peccaries on a grill. They ate the peccaries.'

555 *Hiba okiti kamakibona* ?
 hiba o- ka iti ka -makI -hibona
 wait 1SG.POSS POSS uncle go/come following INT+M
 interj nm vi

'"Is my grandfather coming?"'

556 *Okiti kamakibona*
 o- ka iti ka -makI -hibona
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather go/come following INT+M
 nm vi

kamakiraka
 ka -makI -ra.CONT+M -ka
 go/come following NEG DECL+M
 vi

'"My grandfather is coming, but he hasn't come yet."'

KANI METE

557 *Okiti* *okiti* *ka*
 o- ka iti o- ka iti ka
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather POSS
 nm nm prt
hiyamaba *te* *ibarihi*
 hiyama -ba tee iba -rI -hi
 white-lipped peccary FUT 2PL.S set down raised surface IMP+F
 nm pron vt
okobi *okobi* *ati* *nematamona*
 o- ka abi o- ka abi ati na -himata -mona
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm nm vt aux

"You leave some peccary meat for my grandfather on the grill," my father said.'

558 *Okiti* *kamakibona* *ati* *ne*
 o- ka iti ka -makI -hibona ati na.NOM+M
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather go/come following INT+M say AUX
 nm vi vt aux
ka *okiti* *ka* *hiyamaba* *te*
 ka o- ka iti ka hiyama -ba tee
 because 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather POSS white-lipped peccary FUT 2PL.S
 prt nm prt nm pron
ibari
 iba -rI
 set down raised surface
 vt

"Leave some peccary meat on the grill for my grandfather, because my grandfather said he is coming."

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

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

560 *Fimimakerayaho*
 fimi -makI -ra -yaho
 be hungry following NEG DIST.IMP+M
 vi

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

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

abaka
 ahaba -ka
 end DECL+M
 vi

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

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

KANI METE

amo ni ohari nineke haro
 amo na.NFIN ohari.LIST na -ne -ke haaro
 sleep AUX be one AUX CONT+F DECL+F that one+F
 vi aux vi aux dem
 "It's five days."

563 **Okiti kamakiba amake**
 o- ka iti ka -ma -kI.NOM -ba ama -ke
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather go/come back coming FUT be DECL+F
 nm vi vc
 "My grandfather is coming."

564 **Okomakeminabana oni**
 o- to- ka -makI -mina -habana o- ni
 1SG.S away go/come following morning FUT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi prt
 ""I will go there tomorrow.""

565 **Okomakebana o**
 o- to- ka -makI -habana o-
 1SG.S away go/come following FUT+F 1SG.S
 vi prt
 ""I will go there.""

566 **Oko amo ni ahabi ya**
 o- ka amo na.NFIN ahaba.NOM+F ya
 1SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX end ADJU
 prt vi aux vi prt
okomakebana oke
 o- to- ka -makI -habana o- ke
 1SG.S away go/come following FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt
 ""When my time comes, I will go there.""

567 **Oko amo ni e nabana ahi**
 o- ka amo na.NFIN ee na -habana ahi
 1SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX be similar AUX FUT+F this
 prt vi aux vi aux dem
okiti ati nareka ati omitari
 o- ka iti ati na -hare -ka ati o- mita -haari
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather say AUX IP.E+M DECL+M voice 1SG.S hear IP.E+M
 nm vt aux pn vt
 , **faya kamakibano**
 faya ka -makI -hiba -no
 so go/come following FUT+M IP.N+M
 conj vi
 ""This is what the time of my going will be,' my grandfather said. I heard him." Then he came."

568 **Efe amare kamaki ha**
 efe ama -ra+M ka -makI+M haa
 this+M be NEG go/come following DEM
 dem vc vi dem
 "I think that's him. He is coming."

KANI METE

576 **Hine** **nahatoani** **kamakaha** **te** **awa** **ha**
 hine na- ato -hani ka -makI+F tee awa haa
 3.REFL CAUS be decorated IP.N+F go/come following 2PL.S see DEM
 pron vt vi pron vt dem

"Look at the one who painted himself coming."

577 **Oof** , **hoo** , **ofimini**
 oof , hoo , o- fimi -ni
 hoo humph 1SG.S be hungry BKG+F
 interj interj vi

"Hoo, humph, I'm hungry."

578 **Ofimiha** **okomakine** **oke**
 o- fimi+F o- ka -makI -ne o- ke
 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S go/come following CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi vi prt

"I'm hungry as I'm coming."

579 **Iti** **iti** **tika** **hiyamabona**
 iti iti ti- ka hiyama -bona
 grandfather grandfather 2SG.POSS POSS white-lipped peccary INT+M
 nm nm prt nm

obari **fore** **ha**
 o- iba -rI+M forI haa
 1SG.S set down raised surface lie on top DEM
 vt vi dem

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

580 **Hiyama** **tikabahi**
 hiyama ti- kaba -hi
 white-lipped peccary 2SG.S eat IMP+F
 nm vt

"Eat some peccary."

581 **Hiya** **te** **kakama**
 hiya tee ka- ka -ma
 come on 2PL.S COMIT go/come back
 interj pron vt

"All right, bring it here."

582 **Hiyama** **okobibe**
 hiyama o- kaba -be
 white-lipped peccary 1SG.S eat IMMED+F
 nm vt

"I'm going to eat peccary."

583 **Hiyama** **me** , **ota** **kobo** **nama**
 hiyama me , otaa kobo na -ma+F
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S arrive AUX back
 nm pron pron vi aux

hiyama **me** **me** **kobo** **kobo** **nanihi**
 hiyama me me kobo kobo na -hani -hi
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S meet meet AUX IP.N+F DUP
 nm pron pron vt vt aux

KANI METE

hiyama	me	me	mowa	nani	me	ka
hiyama	me	me	mowa	na -hani	me	ka
white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	3PL.S	fight	AUX IP.N+F	3PL	POSS
nm	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron	prt

hiyama	me	ama	ake			
hiyama	me	ama	-ke			
white-lipped peccary	3PL.S	be	DECL+F			
nm	pron	vc				

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

584 Hiyama	me	me	mowa	hinani	me	me
hiyama	me	me	mowa	hi- na -hani	me	me
white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	3PL.S	fight	OC AUX IP.N+F	3PL.O	3PL.S
nm	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron	pron

tabasi	hina	me	me	hikaba	tikabona	
tabasi	hi- na+F	me	me	hi- kaba+F	ti- ka -bona	
roast on grill	OC AUX	3PL.O	3PL.S	OC eat	2SG.S POSS INT+M	
vt	aux	pron	pron	vt	prt	

okayawe	ama	ha	mete			
o- ka- yawa+M	ama	haa	mete			
1SG.S COMIT be upset	SEC	DEM	rear+M			
vt	sec	dem	pn			

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

585 Ee	tiwati		omitimakoni			
ee	ti- ati		o- mita -makoni			
yes	2SG.POSS voice		1SG.S hear for this reason+F			
interj	pn		vt			

"Right, I hear you."

586 Oka	noti	owa	abemari			
o- ka	noti	owa	ahaba -himari			
1SG.POSS POSS	grandson	one+M	die FP.E+M			
prt	nm	adj	vi			

"One of my grandsons died."

587 Owa	aba	me	hikatomemari	otefebone		
owa	aba	me	hi- katoma -himari	o- tefe -bone		
other+M	fish sp	3PL.S	OC attack FP.E+M	1SG.POSS food INT+F		
adj	nm	pron	vt	pn		

tama	nakeno					
tama	na -kI -hino					
hold onto	AUX coming IP.N+M					
vt	aux					

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

588 Aba	me	wati	nofa	me	ama	
aba	me	wata	nofa+F	me	ama	
fish sp	3PL.S	be located	recently	3PL.S	SEC	
nm	pron	vi	prt	pron	sec	

"There used to be *aba* fish."

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

KANI METE

ama

ama
SEC
sec

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

590 **Faha ki okene**
faha kii na o- ke -ne
water look at AUX 1SG.S DECL+F IRR+F
nf vt prt

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

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

amake

ama -ke
SEC DECL+F
sec

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

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

"There aren't even small fish."

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

"The stream is empty as it goes downstream."

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

fawa

nineke
fawa na -ne -ke
disappear AUX CONT+F DECL+F
vi aux

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

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

tafamakematamonaka

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

"They disappeared." He ate after arriving.'

KANI METE

596 *Tafe* , *Oof* , *oka* *noti* *oka* *fabana*
 tafa+M , oof , o- ka noti o- ka faha -bana
 eat hoo 1SG.POSS POSS grandson 1SG.POSS POSS water FUT
 vi interj prt nm prt nf

'He ate. "Oof, my grandson, bring me some water."'

597 *Aki* , *aki* , *aki* *okiti*
 aki , aki , aki o- ka iti
 grandmother grandmother grandmother 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
 nf nf nf nm

ka fabana
 ka faha -bana
 POSS water FUT
 prt nf

"Grandma, bring water for my grandfather."

598 *Okiti* *hiyama* *kabe* *bako*
 o- ka iti hiyama kaba+M bako
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather white-lipped peccary eat chest+M
 nm nm vt pn

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

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

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

haro
 haaro
 that one+F
 dem

"Come and get water for your grandfather."

600 *Hinaka* *noti* *fa* *tonakame* , *fa*
 hinaka noti faha to- na- ka -ma+M , faha
 3SG.POSS grandson water away CAUS go/come back water
 pron nm nf vt nf

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

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

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

'He drank the water.'

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

KANI METE

"Grandpa, suck it hard."

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

'He drank the water.'

604 *Fa fawi hawa toe fa kawate*
 faha fawa.NFIN hawa to- ha+M faha ka- wata+M
 water drink be finished CH AUX water COMMIT stand
 nf vt vi aux nf vt

Kawitamata

ka- ita -mata
 COMMIT sit short time
 vi

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

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

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

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

"This will be for your grandmother."

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

"May my grandmother eat a little of it."

608 *Okaki fimiha awineke*
 o- ka aki fimi+F awine -ke
 1SG.S POSS grandmother be hungry seem+F DECL+F
 nf vi sec

"I think my grandmother is hungry."

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

"May my grandmother eat it, too."

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

"Grandpa, what about your older brother?"

KANI METE

- 611 *Okoyo* *winaharene*
 o- ka ayo wina -hare -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother live IP.E+M BKG+M
 nm vi
 "My brother is living there."
- 612 *Okoyo* *kamakiba* *awa*
 o- ka ayo ka -makI -hiba awa
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother go/come following FUT+M seem+M
 nm vi sec
 "I think my brother will come."
- 613 *Okoyo* *aate* *orareka*
 o- ka ayo a- ate o- na -ra -hare -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother DUP ask 1SG.S AUX NEG IP.E+M DECL+M
 nm vt aux
 "I didn't ask my brother."
- 614 *Okoyo* *kamakiba* *awane*
 o- ka ayo ka -makI -hiba awa -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother go/come following FUT+M seem+M BKG+M
 nm vi sec
 "I think my brother will come."
- 615 *Okoyo* *winahare*
 o- ka ayo wina -hare
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother live IP.E+M
 nm vi
 "My brother is living there."
- 616 *Tefe* *abe* *ya* *yana* , *tefe* *abe* *ya* *yana*
 tefe ahaba.NOM+M ya yana , tefe ahaba.NOM+M ya yana
 food+M end ADJU start food+M end ADJU start
 pn vi prt vi pn vi prt vi
tonebona *ati* *nare*
 to- na -hibona ati na -hare
 CH AUX INT+M say AUX IP.E+M
 aux vt aux
 "When his food is all gone, he said he will leave."
- 617 *Tefe* *abe* *ya* *yana* *tonebona* *ati* *nareka*
 tefe ahaba.NOM+M ya yana to- na -hibona ati na -hare -ka
 food+M end ADJU start CH AUX INT+M say AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 pn vi prt vi aux vt aux
 "When his food is all gone, he said he will leave."
- 618 *Himata* *kabara* ?
 himata kaba -ra
 what? eat CQ+M
 interrog vt
 "What is he eating?"
- 619 *Iyawa* , *fowa* , *fowa* *me* *hiti* *na* *me* *ka*
 iyawa , fowa , fowa me hiti na+F me ka
 manioc mash manioc manioc 3PL.S grate AUX 3PL POSS
 nf nm nm pron vt aux pron prt

KANI METE

iyawa **abaramone** **me** **ati** **nara**
 iyawa ahaba -ra -hamone me ati na -hara
 manioc mash end NEG REP+F 3PL.S say AUX IP.E+F
 nf vi pron vt aux

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

620 **Iyawa** **abi** **ya** **yana** **onabana**
 iyawa ahaba.NOM+F ya yana o- to- na -habana
 manioc mash end ADJU start 1SG.S CH AUX FUT+F
 nf vi prt vi aux

oke , **okoyo** **ati** **nareka**
 o- ke , o- ka ayo ati na -hare -ka
 1SG.S DECL+F 1SG.POSS POSS older brother say AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 prt nm vt aux

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

621 **Hoo** **fu** **koro** **ona** **fu** **owa**
 hoo faha koro o- na+F faha owa
 humph water throw something on 1SG.S AUX water 1SG.O
 interj nf vt aux nf pron

kasawari **nofu** **amake**
 ka- sawari nofa+F ama -ke
 COMIT frustrate recently SEC DECL+F
 vt prt sec

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

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

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

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

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

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

"The *aba* fish have disappeared."

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

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

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

KANI METE

626 *Aba me fawa nika*
 aba me fawa niha- na -ka
 fish sp 3PL.O disappear CAUS AUX DECL+M
 nm pron vi aux

"He made the *aba* fish go away."

627 *Bono Wiyo kasiro nofe amaka otara*
 Bono Wiyo kasiro nofa+M ama -ka otara
 (man's name) be perverse recently SEC DECL+M 1EX.O
 npropm vi prt sec pron

nafimihari

na- fimi -haari
 CAUS be hungry IP.E+M

vt

"Bono Wiyo is perverse, causing us to be hungry."

628 *Aba me okobate aba me okobi*
 aba me o- kaba -tee aba me o- kaba
 fish sp 3PL.O 1SG.S eat HAB fish sp 3PL.O 1SG.S eat
 nm pron vt nm pron vt

onofara ama oke
 o- nofa -ra+F ama o- ke
 1SG.S recently NEG SEC 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt sec prt

"I used to eat *aba* fish, but I don't eat *aba* fish anymore."

629 *Fara ofimi onofi ya hiyama*
 fara o- fimi o- nofa.NOM+F ya hiyama
 same+F 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S recently ADJU white-lipped peccary
 dem vi prt prt nm

okobamakine oke
 o- kaba -makI -ne o- ke
 1SG.S eat following CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vt prt

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

630 *Hiyama okobamakine o*
 hiyama o- kaba -makI -ne o-
 white-lipped peccary 1SG.S eat following CONT+F 1SG.S
 nm vt prt

"I am eating peccary here."

631 *Hiyama oka noti tama hineno*
 hiyama o- ka noti tama hi- na -hino
 white-lipped peccary 1SG.POSS POSS grandson hold onto OC AUX IP.N+M
 nm prt nm vt aux

okobine oni
 o- kaba -ne o- ni
 1SG.S eat CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vt prt

"I am eating peccary that my grandson had."

632 *Faya Iti iti iti okiti*
 faya , iti iti iti o- ka iti
 so grandfather grandfather grandfather 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
 conj nm nm nm nm

KANI METE

iti , **oka** **okiti**
 iti o- ka o- ka iti
 grandfather 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
 nm prt nm

okiti **ayo** **ayo** **amo**
 o- ka iti ayo ayo amo
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 2SG.POSS.older brother older brother sleep
 nm nm nm vi

ni **e** **ra** ?
 na.NFIN ee na -ra
 AUX (question) AUX CQ+M
 aux vi aux

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

633 **Amo** **ni** **amo** **ni** **watohiba** **awaka**
 amo na.NFIN amo na.NFIN wato -hiba awa -ka
 sleep AUX sleep AUX know FUT+M seem+M DECL+M
 vi aux vi aux vt sec

"He will know when his day will be."

634 **Hinaka** **iyawa** **yowahara** **ahi**
 hinaka iyawa yowa -hara ahi
 3SG.POSS manioc mash reach IP.E+F here
 pron nf vi dem

"His manioc mash is up to here."

635 **Iyawa** **yowara**
 iyawa yowa -hara
 manioc mash reach IP.E+F
 nf vi

"The manioc mash is up to here."

636 **Isi ni** **okoba** **okomakewaine** **o**
 isi ni o- kaba+F o- ka -makI -waha -ne o-
 little bit 1SG.S eat 1SG.S go/come following change CONT+F 1SG.S
 pn vt vi prt

"I ate a little of it, and then came here."

637 **Iyawa** **bite** **me** **hiti** **hinani** **me**
 iyawa bite me hiti hi- na -hani me
 manioc mash 3SG.POSS.daughter 3PL.S grate OC AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S
 nf nf pron vt aux pron

nano **hina** **me** **hiwakama** **Ayo**
 nano hi- na+F me hi- ka- ka -ma+F ayo
 squeeze OC AUX 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back 2SG.POSS.older brother
 vt aux pron vt nm

okomakibone
 o- to- ka -makI.NOM -bone
 1SG.S away go/come following INT+F
 vi

"His daughters grated the manioc mash and squeezed it and brought it. 'Older brother, I will go there.'"

638 **Tai** **tiamake**
 tai ti- to- ha -makI
 be ahead 2SG.S CH AUX following
 vi aux

"You go on ahead."

KANI METE

639 *Owa me noki na me awineke*
 owa me noki na+F me awine -ke
 1SG.O 3PL.S wait for AUX 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
 pron pron vt aux pron sec

""They are waiting for me.""

640 *Owa me noki na me awineni*
 owa me noki na+F me awine -ni
 1SG.O 3PL.S wait for AUX 3PL.S seem+F BKG+F
 pron pron vt aux pron sec

""They are waiting for me.""

641 *Okomakibone*
 o- to- ka -makI.NOM -bone
 1SG.S away go/come following INT+F
 vi

""I'm going there.""

642 *Faya kamaki kamaki fati*
 faya ka -makI+M , ka -makI+M fati
 so go/come following go/come following 3SG.POSS.wife
 conj vi vi nf

famematamonaka fahi
 fama -himata -mona -ka fahi
 be with FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem

'He came with his wife.'

643 *Fati fame bite biterawa*
 fati fama+M , bite bite -rawa.LIST
 3SG.POSS.wife be with 3SG.POSS.daughter 3SG.POSS.daughter F.PL
 nf vi nf nf

biti mati
 biti mati.LIST
 3SG.POSS.son 3PL
 nm pron

'He was with his wife, and his daughters, and his sons.'

644 *Faya kamaki kobo namaki faya me*
 faya ka -makI+M kobo na -makI+M , faya me ,
 so go/come following arrive AUX following so 3PL
 conj vi vi aux conj pron

kamakino kamakimatamonaka
 ka -makI -hino ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 go/come following IP.N+M go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi

'He came and arrived. He came.'

645 *Kamakino faya kamaki kamaki*
 ka -makI -hino , faya ka -makI+M , ka -makI+M
 go/come following IP.N+M so go/come following go/come following
 vi conj vi vi

kobo namaki kobo namakimatamonaka
 kobo na -makI+M , kobo na -makI -himata -mona -ka
 arrive AUX following arrive AUX following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux vi aux

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'He came, and arrived.'

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

"My uncle has come."

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

"Grandpa, your brother is coming."

648 *Ee* *kamaki* *kamakika*
 ee ka -makI+M ka -makI -ka
 yes go/come following go/come following DECL+M
 interj vi vi

"Yes, he is coming."

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

yamata ?

yamata
 food
 nf

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

650 *Yamata* *wati*
 yamata wata.NOM+F
 food exist
 nf vi

"There is no food."

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

"Grandpa, there is no food."

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

"My father went out in the forest."

653 *Okobi* *toke* *okobi* *kamare*
 o- ka abi to- ka+M o- kaba ka -ma -ra+M
 1SG.POSS POSS father away go/come 1SG.S eat go/come back NEG
 nm vi vt vi

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

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

654 *Hiyama* *me* *tokomi* *ama* *ahi* *me*
 hiyama me to- ka -ma.NOM+F ama ahi me
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.S away go/come back be there 3PL
 nm pron vi vc dem pron

me *me* *mowa* *hina* *mati*
 me me mowa hi- na+F mati
 3PL.O 3PL.S fight OC AUX 3PL.O
 pron pron vt aux pron

"The peccaries went that way. They were after them."

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

kabamake *ama* *hari*
 kaba -makI ama haari
 eat following SEC that one+M
 vt sec dem

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

656 *Hiyama* *mete* *tama* *nawi* *one* *mete*
 hiyama mete tama na -wi o- na+M mete
 white-lipped peccary rear+M hold onto AUX steadily 1SG.S AUX rear+M
 nm pn vt aux aux pn

obarimise *mete* *okiti*
 o- to- iba -rI -misa+M mete o- ka iti
 1SG.S away set down raised surface up rear+M 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
 vt pn nm

kabe *amake* *ahi*
 kaba.NOM+M ama -ke ahi
 eat be DECL+F then
 vt vc dem

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

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

okobe *ati* *amane*
 o- kaba+M ati ama -ne
 1SG.S eat voice be BKG+M
 vt pn vc

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

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

amake
 ama -ke
 SEC DECL+F
 sec

"Meat is really good to eat."

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659 *Hoo aba me okobate*
 hoo aba me o- kaba -tee
 humph fish sp 3PL.O 1SG.S eat HAB
 interj nm pron vt

"I used to eat *aba* fish."

660 *Aba me okoba aba me okobi*
 aba me o- kaba+F aba me o- ka abi
 fish sp 3PL.O 1SG.S eat fish sp 3PL.O 1SG.POSS POSS father
 nm pron vt nm pron nm

onofara fa
 o- nofa -ra+F faa
 1SG.S recently NEG that
 prt dem

"I used to eat *aba* fish, but I haven't eaten *aba* fish recently."

661 *Kabikana mati tama ni owitabasi onofa*
 kabikana mati tama na.NFIN o- ita -basa o- nofa+F
 fish hook line+F hold onto AUX 1SG.S sit edge 1SG.S recently
 nf pn vt aux vi vt

ama oni
 ama o- ni
 SEC 1SG.S BKG+F
 sec prt

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

662 *Aba me Bono Wiyo okako onofa ama*
 aba me Bono Wiyo o- kaako o- nofa+F ama
 fish sp 3PL (man's name) 1SG.S be angry with 1SG.S recently SEC
 nm pron npropm vt prt sec

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

"I'm angry with Bono Wiyo."

663 *Ee iti okobi okobi*
 ee iti o- ka abi o- ka abi
 yes grandfather 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father
 interj nm nm

tikako tinofani ama tini ?
 ti- kaako ti- nofa -hani ama ti- ni
 2SG.S be angry with 2SG.S recently IP.N+F SEC 2SG.S BKG+F
 vt prt sec prt

"Grandfather, are you angry with my father?"

664 *Ee , abi okako onofa ama*
 ee , abi o- kaako o- nofa+F ama
 yes 2SG.POSS.father 1SG.S be angry with 1SG.S recently SEC
 interj nm vt prt sec

oni aba me okobara owa
 o- ni aba me o- kaba -ra+F owa
 1SG.S BKG+F fish sp 3PL.O 1SG.S eat NEG 1SG.S
 prt nm pron vt pron

"Yes, I'm angry with your father, because I haven't been eating *aba* fish."

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665 *Me kabahaba me awineke*
 me kaba -haba me awine -ke
 3PL.S eat FUT+F 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
 pron result pron sec

"I think they will be eaten again."

666 *Me kamaba me awineke*
 me ka -ma -haba me awine -ke
 3PL.S go/come back FUT+F 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
 pron vi pron sec

"I think they will come back."

667 *Me kamaba me awineni*
 me ka -ma -haba me awine -ni
 3PL.S go/come back FUT+F 3PL.S seem+F BKG+F
 pron vi pron sec

"I think they will come back."

668 *Okobi narabo nima obe*
 o- ka abi narabo nima o- na -be
 1SG.POSS POSS father ear+M communicate to 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 nm pn vt aux

"I will speak to my father."

669 *Aba me tokanikamakeba*
 aba me to- ka- nika -makI -hiba
 fish sp 3PL.O away COMIT ask for following FUT+M
 nm pron vt

okobi ati nematamona
 o- ka abi ati na -himata -mona
 1SG.POSS POSS father say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm vt aux

"My father said he will go and ask for the *aba* fish."

670 *Faya Bono Wiyo kamematamona amaka*
 faya Bono Wiyo ka -ma -himata -mona ama -ka
 so (man's name) go/come back FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M
 conj npropm vi vt sec

'Then Bono Wiyo came back.'

671 *Yowi karaboeno yowi*
 yowi karaboena -hino yowi
 brown capuchin shoot with blowgun IP.N+M brown capuchin
 nm vt nm

yowi fana ya yowi nafameno yowi
 yowi fana ya yowi na- fama -hino yowi
 brown capuchin ADJU brown capuchin CAUS be two IP.N+M brown capuchin
 nf prt nm vt nm

me weye ni kame Kame okobi
 me weye na.NFIN ka -ma+M ka -ma+M o- ka abi
 3PL.O carry AUX go/come back go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS father
 pron vt aux vi vi nm

kame
 ka -ma+M
 go/come back
 vi

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

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

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

"Grandpa, my father has come back."

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

yokibe

yoka -be
roast on coals IMMED+F
vt

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

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

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

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

"Look at him."

676	<i>Okanikabanake</i>				
	o- ka-	nika	-habana	-ke	
	1SG.S COMIT	ask for	FUT+F	DECL+F	
	vt				

"I'm going to ask for it."

677	<i>Yowi</i>	<i>fana</i>	<i>yowi</i>	<i>fana</i>	<i>kabi</i>	<i>eto</i>
	yowi	fana	yowi	fana	kaba.NFIN	eheto
	brown capuchin	female	brown capuchin	female	eat	be good
	nm	nf	nm	nf	result	vi

nofa

nofa+F
recently
prt

amake

ama -ke
SEC DECL+F
sec

"Brown capuchins are good to eat."

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

tokomematamonaka

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

'He threw the monkey down, and went.'

KANI METE

- 679 **Okobi** *tokome* **Abi** **abi**
 o- ka abi to- ka -ma+M abi abi
 1SG.POSS POSS father away go/come back father father
 nm vi nm nm
- okiti** *fimimona* **ati** **ne** , **yowi**
 o- ka iti fimi -himona ati na+M yowi
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather be hungry REP+M say AUX brown capuchin
 nm vi vt aux nm
- fana** *kabebona* **ati** *nareka* **yowi** *fana*
 fana kaba -hibona ati na -hare -ka yowi fana
 female eat INT+M say AUX IP.E+M DECL+M brown capuchin female
 nf vt vt aux nm nf

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

- 680 **Hinaka** **yowi** *fanaba* *tekamahi*
 hinaka yowi fana -ba ti- to- ka- ka -ma -hi
 3SG.POSS brown capuchin female FUT 2SG.S away COMIT go/come back IMP+F
 pron nm nf vt

.""Take the female monkey for him.""

- 681 **Yowi** *fana* *itikabote* *nematamonaka* **ahi**
 yowi fana iti -kabote na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 brown capuchin female pick up quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm nf vt aux dem

'He took the female monkey.'

- 682 **Yowi** *fana* *towakame* *hinakiti*
 yowi fana to- ka- ka -ma+M hinaka iti
 brown capuchin female away COMIT go/come back 3SG.POSS grandfather
 nm nf vt nm
- ka** **yowi** *fanabone* *hinakiti*
 ka yowi fana -bone hinaka iti
 POSS brown capuchin female INT+F 3SG.POSS grandfather
 prt nm nf nm
- kakawematamonaka**
 ka- kawa -himata -mona -ka
 COMIT give something to FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'He took the female monkey away. He gave the female monkey to his grandfather.'

- 683 **Haro** **iti** *kabakaba* *tikawahi*
 haaro iti kaba- kaba ti- ka- na -waha -hi
 that one+F grandfather DUP eat 2SG.S COMIT AUX change IMP+F
 dem nm vt aux

""Here, Grandpa, eat it all quickly.""

- 684 **Okanikarani**
 o- ka- nika -hara -ni
 1SG.S COMIT buy IP.E+F BKG+F
 vt

""I asked for it.""

KANI METE

685 **Maki okobi** , **ota kababisebanaka**
 maki o- ka abi , otaa kaba -bisa -hibana -ka
 male 1SG.POSS POSS father 1EX.S eat also FUT+M DECL+M
 nm nm pron vt

"We will eat the male."

686 **Maki ota kababisebana**
 maki otaa kaba -bisa -hibana
 male 1EX.S eat also FUT+M
 nm pron vt

"We will eat the male."

687 **Yowi fana tokematamona**
 yowi fana toka -himata -mona
 brown capuchin female partially burn FP.N+M REP+M
 nm nf vt

'He burned the hair off the female monkey.'

688 **Yowi fana toke yowi fana bobi**
 yowi fana toka+M yowi fana , bobi
 brown capuchin female partially burn brown capuchin female slit
 nm nf vt nm nf vt

ne yowi fana , yifo afo kane yowi
 na+M yowi fana , yifo afo ka- na+M yowi
 AUX brown capuchin female fire light COMMIT AUX brown capuchin
 aux nm nf nf vt aux nm

fana yokematamonaka ahi , yowi fana
 fana yoka -himata -mona -ka ahi , yowi fana
 female roast on coals FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then brown capuchin female
 nf vt dem nm nf

kabebana
 kaba -hibana
 eat FUT+M
 vt

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

689 **Yowi fana kabematamonaka ahi**
 yowi fana kaba -himata -mona -ka ahi
 brown capuchin female eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm nf vt dem

'He ate the female monkey.'

690 **Hoo , hiba fimi okarimi onofa**
 hoo , hiba fimi o- karima o- nofa+F
 humph wait hunger 1SG.S suffer from 1SG.S recently
 interj interj nf vt prt

yowi fana okobawahine o waha
 yowi fana o- kaba -waha -ne o- waha
 brown capuchin female 1SG.S eat change CONT+F 1SG.S now
 nm nf vt prt prt

"Humph, I was really hungry, but now I am eating the female monkey."

691 **Bono Wiyo tiwa okako onofa ama**
 Bono Wiyo tiwa o- kaako o- nofa+F ama
 (man's name) 2SG.S 1SG.S be angry with 1SG.S recently SEC
 nprpm pron vt prt sec

KANI METE

oke , *aba* *me* *ta* *tira* *tiwa* .
 o- ke , aba me taa ti- na -ra+F tiwa .
 1SG.S DECL+F fish sp 3PL.O give 2SG.S AUX NEG 2SG.O
 prt nm pron vt aux pron

"Bono Wiyo, I have been angry with you, because you didn't give *aba* fish."

692 *Faya yowi* *fana* *kabakaba* *kawe* ,
 faya yowi fana kaba- kaba ka- na -waha+M ,
 so brown capuchin female DUP eat COMMIT AUX change
 conj nm nf vt aux
yowi *fana* *kabakaba* *kawe* , *bai* *fawa*
 yowi fana kaba- kaba ka- na -waha+M , bahi fawa
 brown capuchin female DUP eat COMMIT AUX change sun disappear
 nm nf vt aux nm vi

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

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

693 *Bai fawa* *nise* *yowi* *me*
 bahi fawa na -risa+M yowi me
 sun disappear AUX down brown capuchin 3PL.S
 nm vi aux nm pron
kawaria *yowi* *me* , *sawa* *na* *me*
 ka- waa -rI+F yowi me , sawa na+F me
 COMMIT cook raised surface brown capuchin 3PL.S serve AUX 3PL.S
 vt nm pron vt aux pron
yowi *me* *kabemete*
 yowi me kaba -hemete
 brown capuchin 3PL.S eat FP.N+F
 nm pron vt

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

694 *Faya yowi* *me* *kaba* *me* *ni* *ya* , *me* *me*
 faya yowi me kaba+F me ni ya , me me
 so brown capuchin 3PL.S eat 3PL to ADJU 3PL 3PL.S
 conj nm pron vt pron prt prt pron pron
hawa *toemetemoneke*
 hawa to- ha -hemete -mone -ke
 be finished CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux

'They ate the monkey. They were finished.'

695 *Sina* *me* *hisi* *na* *sina* *me* *hisi* *na* *me* ,
 sina me hisi na+F sina me hisi na+F me ,
 snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux nf pron vt aux pron
Bono Wiyo , *Bono Wiyo*
 Bono Wiyo Bono Wiyo
 (man's name) (man's name)
 npropm npropm

'They took snuff. "Bono Wiyo."'

KANI METE

696 *Haa* ?
 haa
 huh?
 interj
 "Huh?"

697 *Himata nima me tinihemete me fawa*
 himata nima me ti- niha- -hemete me fawa
 what? like 3PL.O 2SG.S CAUS FP.N+F 3PL.O disappear
 interrog prt pron aux pron vi

nineriya ?

na -ne -ri -ya
 AUX CONT+F CQ+F now
 aux

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

698 *Abi abi me ati timitini* ?
 abi abi me ati ti- mita -ni
 father father 3PL.POSS voice 2SG.S hear BKG+F
 nm nm pron pn vt

"Father, did you hear what they said?"

699 *Aba me fawa nofaha me tikaminibone*
 aba me fawa na nofa+F me ti- kamina.NOM+F -bone
 fish sp 3PL.S disappear AUX recently 3PL.O 2SG.S tell INT+F
 nm pron vi aux pron vt

me ati na tiwa me ha nineke
 me ati na+F tiwa me haa na -ne -ke
 3PL.S say AUX 2SG.O 3PL.S call AUX CONT+F DECL+F
 pron vt aux pron pron vt aux

"They are calling you, asking you to tell about the *aba* fish that disappeared."

700 *Aba me , aba me*
 aba me aba me
 fish sp 3PL.O fish sp 3PL.O
 nm pron nm pron

okahabanamaro me fawa
 o- ka- habana -hamaro me fawa
 1SG.S COMIT order someone against FP.E+F 3PL.S disappear
 vt pron vi

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

"I sent spirits against the *aba* fish, and they disappeared."

701 *Aba me okatao me , no*
 aba me okatao me noho
 fish sp 3PL.S my son 3PL.S be hurt
 nm pron nm pron vi

tonihimakoni aba me
 to- niha- na -makoni aba me
 CH CAUS AUX for this reason+F fish sp 3PL.O
 aux nm pron

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okahabanamaro

o- ka- habana -hamaro , me fawa
 1SG.S COMIT order someone against FP.E+F 3PL disappear
 vt pron vi

nineni

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

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

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

"They wouldn't have disappeared."

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

nineke

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

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

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

mati

mati
 3PL.O
 pron

"They ate them when they fought against them."

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

nofara me amake
 nofa -ra+F me ama -ke
 recently NEG 3PL.S SEC DECL+F
 prt pron sec

"Yes, they didn't come back."

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

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

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

KANI METE

ona **fa** **oko** **kabikana** **aba** **iti**
 o- na+F faha o- ka kabikana aba i- iti
 1SG.S AUX water 1SG.POSS POSS fish hook fish sp DUP pick up
 aux nf prt nf nm vt

nofara **amani**
 na nofa -ra+F ama -ni
 AUX recently NEG be BKG+F
 prt vc

"When I go fishing, the *aba* fish doesn't hit my fish hook."

708 **Oma** **watarihi** **oma** , **oma** **watarihi**
 oma wata -rihi oma , oma wata -rihi
 piranha exist NEG.LIST piranha piranha exist NEG.LIST
 nm vi nm nm vi

nofe **amani**
 na nofa+M ama -ni
 AUX recently SEC BKG+F
 aux sec

"There isn't a piranha, either."

709 **Oma** **kabikana** **tafe** **kabate** , **oma** **oma** **me**
 oma kabikana tafe kaba -tee , oma oma me
 piranha fish hook food+F eat HAB piranha piranha 3PL.POSS
 nm nf pn vt nm nm pron

nafi **toemete** **me** **awineke**
 nafi to- ha -hemete me awine -ke
 all CH be FP.N+F 3PL.POSS seem+F DECL+F
 pn vc pron sec

"The piranhas used to take the bait, but the piranhas all disappeared."

710 **Me** **nafi** **toemete** **me** **awineke**
 me nafi to- ha -hemete me awine -ke
 3PL.POSS all CH be FP.N+F 3PL.POSS seem+F DECL+F
 pron pn vc pron sec

"They all disappeared."

711 **Faya** **me** , **me** **yana** **tona** **me** , **sina** **me** **hisi**
 faya me , me yana to- na+F me , sina me hisi
 so 3PL.S 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S snuff 3PL.S sniff
 conj pron pron vi aux pron nf pron vt

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

'They were ready. They took snuff.'

712 **Sina** **me** **hisi** **na** **sina** **ihi** **me** **ati** **fawa**
 sina me hisi na+F sina ihi me ati fawa
 snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX snuff because of+F 3PL.POSS voice stop
 nf pron vt aux nf post pron pn vi

kana **me** , **faya** **me** **amo** **nemete** **fahi**
 ka- na+F me , faya me amo na -hemete fahi
 COMIT AUX 3PL.S so 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F then
 aux pron conj pron vi aux dem

'They took snuff. They stopped talking because of the snuff. They finally slept.'

KANI METE

713	Me	amo	na	me	me	tafiha	me	yama	me	yete
	me	amo	na+F	me	me	tafi+F	me	yama	me	yete
	3PL.S	sleep	AUX	3PL.S	3PL.S	wake up	3PL.S	thing	3PL.S	hunt
	pron	vi	aux	pron	pron	vi	pron	nf	pron	vt
	namina	me	yama	bani	biti	me	me	nanahari		
	na -mina+F	me	yama	bani	biti	me	me	na- na-	ohari	
	AUX morning	3PL.S	thing	animal	small+M	3PL.O	3PL.S	DUP CAUS	be one	
	aux	pron	nf	nm	adj	pron	pron	vt		
	na	bani	biti	me	me	kaba				
	na+F	bani	biti	me	me	kaba+F				
	AUX	animal	small+M	3PL.O	3PL.S	eat				
	aux	nm	adj	pron	pron	vt				

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

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

Free Translation

They ate peach palm nuts. They grated manioc, too. They went back [to the other village] and grated manioc. They brought the manioc. They ate at the same water hole, just before the high water season started. They ate. They shot game with blowguns. They ate game.

They went back and grated manioc again, with their fathers.

They came back again. They arrived back again, where there was no fish. They drank the water from where the rock was, where there was no fish. There were no *korobo* fish, no little fish. They drank water from the water in which there were no little fish, the water in the hole in the rock.

They went back again. They grated manioc again back there. They brought manioc again.

"Let's live for a while at the same little spring. We'll go home when the high water season starts. The high water season is going to come. Don't you see the crops growing? The crops are growing. When the high water season comes, and then when the high water season ends, the leaves of the manioc plant fall off," he said. "When the eating of peach palm nuts is over, the high water season will end."

They ate. The flood waters came to them. He went out hunting. He went. He stood on the bank of a stream. He saw the *aba* fish coming downstream. "Plunk" [went the sound of the fish coming to the surface and eating fruits]. Their backs could be seen above the surface all over.

"Wow, look at all the *aba* fish coming downstream!" He saw the *aba* fish.

He came home. He came upon some howler monkeys on the way back. He quickly shot howler monkeys with his blowgun. He shot spider monkeys with his blowgun. He quickly tied up the spider monkeys. He came home carrying the game. He also shot a female capuchin monkey with his blowgun. He came home. He arrived home.

"Whew, we're not going to be hungry. The *aba* fish are in the stream, and we're hungry."

"Are there *aba* fish?"

"The *aba* fish are there in the stream, coming downstream. The water is full of them. I saw the *aba* fish and came back. Let's shoot the *aba* fish with arrows."

They got ready to shoot *aba* fish with arrows.

"I'm going to put a point on my arrow. I'm going to put on the point during the night. Where is the point for my arrow? Where is the bone of the agouti they ate?"

He looked for a bone of the agouti they had eaten, to divide it lengthwise. He found an agouti bone. He split the agouti bone down the center. He made a point at the end of the bone.

They made points at the end of the bones. They were not arrow points like those nowadays. They attached the arrow points. They twisted the points into the shafts. They twisted the foreshaft into the shaft. They finished the arrows. They were ready.

Morning came, and they had not slept, because they had heard the report about the *aba* fish. They used agouti teeth and paca teeth for arrow points. Agouti teeth can't be stuck in the arrow point right, they are curved. They didn't get upset. He put on the agouti tooth quickly. He quickly lashed on the agouti tooth.

They left, to carry *aba* fish. The *aba* fish were unsuspecting. The fish were going right along the edge. They shot them with arrows, the ones who would eat. Their manioc mash was waiting.

"Don't wash the fish intestines out in our water. You take out some water. You put the water

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

in another place. And then you wash the fish intestines. Don't dirty our water." Their voices were heard, the voices of the people who were protecting their water [i.e. the water in the spring in the rock].

They brought the *aba* fish back and ate. They roasted the *aba* fish on grills.

"They are coming downstream."

It was Bakayona who made the water dry up, and made the *aba* fish.

"You will see his *aba* fish. He was always angry, and he is lying there now in the water [he turned into an alligator]."

They ate his *aba* fish all the time, the one who made them. They shot *aba* fish with arrows. There was no one who didn't catch a lot of fish. They carried the *aba* fish that had been swimming near the bank. They killed lots of *aba* fish, because they were unwary. They were tired from bringing the *aba* fish home. They had shot the fish with agouti teeth. Agouti and paca bones, too. Their arrow points were paca teeth. They carried the victims of what was not an arrow point, they affixed animal bone to the arrows, my grandfather used to say, my father reported. Collared peccary bones, deer bones, he put points on deer bones, to be arrow points.

He exclaimed. "The *aba* fish brought on its own death. Don't go after it! I want it to be me [that is, I want to shoot it]," he said.

He pulled back his bow and shot at the *aba* fish, right where there was a root, and his paca tooth arrow point broke. Thwack went the arrow. Smack went the *aba* fish's tail on the water. The fish went off.

"Don't go after it! Let it go. When it forgets and comes back downstream slowly, it will get shot."

The *aba* fish went off. They waited for it. It forgot and came back downstream. The *aba* fish came back downstream.

"There it is! It came back! It came back! Shoot it! My arrow point is broken, the paca tooth; a piece of it broke off. You're going to miss it."

"I'm going to shoot it with an arrow, just a minute."

He shot at the *aba* fish. He shot the *aba* fish with an arrow as it came downstream. The *aba* fish jumped.

"I'm going to get it. I'm going to get the *aba* fish, to eat it. I'm going to get the *aba* fish that you shot. You will be with my younger sister."

"I don't want to be with your sister."

"To pay for the fish. You ate the fish. You will be full because of the fish. It's a big fish. Let the fish be inside the basket, threaded on a line. It will be the price of my sister."

They came home. They arrived home. They roasted the *aba* fish. They roasted them. They also boiled them, in ceramic pots. They didn't have metal pots, so they cooked the *aba* fish in pots fashioned from clay. Their ceramic pots were all in a row. They boiled the *aba* fish. They ate.

"We are going to eat *aba* fish. The older brother didn't leave his younger brother alone [in the story of Bakayona]. We are going to eat the *aba* fish of the younger brother who went after the fish. You are going to eat the *aba* fish of the younger brother of the man who killed, whose rear end his wives didn't like." Their voices could be heard as they ate.

They ate *aba* fish the next day. "Come on! Let's not let the *aba* fish go away downstream."

They went after the *aba* fish so they wouldn't go downstream. The *aba* fish were still in the same spot where they had shot them before. There were lots of *aba* fish every day. They shot them with arrows all day. They brought them back.

Then the others who had never fished went. They went out. They shot *aba* fish again.

"We are always eating game. Let's eat fish for a while."

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They shot *aba* fish with arrows. They brought *aba* fish again. They roasted the *aba* fish back in the village. They ate *aba* fish again. They ate them. They ate them. They slept.

"Shall we go out tomorrow? Come on, the *aba* fish won't be eaten anymore. The *aba* fish will go back at the end of the rainy season."

He said the rainy season wasn't going to end yet. "Wait a minute. The whatchamacallit hasn't called yet. The *kawa* frog calls. It hasn't called yet, saying, 'maa, maa'. The *kawa* frog hasn't called yet. When the *kawa* frog calls, the *aba* fish will come back."

They went out again. They shot *aba* fish again. It wasn't with crabwood fruit bait, they hadn't asked for crabwood fruit bait. The *aba* fish were by the water's edge. They started coming back. They were in the Faha Biri stream.

"There aren't any fish left, you need to go fishing."

There were many of them in the stream. They always ate *aba* fish. Because the water level fell, the *aba* fish didn't go any further upstream. The *aba* fish all had full bellies. Others went upstream and lived there. Many were still coming upstream. The *aba* fish were staying in the Faha Biri stream, their home. That was the old home of the *aba* fish that they always ate. They ate.

My grandfather, who was a child, was brought by his father. He ate his uncle's roasted *aba* fish.

"Oh, there is my nephew coming."

"We came. Uncle, where are the *aba* fish?"

"I roasted the *aba* fish, and they are there on the grill. You eat *aba* fish," said the one who he would call father-in-law.

He ate the *aba* fish killed by his future father-in-law. He ate the *aba* fish he had killed. His father also ate.

"Whew, aren't you going to eat manioc mash with fat? There is manioc mash with fat in the pot there. You will see the *aba* fish. They are always by the edge of the stream. The shallow water is full of them and we shoot them. Let's go, I'm going to shoot *aba* fish," my grandfather's father said.

"My wife is hungry, and I left her there. I left my wife there. When I have shot some *aba* fish, I will bring them. The boy misses me. He is filling his father-in-law's stomach. Our in-law doesn't have any food, why doesn't he come here?"

"Our in-law, come to be with us. You come here. We will each live in our own house. Let's eat *aba* fish a while more. You live over there on the other side. Let's make gardens. Let's make gardens where the *aba* fish live."

When they saw where the *aba* fish lived, they made gardens there. They cleared the underbrush. They chopped down the trees. They chopped down the trees while eating lots of *aba* fish. When they finished cutting down the trees, the *aba* fish came back. The *aba* fish came back, and they shot them. They shot the *aba* fish with animal teeth, my mother used to say. They used to shoot *aba* fish with deer bones, not with nails.

My grandfather's father had just married. He had one son. His son wanted to go with him, so he took him. He arrived with his son.

"You stay with your aunt. I'm going to shoot some *aba* fish for your mother. Your mother is hungry."

He shot *aba* fish. He brought the *aba* fish. His niece gutted the *aba* fish. He wrapped the *aba* fish in leaves. He roasted the fish.

"Uncle, do you have manioc mash?"

"There is manioc mash there on the floor."

He toasted some manioc mash. He ate an *aba* fish. He quickly ate the rest of the *aba* fish. He

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ate the *aba* fish with his son. My grandfather ate with his father.

"You stay here for now. You stay with your uncle for now. I'm going to take some fish to your mother. We're going to move tomorrow. We're going to eat *aba* fish. Let my garden be for now. My garden that I started to cut down will sit. I will not be there many days. I'll come back soon."

"All right."

"I'll be there two days. After two days I'll arrive back. You fasten the thatch on my roof together. When you close up the top of the roof, I'll appear."

"All right."

He left. He left, my father said. My father reported what my grandfather used to say. He left. He went. He went into the forest. His son stayed behind with his uncle.

His father came back. He was away for two days, and then he came back. He arrived back.

"My father came back. Uncle, my father came back. I worked on his thatch for him."

"Let him come and live here. Let him live here for now."

Interlinear Presentation

1	Yawita yawita peach palm nm	me me 3PL pron	,	yawita yawita peach palm nm	me me 3PL.S pron	,	kaba kaba+F eat vt	,	iyawa iyawa manioc mash nf	,	fowa fowa manioc nm
me	hiti	,	na	fowa	me	,	fowa	me	hiti		
me	hiti.LIST		na+F	fowa	me		fowa	me	hiti		
3PL.S	grate		AUX	manioc	3PL		manioc	3PL.S	grate		
pron	vt		aux	nm	pron		nm	pron	vt		
tonama	fowa	me	kakama	me	tatafa						
to- na -ma+F	fowa	me	ka- ka -ma+F	me	ta- tafa						
away AUX back	manioc	3PL.S	COMIT go/come back	3PL.S	DUP eat						
aux	nm	pron	vt	pron	vi						
toemetemone	fara	fa	iti	ya	fa fowe						
to- ha -hemete -mone	fara	faha	ita.NOM+F	ya	faha fowe						
CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F	same+F	water	sit	ADJU	flood						
aux	dem	nf	vi	prt	nf						
kisibani	ya										
ka -risa.NOM+F	-ba -ni										
go/come down	FUT IP.N+F										
vi	ADJU										
	prt										

'They ate peach palm nuts. They grated manioc, too. They went back and grated manioc. They brought the manioc. They ate at the same water hole, just before the high water season started.'

2	Faya	me	tatafa	toa	me	,	bani	me	me	,	bani
	faya	me	ta- tafa	to- ha+F	me		bani	me	me		bani
	so	3PL.S	DUP eat	CH AUX	3PL.S		animal	3PL.O	3PL.S		animal
	conj	pron	vi	aux	pron		nm	pron	pron		nm
me	me	fora				na	bani	me	me	kakaba	
me	me	fora				na+F	bani	me	me	ka- kaba	
3PL.O	3PL.S	shoot with	blowgun			AUX	animal	3PL.O	3PL.S	DUP eat	
pron	pron	vt				aux	nm	pron	pron	vt	
toa	me	ka	abi	me	ya	me	taba	fowa	me		
to- ha+F	me	ka	abi	me	ya	me	taba+F	fowa	me		
CH AUX	3PL	POSS	father	3PL	ADJU	3PL.S	be together	manioc	3PL.S		
aux	pron	prt	nm	pron	prt	pron	vi	nm	pron		

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

hiti tonamatasa me kamatasa , me kobo
 hiti to- na -ma -tasa+F me ka -ma -tasa+F , me kobo
 grate away AUX back again 3PL.S go/come back again 3PL.S arrive
 vt aux pron vi pron vi

namatasa , aba sawire ya , fa , betira
 na -ma -tasa+F , aba sawi -ra.NOM+M ya , faha , betira
 AUX back again fish be present NEG ADJU water rock
 aux nm vi prt nf nf

winaha me fawa me , aba watare ya
 wina+F me fawa+F me , aba wata -ra.NOM+M ya
 be inside 3PL.S drink 3PL.S fish exist NEG ADJU
 vi pron vt pron nm vi prt

'They ate. They shot game with blowguns. They ate game. They went back and grated manioc again, with their fathers. They came back again. They arrived back again, where there was no fish. They drank the water from where the rock was, where there was no fish.'

3 **Aba , korobo , korobo watarihi , korobo me**
 aba , korobo , korobo wata -rihi , korobo me
 fish fish sp fish sp exist NEG.LIST fish sp 3PL.S
 nm nm nm vi nm pron

watarihi , aba biti mati
 wata -rihi , aba biti mati
 exist NEG.LIST fish small+M 3PL
 vi nm adj pron

'There were no *korobo* fish, no little fish.'

4 **Aba biti me watari ka fa me fafawa**
 aba biti me wata -ra.NOM+F ka faha me fa- fawa
 fish small+M 3PL.S exist NEG which water 3PL.S DUP drink
 nm adj pron vi prt nf pron vt

toemetemone , fa itaharo , yati tori ya
 to- ha -hemete -mone , faha ita -haaro , yati tori ya
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F water sit IP.E+F stone inside+F ADJU
 aux nf vi nf pn prt

'They drank water from the water in which there were no little fish, the water in the hole in the rock.'

5 **Faya yati tori ya fa me fafawa toa me ,**
 faya yati tori ya faha me fa- fawa to- ha+F me ,
 so stone inside+F ADJU water 3PL.S DUP drink CH AUX 3PL.S
 conj nf pn prt nf pron vt aux pron

me tokomatasa fowa me hiti
 me to- ka -ma -tasa+F fowa me hiti
 3PL.S away go/come back again manioc 3PL.S grate
 pron vi nm pron vt

tonamatasa fowa me kakamatasa , fara
 to- na -ma -tasa+F fowa me ka- ka -ma -tasa+F , fara
 away AUX back again manioc 3PL.S COMMIT go/come back again same+F
 aux nm pron vt dem

fa bite iti ya e wiwina
 faha bite ita.NOM+F ya ee wi- wina
 water small+F sit ADJU 1IN.S DUP live
 nf adj vi prt pron vi

kawamatahi
 ka- na -waha -mata -hi
 COMMIT AUX change short time IMP+F
 vi

'They drank water from the hole in the rock. They went back again. They grated manioc again back there.'

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

They brought manioc again. "Let's live for a while at the same little spring."

6 **Fa fowe** **kisi** **ya** **e** **tokomaba**
 faha fowe ka -risa.NOM+F ya ee to- ka -ma -haba
 flood go/come down ADJU 1IN.S away go/come back FUT+F
 nf vi prt pron vi

ereke
 ere -ke
 1IN.S DECL+F
 pron

"We'll go home when the high water season starts."

7 **Fa fowe** **kisiba** **amani**
 faha fowe ka -risa.NOM+F -ba ama -ni
 flood go/come down FUT be BKG+F
 nf vi vc

"The high water season is going to come."

8 **Yamata** **yani** **te** **awari** **haro**
 yamata yana.NFIN tee awa -ra.NOM+F haaro
 crops grow 2PL.S see NEG that one+F
 nf vi pron vt dem

"Don't you see the crops growing?"

9 **Yamata** **yanake** **haro**
 yamata yana -ke haaro
 crops grow DECL+F that one+F
 nf vi dem

"The crops are growing."

10 **Faya** **fa fowe** **kisi** **ya** **yama** , **fa** **sai**
 faya faha fowe ka -risa.NOM+F ya yama , faha sai.NOM
 so flood go/come down ADJU thing water be empty
 conj nf vi prt nf nf vi

ya , **fowa** **efe** **abate** **amaka** **hari** , **ati**
 ya fowa efe ahaba -tee ama -ka haari , ati
 ADJU manioc leaf+M die HAB SEC DECL+M that one+M say
 prt nm pn vi sec dem vt

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

"When the high water season comes, and then when the high water season ends, the leaves of the manioc plant fall off," he said.'

11 **Yawita** **kabi** **fawa** **ne** **ya** **fa** **saihaba**
 yawita kaba.NFIN fawa na.NOM+M ya faha sai -haba
 peach palm eat stop AUX ADJU water be empty FUT+F
 nm result vi aux prt nf vi

amani
 ama -ni
 SEC BKG+F
 sec

"When the eating of peach palm nuts is over, the high water season will end."

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

12 *Yawita* *kabi* *fawa* *ne* *ya* *fa* *saihaba*
 yawita kaba.NFIN fawa na.NOM+M ya faha sai -haba
 peach palm eat stop AUX ADJU water be empty FUT+F
 nm result vi aux prt nf vi

amake *haro*
 ama -ke haaro
 SEC DECL+F that one+F
 sec dem

"When the eating of peach palm nuts is over, the high water season will end."

13 *Faya* *me* , *faya* *me* , *faya* *me* *tafatafa* *toa* *me* , *ni*
 faya me faya me faya me tafa- tafa to- ha+F me ni
 so 3PL so 3PL so 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX 3PL to
 conj pron conj pron conj pron vi aux pron prt

ya *fa fowe* *kisemetemone* *amake*
 ya faha fowe ka -risa -hemete -mone ama -ke
 ADJU flood go/come down FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 prt nf vi sec

'They ate. The flood waters came to them.'

14 *Yama* *yete* *nebona* *toke* *yama* *yete* *nebona*
 yama yete na -hibona to- ka+M yama yete na -hibona
 thing hunt AUX INT+M away go/come thing hunt AUX INT+M
 nf vt aux vi nf vt aux

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

'He went out hunting.'

15 *Toke* , *toke* *fa* *witi* *ya* *towabasawite*
 to- ka+M to- ka+M faha witi ya to- waa -basa -witI
 away go/come away go/come stream edge ADJU away stand edge out
 vi vi nf pn prt vi

, *aba* *me* , *aba* *me* *kisani* *mera* *awe* ,
 aba me aba me ka -risa -hani mera awa+M
 fish sp 3PL fish sp 3PL.S go/come down IP.N+F 3PL.O see
 nm pron nm pron vi pron vt

kabo *aba* *me* *bari* *wari*
 kabo aba me bari waa -ri
 (breaking surface) fish sp 3PL.POSS back stand DISTR
 sound nm pron pn vi

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

'He went. He stood on the bank of a stream. He saw the *aba* fish coming downstream. "Plunk" [went the sound of the fish coming to the surface and eating fruits]. Their backs could be seen above the surface all over.'

16 *Aii* , *aba* *me* *kisakeni*
 aii aba me ka -risa -ke -ni
 wow! fish sp 3PL.S go/come down DECL+F IP.N+F
 interj nm pron vi

"Wow, look at all the *aba* fish coming downstream!"

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

17 *Faya aba me awe kame* ,
 faya aba me awa+M ka -ma+M ,
 so fish sp 3PL.O see go/come back
 conj nm pron vt vi

kamematamonaka

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

'He saw the *aba* fish. He came home.'

18 *Kame yiko me wasime yiko me*
 ka -ma+M yiko me wasi -ma+M yiko me
 go/come back howler monkey 3PL.O find back howler monkey 3PL.O
 vi nm pron vt nm pron

forafora kawe yiko me
 fora- fora ka- na -waha+M , yiko me
 DUP shoot with blowgun COMIT AUX change howler monkey 3PL.O
 vt aux nm vt pron

fora ne yiko me soki
 fora na+M , yiko me soki
 shoot with blowgun AUX howler monkey 3PL.O tie up
 vt aux nm pron vt

kanakikabote faya bani me weye ni
 ka- na -kI -kabote , faya bani me weye na.NFIN
 COMIT AUX coming quickly so animal 3PL.O carry AUX
 aux conj nm pron vt aux

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

kamematamonaka

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

'He came home. He came upon some howler monkeys on the way back. He quickly shot howler monkeys with his blowgun. He shot spider monkeys with his blowgun. He quickly tied up the spider monkeys. He came home carrying the game.'

19 *Yowi fana karaboa faya*
 yowi fana karaboha.LIST , faya
 brown capuchin female shoot with blowgun so
 nm nf vt conj

kamematamonaka

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

'He also shot a female capuchin monkey with his blowgun. He came home.'

20 *Kame kame kobo name Oof hoo* ,
 ka -ma+M ka -ma+M kobo na -ma+M , oof , hoo ,
 go/come back go/come back arrive AUX back hoo humph
 vi vi vt aux interj interj

e fifimi toibe
 ee fi- fimi to- ha -be
 1IN.S DUP be hungry CH AUX IMMED+F
 pron vi aux

'He came home. He arrived home. "Whew, we're not going to be hungry."'

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

- 21 *Me fimia me kaya nine ha , aba mati* .
 me fimi+F me kaya na -ne haa , aba mati
 3PL.S be hungry 3PL.S lie AUX CONT+F DEM fish sp 3PL
 pron vi pron vi aux dem nm pron
 "The *aba* fish are in the stream, and we're hungry."
- 22 *Aba me amani ?*
 aba me ama -ni ?
 fish sp 3PL.S be BKG+F
 nm pron vc
 "Are there *aba* fish?"
- 23 *Aba me kaya ni ahi , aba me kisa*
 aba me kaya na.NOM+F ahi , aba me kisa -risa+F
 fish sp 3PL.S lie AUX there fish sp 3PL.S go/come down
 nm pron vi aux dem nm pron vi
mati .
 mati
 3PL.S
 pron
 "The *aba* fish are there in the stream, coming downstream."
- 24 *Yama fa nabirawarani* .
 yama faha na- ahaba -rawa -hara -ni
 thing water CAUS die F.PL IP.E+F BKG+F
 nf nf vt
 "The water is full of them."
- 25 *Aba me owa okomine oni* .
 aba me o- awa+F o- ka -ma -ne o- ni
 fish sp 3PL.O 1SG.S see 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 nm pron vt vi prt
 "I saw the *aba* fish and came back."
- 26 *Aba me e tisa namata , mata* .
 aba me ee tisa namata , mata
 fish sp 3PL.O 1IN.S shoot with arrow AUX short time mata
 nm pron pron vt aux aux for now
 "Let's shoot the *aba* fish with arrows."
- 27 *Aba me me tisa nabone me yana*
 aba me me tisa nabone me yana
 fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX INT+F 3PL.S start
 nm pron pron vt aux pron vi
tonemetemoneke ahi .
 to- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux dem
 "They got ready to shoot *aba* fish with arrows."
- 28 *Oko watiba , oko watiba*
 o- ka wati -ba , o- ka wati -ba
 1SG.POSS POSS arrow FUT 1SG.POSS POSS arrow FUT
 prt nm prt nm

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

okanawarimatibeya

o- ka- na- waa -rI -mata -be -ya
 1SG.S COMIT CAUS stand raised surface short time IMMED+F now
 vt

"I'm going to put a point on my arrow."

29 **Okanawari**

o- ka- na- waa -rI
 1SG.S COMIT CAUS stand raised surface
 vt

onahabebanaka

o- nahaba -hibana -ka
 1SG.S at night FUT+M DECL+M
 prt

"I'm going to put on the point during the night."

30 **Wati** , **oko** **wati** **inobara** ?

wati o- ka wati ino -ba -ra
 arrow 1SG.POSS POSS arrow point+M FUT NPQ
 nm prt nm pn

"Where is the point for my arrow?"

31 **Sinama** **tone** , **sinama** **me** **hikabe** **tone** **e** **ra**

sinama tone sinama me hi- kaba+M tone ee na -ra
 agouti bone agouti 3PL.S OC eat bone (question) AUX CQ+M
 nm pn nm pron vt pn vi aux

ahi ?

ahi
 here
 dem

"Where is the bone of the agouti they ate?"

32 **Sinama** **me** **hikabari** **tone** **ahi** **tabiyo** , **sara**
 sinama me hi- kaba -haari tone ahi tabiyo sara
 agouti 3PL.S OC eat IP.E+M bone then wanting split
 nm pron vt pn dem pn vt

kanisebona , **sinama** **tone** **siba** **ne** **sinama** **tone**
 ka- na -risa -hibona sinama tone siba na+M sinama tone
 COMIT AUX down INT+M agouti bone look for AUX agouti bone
 aux nm pn vt aux nm pn

wasi **sinama** **tone** **sara** **kanise** , **sinama** **tone** **tari**
 wasi+M sinama tone sara ka- na -risa+M sinama tone tari
 find agouti bone split COMIT AUX down agouti bone peel
 vt nm pn vt aux nm pn vt

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

'He looked for a bone of the agouti they had eaten, to divide it lengthwise. He found an agouti bone. He split the agouti bone down the center. He made a point at the end of the bone.'

33 **Tari** **hine** **tona** **me** **tari** **nemetemoneke** **wati**
 tari hi- na+M tona me tari na -hemete -mone -ke wati
 peel OC AUX bone 3PL.S peel AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F arrow
 vt aux nf pron vt aux nm

ino **amarari**
 ino ama -ra -haari
 point+M be NEG IP.E+M
 pn vc

'He made a point at the end of the bone. They made points at the end of the bones. They were not arrow

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points like those nowadays.¹⁸

34 *Tona me tari na me , wati ino me kobobo*
 tona me tari na+F me , wati ino me kobobo -bo
 bone 3PL.S peel AUX 3PL.S arrow point+M 3PL.S be attached DUP
 nf pron vt aux pron nm pn pron vi

niha wati me wari na , wati me wari
 niha- na+F wati me wari na+F , wati me wari
 CAUS AUX arrow 3PL.S turn AUX arrow 3PL.S turn
 aux nm pron vt aux nm pron vt

nemetemoneke

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

'They made points at the ends of the bones. They attached the arrow points. They twisted the points into the shafts.'

35 *Wati me wari na me wati me hawa*
 wati me wari na+F me wati me hawa
 arrow 3PL.S turn AUX 3PL.S arrow 3PL.S be finished
 nm pron vt aux pron nm pron vi

toniha me yana tonemetemone
 to- niha- na+F me yana to- na -hemete -mone
 CH CAUS AUX 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 aux pron vi aux

'They twisted the foreshaft into the shaft. They finished the arrows. They were ready.'

36 *Yama we kamakike , me amo ra*
 yama wehe ka -makI -ke , me amo na -ra+F
 thing light+F go/come following DECL+F 3PL.S sleep AUX NEG
 nf pn vi pron vi aux

mati , aba me tamine me mita mati
 mati , aba me tamine me mita+F mati
 3PL.S fish sp 3PL.POSS news about 3PL.S hear 3PL.S
 pron nm pron pn pron vt pron

'Morning came, and they had not slept, because they had heard the report about the *aba* fish.'

37 *Sinama ino ya me ka wati ino toha , wakowa*
 sinama ino ya me ka wati ino to- ha.LIST , wakowa
 agouti tooth+M ADJU 3PL POSS arrow point+M CH be paca
 nm pn prt pron prt nm pn vc nm

me ini , faya sinama ino nanawanihina
 me ini , faya sinama ino na- na- wana -hina
 3PL.POSS tooth+F so agouti tooth+M DUP CAUS be attached can
 pron pn conj nm pn vi

re ino kero nami kitakita raba
 na -ra+M ino kero na -ma.NFIN kita- kita na -raba
 AUX NEG tooth+M be curved AUX back DUP be strong AUX a bit
 aux pn vi aux vi aux

tere me yayawa toaremetemoneke
 na -tee -ra+M me ya- yawa to- ha -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX HAB NEG 3PL.S DUP be upset CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux pron vi aux

¹⁸ The original sounds like *amari hari* at the end of the sentence, and this has been corrected in the transcription.

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<i>sinama</i>	<i>ino</i>	<i>nawana</i>		<i>kanibote</i>		<i>sinama</i>	<i>ino</i>	<i>wete</i>
sinama	ino	na- wana		ka- na -bote		sinama	ino	wete
agouti	tooth+M	CAUS be attached		COMIT AUX quickly		agouti	tooth+M	tie
nm	pn	vt		aux		nm	pn	vt
<i>kanakabote</i>		<i>me</i>		<i>tokehemetemoneke</i>		<i>aba</i>		<i>me</i>
ka- na -kabote		me		to- ka -hemete -mone -ke		aba		me
COMIT AUX quickly		3PL.S		away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F		fish sp		3PL.O
aux		pron		vi		nm		pron
, <i>aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>weye</i>	<i>naba</i>	<i>mati</i>				
aba	me	weye	na -haba	mati				
fish sp	3PL.S	carry	AUX FUT+F	3PL.S				
nm	pron	vt	aux	pron				

'They used agouti teeth and paca teeth for arrow points. Agouti teeth can't be stuck in the arrow point right, they are curved. They didn't get upset. He put on the agouti tooth quickly. He quickly lashed on the agouti tooth. They left, to carry *aba* fish.'¹⁹

38 <i>Aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>baraha</i>		<i>aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>homabasa</i>	
aba	me	bara+F		aba	me	homa	-basa+F
fish sp	3PL.S	be unsuspecting		fish sp	3PL.S	be horizontal	edge
nm	pron	vi		nm	pron	vi	
<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>tisa</i>		<i>nemetemoneni</i>		, <i>me</i>	<i>tafaba</i>
me	me	tisa		na -hemete -mone -ni		me	tafa -haba
3PL.O	3PL.S	shoot with arrow		AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F		3PL.S	eat FUT+F
pron	pron	vt		aux		pron	vi
<i>mati</i>							
mati							
3PL.S							
pron							

'The *aba* fish were unsuspecting. The fish were going in a line right along the edge. They shot them with arrows, the ones who would eat.'

39 <i>Me</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>iyawa</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>tona</i>	<i>rama</i>
me	ka	iyawa	sii	to- na+F	rama
3PL	POSS	manioc mash	stand	CH AUX	unusual
pron	prt	nf	vi	aux	prt

'Their manioc mash was waiting.'

40 <i>Aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>yoti</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>soko</i>	<i>riyahi</i>		<i>e</i>
aba	me	yoti	tee	soko	na -ra -yahi		ee
fish	3PL.POSS	intestines+F	2PL.S	wash	AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F		1IN
nm	pron	pn	pron	vt	aux		pron
<i>ka</i>	<i>faha</i>	<i>ya</i>					
ka	faha	ya					
POSS	water	ADJU					
prt	nf	prt					

'''Don't wash the fish intestines out in our water.'''

41 <i>Fa</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>kabi</i>	<i>kaniha</i>	<i>fa</i>	<i>te</i>		
faha	tee	kabi	ka- niha- na+F	faha	tee		
water	2PL.S	dip out	COMIT CAUS AUX	water	2PL.S		
nf	pron	vt	aux	nf	pron		
<i>tokowatawitiha</i>			<i>aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>yoti</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>soko</i>
to- ka- wata -witI+F			aba	me	yoti	tee	soko.LIST
away COMIT exist out			fish	3PL.POSS	intestines+F	2PL.S	wash
aux			nm	pron	pn	pron	vt

¹⁹ The last clause should have been *aba me me weye naba mati*.

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nahi

na -hi
AUX IMP+F
aux

"You take out some water. You put the water in another place. And then you wash the fish intestines."

42 **E ka fa mai te tonahiyariyahi**
ee ka faha mahi tee to- na- hiya -ra -yahi
1IN POSS water smell+F 2PL.S CH CAUS be bad NEG DIST.IMP+F
pron prt nf pn pron vt

"Don't dirty our water."

43 **Faya fa me kayawa me ati**
faya faha me ka- yawa+F me ati
so water 3PL.S COMIT be upset 3PL.POSS voice
conj nf pron vt pron pn

saihemetemone fahi
sai -hemete -mone fahi
be heard FP.N+F REP+F then
vi dem

'Their voices were heard, the voices of the people who were protecting their water.'

44 **Faya me tafehetemone fahi aba me me**
faya me tafa -hemete -mone fahi aba me me
so 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F then fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S
conj pron vi dem nm pron pron

kakama mati
ka- ka -ma+F mati
COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
vt pron

'They brought the *aba* fish back and ate.'

45 **Aba me me tabasi nemetemoneke ahi**
aba me me tabasi na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
nm pron pron vt aux dem

'They roasted the *aba* fish.'

46 **Yama kisarawini**
yama ka -risa -rawa -ni
thing go/come down F.PL BKG+F
nf vi

"They are coming downstream."

47 **Fa nasahimata , Bakayona , Bakayona fu**
faha na- sai -himata , Bakayona , Bakayona faha
water CAUS be empty FP.N+M (man's name) (man's name) water
nf vt npropm npropm nf

nasahimata , aba me yama tehinoho
na- sai -himata , aba me yama na -tee -hino -ho
CAUS be empty FP.N+M fish sp 3PL.O make AUX HAB IP.N+M DUP
vt nm pron vt aux

"It was Bakayona who made the water dry up, and made the *aba* fish."

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

48 *Hinaka* *aba* *me* *te* *awahabanani*
 hinaka aba me tee awa -habana -ni
 3SG.POSS fish sp 3PL.O 2PL.S see FUT+F BKG+F
 pron nm pron pron vt

"You will see his *aba* fish."

49 *Kakako* *towatimata* *hofo* *ahi*
 ka- kaako to- ha -tee.NOM -mata hofa+M ahi
 DUP be angry with CH AUX HAB FP.N+M be in water there
 vi aux vi dem

"He was always angry, and he is lying there now in the water."

50 *Faya* *me* , *hinaka* *aba* *me* *me* *mahika*
 faya me , hinaka aba me me mahika
 so 3PL 3SG.POSS fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S consume a lot
 conj pron pron nm pron pron vt

hiwahemetemoneni
 hi- na -waha -hemete -mone -ni , *aba* *me* *yama* *nemata*
 OC AUX change FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F fish sp 3PL.O make AUX FP.N+M
 aux nm pron vt aux

'They ate his *aba* fish all the time, the one who made them.'

51 *Aba* *me* *me* *tisa* *nemetemoneni*
 aba me me tisa na -hemete -mone -ni
 fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 nm pron pron vt aux

'They shot *aba* fish with arrows.'

52 *Me* *hinita* *wawa* *remetemone*
 me hinita wa- waa na -ra -hemete -mone
 3PL.POSS empty DUP stand AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 pron pn vi aux

'There was no one who didn't catch a lot of fish.'

53 *Aba* *me* *me* *weye* *nemetemoneni* , *aba* *me*
 aba me me weye na -hemete -mone -ni , aba me
 fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S carry AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F fish sp 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt aux nm pron

homabasa *mati*
 homa -basa+F mati
 be horizontal edge 3PL.S
 vi pron

'They carried the *aba* fish that had been swimming in a line near the bank.'

54 *Aba* *me* *barakosa* *me* *me*
 aba me bara -kosa+F me me
 fish sp 3PL.S be unsuspecting middle 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nm pron vi pron pron

katometemoneni
 katoma -hemete -mone -ni
 kill many FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vt

'They killed lots of *aba* fish, because they were unwary.'

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

55 *Aba me me kakamemetemoneke ahi* ,
 aba me me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nm pron pron vt dem

me ma tokaha mati ahi sinama me ini
 me maa to- ka- ha+F mati ahi sinama me ini
 3PL.S be tired CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S then agouti 3PL.POSS tooth+F
 pron vi aux pron dem nm pron pn

ya aba me me tisa na mati ahi .
 ya aba me me tisa na+F mati ahi
 ADJU fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.S then
 prt nm pron pron vt aux pron dem

'They were tired from bringing the *aba* fish home. They had shot the fish with agouti teeth.'

56 *Sinama tone wakowa me tone faya wakowa ini ya*
 sinama tone wakowa me tone faya wakowa ini ya
 agouti bone paca 3PL.POSS bone so paca tooth+F ADJU
 nm pn nm pron pn conj nm pn prt

hinaka wati ino toha wati ino amare
 hinaka wati ino to- ha.LIST wati ino ama -ra+M
 3SG.POSS arrow point+M CH be arrow point+M be NEG
 pron nm pn vc nm pn vc

ehene me weweye toemetemone ,
 ehene me we- weye to- ha -hemete -mone
 victim of+M 3PL.S DUP carry CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pn pron vt aux

okiti aati toematamona ,
 o- ka iti a- ati to- ha -himata -mona
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather DUP say CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm vt aux

okobi aati toemari amani bani ,
 o- ka abi a- ati to- ha.NOM+M -mari ama -ni bani
 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M be BKG+F animal
 nm vt aux vc nm

me tone ya wati me nawaria mati .
 me tone ya wati me na- waa -rI+F mati
 3PL.POSS bone ADJU arrow 3PL.S CAUS stand raised surface 3PL.S
 pron pn prt nm pron vt pron

'Agouti and paca bones, too. Their arrow points were paca teeth. They carried the victims of what was not an arrow point, they affixed animal bone to the arrows, my grandfather used to say, my father reported.'

57 *Kobaya tone bato tone bato tone tari ne wati*
 kobaya tone bato tone bato tone tari na+M wati
 collared peccary bone deer bone deer bone peel AUX arrow
 nm pn nm pn nm pn vt aux nm

ino toha faya hora neba aba aba ,
 ino to- ha.LIST faya hora na -hiba aba aba
 point+M CH be so complain AUX FUT+M fish sp fish sp
 pn vc conj vi aux nm nm

hiwa kabane aba hiwa
 hiwa ka- habana+M aba hiwa
 3SG.REFL.M COMIT order someone against fish sp 3SG.REFL.M
 pron vt nm pron

kabane awaraba timata .
 ka- habana+M awaraba ti- na -mata
 COMIT order someone against leave alone 2SG.S AUX short time
 vt vi aux

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

'Collared peccary bones, deer bones, he put points on deer bones, to be arrow points. He exclaimed. "The *aba* fish brought on its own death. The *aba* fish brought on its own death. Don't go after it!"

58 *Awaraba timata*
 awaraba ti- na -mata
 leave alone 2SG.S AUX short time
 vi aux

"Don't go after it!"

59 *Ha owa taba ama oni ati nematamona*
 haa owa taa -ba ama o- ni ati na -himata -mona
 DEM 1SG contrast FUT be 1SG.S BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 dem pron prt vc prt vt aux

"I want it to be me," he said.'

60 *Awaraba tinahi*
 awaraba ti- na -hi
 leave alone 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux

"Don't go after it."

61 *Aba hiwa kabane amane*
 aba hiwa ka- habana+M ama -ne
 fish sp 3SG.REFL.M COMIT order someone against SEC BKG+M
 nm pron vt sec

"The *aba* fish brought on its own death."

62 *Hoka hikane rama ahi , awa habi wai yokana*
 hoka hi- ka- na+M rama ahi , awa habi waa.NOM yokana
 yank OC COMIT AUX unusual then tree root+F stand true
 vt aux prt dem nf pn vi adj

ya ahi , hinaka wakowa ino baka tonebana
 ya ahi , hinaka wakowa ino baka to- na -hibana
 ADJU there 3SG.POSS paca tooth+M break CH AUX FUT+M
 prt dem pron nm pn vt aux

'He pulled back his bow and shot at the *aba* fish, right where there was a root, and his paca tooth arrow point broke.'

63 *Taikai teeboo aba , aba tebo*
 taikai teeboo aba , aba tebo
 (sound of arrow hitting) smack fish sp fish sp hit water
 sound sound nm nm vi

nawahare , tokehimatamonaka
 na -wahaI , to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 AUX all over away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux vi

'Thwack went the arrow. Smack went the *aba* fish's tail on the water. It went off.'

64 *Aba toke Awaraba tinahi*
 aba to- ka+M awaraba ti- na -hi
 fish sp away go/come leave alone 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 nm vi vi aux

'The fish went off. "Don't go after it!"

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

65 *Hiwa toka na ahi*
 hiwa to- ka.NOM+M na ahi
 only.M away go/come AUX there
 pron vi aux dem

"Let it go."

66 *Ati fawa towiti ya kikisama*
 ati fawa to- na -witI.NOM ya ki- ka -risa -ma
 voice disappear away AUX out ADJU DUP go/come down back
 pn vi aux prt vi

tosi ne ya sa
 to- na -sii na.NOM+M ya saa
 CH AUX slowly along the way AUX ADJU shoot with arrow
 aux aux prt result

kanebanaka

ka- na -hibana -ka
 COMIT AUX FUT+M DECL+M
 aux

"When it forgets and comes back downstream slowly, it will get shot."

67 *Aba toke me noki hine ati*
 aba to- ka+M me noki hi- na+M ati
 fish sp away go/come 3PL.S wait for OC AUX voice
 nm vi pron vt aux pn

katamohino kismematamona
 ka- tamo -hino ka -risa -ma -himata -mona
 COMIT forget IP.N+M go/come down back FP.N+M REP+M
 vi vi

'The *aba* fish went off. They waited for it. It forgot and came back downstream.'

68 *Aba kismematamona*
 aba ka -risa -ma -himata -mona
 fish sp go/come down back FP.N+M REP+M
 nm vi

'The *aba* fish came back downstream.'

69 *Aba kisame Hari fari fari*
 aba ka -risa -ma+M haari faari faari
 fish sp go/come down back that one+M that one+M that one+M
 nm vi dem dem dem

kame kame kame hoka tikanaho
 ka -ma+M ka -ma+M ka -ma+M hoka ti- ka- na -ho
 go/come back go/come back go/come back yank 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMP+M
 vi vi vi vt aux

'The *aba* fish came back downstream. "There it is! It came back! It came back! Shoot it!"'

70 *Oko wati ino totabohinoka wakowa*
 o- ka wati ino to- tabo -hino -ka wakowa
 1SG.POSS POSS arrow point+M CH be bent IP.N+M DECL+M paca
 prt nm pn vi nm

ino ino kote wahari
 ino ino kote waa -haari
 tooth+M tooth+M piece stand IP.E+M
 pn pn pn vi

"My arrow point is broken, the *paca* tooth; a piece of it broke off."

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

71 *Hani tiniheba* *amaka*
 hani ti- to- niha- na -hiba ama -ka
 miss 2SG.S CH CAUS AUX FUT+M SEC DECL+M
 vt aux sec

"You're going to miss it."

72 *Sasa* *onebanaka* , *hiba*
 sa- saa o- na -hibana -ka hiba
 DUP shoot with arrow 1SG.S AUX FUT+M DECL+M wait
 vt aux interj

"I'm going to shoot it with an arrow, just a minute."

73 *Aba hoka kanematamona*
 aba hoka ka- na -himata -mona
 fish sp yank COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm vt aux

'He shot at the *aba* fish.'

74 *Aba kisame* *sa*
 aba ka -risa -ma+M saa
 fish sp go/come down back shoot with arrow
 nm vi vt

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

'He shot the *aba* fish with an arrow as it came downstream.'

75 *Aba yora kanematamona* *ahi*
 aba yora ka- na -himata -mona ahi
 fish sp jump COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 nm vi aux dem

'The *aba* fish jumped.'

76 *Ohehibanaka*
 o- iha -hibana -ka
 1SG.S have FUT+M DECL+M
 vt

"I'm going to get it."

77 *Ohehibanane*
 o- iha -hibana -ne
 1SG.S have FUT+M BKG+M
 vt

"I'm going to get it."

78 *Ohehibanaka* , *ha* *owa* , *aba* , *okobebana*
 o- iha -hibana -ka haa owa aba o- kaba -hibana
 1SG.S have FUT+M DECL+M DEM 1SG fish sp 1SG.S eat FUT+M
 vt dem pron nm vt

"I'm going to get the *aba* fish, to eat it."

79 *Aba ohabana* *oni* , *sa*
 aba o- iha -habana o- ni saa
 fish sp 1SG.S have FUT+F 1SG.S BKG+F shoot with arrow
 nm vt prt vt

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

tikanari

ti- ka- na -haari
 2SG.S COMIT AUX IP.E+M
 aux

"I'm going to get the *aba* fish that you shot."

80 **Okasima**

o- ka asima
 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister
 nf

te

tee fama -be -ya
 2PL.S be two IMMED+F now
 pron vi

famibeya

"You will be with my younger sister."

81 **Asima**

asima
 2SG.POSS.younger sister
 nf

ota

otaa fama+F
 1EX.S be two
 pron vi

fama

asima

asima
 younger sister
 nf

onofa

o- nofa
 1SG.S want
 vt

okere

o- ke -re
 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F
 prt

"I don't want to be with your sister."

82 **Aba**

kabi

manakonebonaha

aba kaba.NFIN manakone -bona -ha
 fish eat price INT+M DUP
 nm result pn

"To pay for the fish."

83 **Aba**

tikaba

ama

tike

aba ti- kaba+F ama ti- ke
 fish 2SG.S eat SEC 2SG.S DECL+F
 nm vt sec prt

"You ate the fish."

84 **Tiwakaraba**

ti- akara -haba
 2SG.S be satiated FUT+F
 vi

ama

tini

ama ti- ni
 SEC 2SG.S BKG+F
 sec prt

aba

ehene

aba ehene
 fish because of+M
 nm post

"You will be full because of the fish."

85 **Aba**

nafika

hari

aba nafi -ka haari
 fish be big DECL+M that one+M
 nm vi dem

"It's a big fish."

86 **Faya**

aba

tasi

tose

faya aba tasi to- na -kosa+M
 so fish string CH AUX middle
 conj nm result aux

foyamata

foya -mata
 be inside short time
 vi

"Let the fish be inside the basket, threaded on a line."

87 **Okasima**

o- ka asima
 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister
 nf

manakoneba

manakone -ba
 price FUT
 pn

"It will be the price of my sister."

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

88 *Faya me , me , me kama me , me kobo*
 faya me , me , me ka -ma+F me , me kobo
 so 3PL 3PL 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive
 conj pron pron pron vi pron pron vi

namemetemoneke

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

"They came home. They arrived home."

89 *Aba me me tabasi nemetemone*
 aba me me tabasi na -hemete -mone
 fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nm pron pron vt aux

"They roasted the *aba* fish."

90 *Me me tabasi hinemetemoneke ahi , me*
 me me tabasi hi- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi , me
 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3PL
 pron pron vt aux dem pron

me , me me hiwaria mati ahi , yiwa boni
 me , me me hi- waa -rI+F mati ahi , yiwaha boni
 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S OC cook raised surface 3PL.O there ceramic pot
 pron pron pron vt pron dem nf

ya

ya
 ADJU
 prt

"They roasted them. They also boiled them, in ceramic pots."

91 *Yiwa watari ya yiwa boni kero na*
 yiwa wata -ra.NOM+F ya yiwaha boni kero na+F
 pot exist NEG ADJU ceramic pot make with circular motion AUX
 nf vi prt nf result aux
 , *yiwa kero naha , atabo kero*
 yiwa kero na+F , atabo kero
 pot make with circular motion AUX clay make with circular motion
 nf result aux nf result

na , boni ya aba me me waware
 na+F , boni ya aba me me wa- waa -rI
 AUX mass+F ADJU fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP cook raised surface
 aux pn prt nm pron pron vt

toemetemone

to- ha -hemete -mone
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 aux

"They didn't have pots, so they cooked the *aba* fish in pots fashioned from clay."

92 *Me ka yiwa boni ware tohitia*
 me ka yiwaha boni waa -rI to- na -hitI+F
 3PL POSS ceramic pot stand raised surface CH AUX along the way
 pron prt nf vi aux

rama

rama ahi
 unusual there
 prt dem

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

'Their ceramic pots were all in a row.'

93 *Aba me me ware me tafehemetemone*
 aba me me waa -rI me tafa -hemete -mone
 fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S cook raised surface 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F
 nm pron pron vt pron vi

'They boiled the *aba* fish. They ate.'

94 *Aba me e kababa e amake*
 aba me ee kaba -haba ee ama -ke
 fish sp 3PL.O 1IN.S eat FUT+F 1IN.S SEC DECL+F
 nm pron pron vt pron sec

""We are going to eat *aba* fish.""

95 *Nisori anoti ya*
 nisori anoti ya
 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3SG.POSS older brother ADJU
 nm nm prt

nisori aawaraba remata
 nisori a- awaraba na -ra -himata
 3SG.POSS.younger brother DUP leave alone AUX NEG FP.N+M
 nm vt aux

nisori , aba me yama teno ka
 nisori , aba me yama na -tee -hino ka
 3SG.POSS.younger brother fish sp 3PL.O work on AUX HAB IP.N+M POSS
 nm nm pron vt aux prt

aba me e kabibana
 aba me ee kaba+F -bana
 fish sp 3PL.O 1IN.S eat FUT
 nm pron pron vt

""He didn't leave his younger brother alone. We are going to eat the *aba* fish of his younger brother who went after the fish.""²⁰

96 *Yotohoti fati nofanofa raba na*
 yotohoti fati nofa- nofa na -raba na
 rear part 3SG.POSS.wife DUP want AUX a bit AUX
 pn nf vt aux aux

hiaremata , ene itimata ka aba me
 hi- to- ha -ra -himata , ehene iti -himata ka aba me
 OC CH AUX NEG FP.N+M victim of+M exist FP.N+M POSS fish sp 3PL.O
 aux pn vi prt nm pron

, nisori ka aba me te kabakaba
 , nisori ka aba me tee kaba- kaba
 3SG.POSS.younger brother POSS fish sp 3PL.O 2PL.S DUP eat
 nm prt nm pron pron vt

toibanani
 to- ha -bana -ni
 CH AUX FUT BKG+F
 aux

""You are going to eat the *aba* fish of the younger brother of the man who killed, whose rear end his wives didn't like.""

97 *Faya me tafa me ati saihemetemone aba*
 faya me tafa+F me ati sai -hemete -mone aba
 so 3PL.S eat 3PL.POSS voice be heard FP.N+F REP+F fish sp
 conj pron vi pron pn vi nm

20 The phrase *anoti ya* is a false start.

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

me me kabamina , me me hikabamina me
 me me kaba -mina+F , me me hi- kaba -mina+F me
 3PL.O 3PL.S eat morning 3PL.O 3PL.S OC eat morning 3PL.O
 pron pron vt pron pron vt pron

Hima hima aba me tokisariyahi
 hima hima aba me to- ka -risa -ra -yahi
 let's go let's go fish sp 3PL.S away go/come down NEG DIST.IMP+F
 interj interj nm pron vi

"Their voices could be heard as they ate. They ate *aba* fish the next day. "Come on! Let's not let the *aba* fish go away downstream."

98 *Aba me tokisarabone me*
 aba me to- ka -risa -ra -habone me
 fish sp 3PL.S away go/come down NEG INT+F 3PL.S
 nm pron vi pron

hinaka me fara aba me me
 hi- to- na- ka+F me fara aba me me
 OC away CAUS go/come 3PL.O same+F fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S
 vt pron dem nm pron pron

tisa ni ya aba me homabasa
 tisa na.NOM+F ya aba me homa -basa
 shoot with arrow AUX ADJU fish sp 3PL.S be horizontal edge
 vt aux prt nm pron vi

nawi nemetemoneni
 na -wi na -hemete -mone -ni
 AUX steadily AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 aux aux

"They went after the *aba* fish so they wouldn't go downstream. The *aba* fish were still in a line in the same spot at the edge where they had shot them before."²¹

99 *Aba tamabote me fafawa tona*
 aba tama -bote me fa- fawa to- na
 fish sp be many very 3PL.S DUP disappear CH AUX
 nm adj pron vi aux

toaremetemoneni
 to- ha -ra -hemete -mone -ni
 CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 aux

"There were lots of *aba* fish every day.'

100 *Faya me me tisa hinahate , me me*
 faya me me tisa hi- nahatI , me me
 so 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC daytime 3PL.O 3PL.S
 conj pron pron vt prt pron pron

tisa hinahate me me hiwakamatasa
 tisa hi- nahatI me me hi- ka- ka -ma -tasa+F
 shoot with arrow OC daytime 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMMIT go/come back again
 vt prt pron pron vt

, *fa me , fa me ki ra me bara me*
 faha me faha me kii na -ra+F me bara me
 water 3PL.S water 3PL.S look at AUX NEG 3PL.S other+F 3PL.S
 nf pron nf pron vt aux pron adj pron

tokatasa me tokaha me aba me me
 to- ka -tasa+F , me to- ka+F me aba me me
 away go/come again 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S
 vi pron vi pron nm pron pron

21 It should be *me me hinaka me*.

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

tisa		tasa		Bani	e	kabi	nofa	e
tisa		na -tasa+F	,	bani	ee	kaba	nofa+F	ee
shoot with arrow		AUX again		animal	1IN.S	eat	recently	1IN.S
vt		aux		nm	pron	vt	prt	pron

amake

ama -ke
SEC DECL+F
sec

"They shot them with arrows all day. They brought them back. Then the others who had never fished went. They went out. They shot *aba* fish again. "We are always eating game."

101	Bani	,	bani	,	aba	me	e	kabamatahi		mata
	bani		bani		aba	me	ee	kaba -mata	-hi	mata
	animal		animal		fish	3PL.O	1IN.S	eat short time	IMP+F	for now
	nm		nm		nm	pron	pron	vt		prt

"Let's eat fish for a while."

102	Faya	aba	me	me	tisa		nemetemoneke
	faya	aba	me	me	tisa		na -hemete -mone -ke
	so	fish sp	3PL.O	3PL.S	shoot with arrow		AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
	conj	nm	pron	pron	vt		aux

fahi

fahi
then
dem

'They shot *aba* fish with arrows.'

103	Aba	me	me	tisa		na	me	aba	me
	aba	me	me	tisa		na+F	me	aba	me
	fish sp	3PL.O	3PL.S	shoot with arrow		AUX	3PL.S	fish sp	3PL.O
	nm	pron	pron	vt		aux	pron	nm	pron

me	kakamatasa		me	,	aba	me	me
me	ka- ka	-ma	-tasa+F	me	aba	me	me
3PL.S	COMIT go/come back		again	3PL.S	fish sp	3PL.O	3PL.S
pron	vt			pron	nm	pron	pron

tabasi	nama	me	me	hikabatasa	,	me	me
tabasi	na -ma+F	me	me	hi- kaba -tasa+F		me	me
roast on grill	AUX back	3PL.S	3PL.S	OC eat again		3PL.O	3PL.S
vt	aux	pron	pron	vt		pron	pron

hikabemetemoneke

hi- kaba -hemete -mone -ke
OC eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vt

'They shot *aba* fish with arrows. They brought *aba* fish again. They roasted the *aba* fish back in the village. They ate *aba* fish again. They ate them.'

104	Me	hikaba	,	me	amo	nemetemoneke
	me	hi- kaba+F		me	amo	na -hemete -mone -ke
	3PL.S	OC eat		3PL.S	sleep	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
	pron	vt		pron	vi	aux

'They ate them. They slept.'²²

²² It should be *me me hikaba*.

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

105 *Me amo na me , E tokaminibana* ?
 me amo na+F me , ee to- ka -mina+F -bana
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 1IN.S away go/come morning FUT
 pron vi aux pron pron vi

"They slept. "Shall we go out tomorrow?"

106 *Hima , aba me kabamaraba me amani* .
 hima , aba me kaba -ma -ra -haba me ama -ni
 let's go fish sp 3PL.S eat back NEG FUT+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F
 interj nm pron result pron sec

"Come on, the *aba* fish won't be eaten anymore."

107 *Aba me tokomaba me amake , fa*
 aba me to- ka -ma -haba me ama -ke , faha
 fish sp 3PL.S away go/come back FUT+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F water
 nm pron vi pron sec nf

sai ya
 sai.NOM ya
 be empty ADJU
 vi prt

"The *aba* fish will go back at the end of the rainy season."

108 *Fa sai tonihemata* .
 faha sai.NFIN to- niha- ha -himata
 water be empty CH CAUS be FP.N+M
 nf vi vt

'He said the rainy season wasn't going to end yet.'

109 *Hibareya mata* .
 hibareya mata
 wait for now
 interj prt

"Wait a minute."

110 *Iteni ha , iteni ha rini*
 itehani haa , itehani haa na -ra -ni
 whatchamacallit call whatchamacallit call AUX NEG BKG+F
 nm vi nm vi aux

maa , maa , maa ha
 maa , maa , maa haa
 (sound of kawa frog) (sound of kawa frog) (sound of kawa frog) call
 sound sound sound vi

teha , maa ha teha ha rini
 na -tee+F , maa haa na -tee+F haa na -ra -ni
 AUX HAB (sound of kawa frog) call AUX HAB call AUX NEG BKG+F
 aux sound vi aux vi aux

mata , maa , maa , ati naro
 mata , maa , maa , ati na -haaro
 for now (sound of kawa frog) (sound of kawa frog) say AUX IP.E+F
 prt sound sound vt aux

"The whatchamacallit hasn't called yet. The *kawa* frog calls. It hasn't called yet, saying, 'maa, maa'."

111 *Maa ha rini mata* .
 maa haa na -ra -ni mata
 (sound of kawa frog) call AUX NEG BKG+F for now
 sound vi aux prt

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

"The *kawa* frog hasn't called yet."

112	Maa		ha	ni	ya	aba	me
	maa		haa	na.NOM+F	ya	aba	me
	(sound of <i>kawa</i> frog)		call	AUX	ADJU	fish sp	3PL.S
	sound		vi	aux	prt	nm	pron
	kamaba		me	amake			
	ka	-ma -haba	me	ama -ke			
	go/come back	FUT+F	3PL.S	SEC DECL+F			
	vi		pron	sec			

"When the *kawa* frog calls, the *aba* fish will come back."

113	Faya	me	tokatasa		aba	me	me		
	faya	me	to- ka	-tasa+F	aba	me	me		
	so	3PL.S	away go/come	again	fish sp	3PL.O	3PL.S		
	conj	pron	vi		nm	pron	pron		
	tisa		tasa		wakana		wakana	amari	ya
	tisa		na -tasa+F		wakana		wakana	ama -ra.NOM+F	ya
	shoot with arrow		AUX again		crabwood		crabwood	be NEG	ADJU
	vt		aux		nf		nf	vc	prt
	wakana	ini	me	hiri	ra	mati			
	wakana	ini	me	hiri	na -ra+F	mati			
	crabwood	name+F	3PL.S	say	AUX NEG	3PL.S			
	nf	pn	pron	vt	aux	pron			

'They went out again. They shot *aba* fish again. It wasn't with *wakana* fruit bait, they hadn't asked for *wakana* fruit bait.'

114	Aba	hine	ya	me	hohomabasa
	aba	hine	ya	me	ho- homa -basa
	fish sp	only	ADJU	3PL.S	DUP be horizontal edge
	nm	pron	prt	pron	vi
	toemetemone		me	amani	
	to- ha -hemete	-mone	me	ama -ni	
	CH AUX FP.N+F	REP+F	3PL.S	SEC BKG+F	
	aux		pron	sec	

'The *aba* fish were in a line by the water's edge.'

115	Me	kamawa		rama	ahi
	me	ka	-ma -waha+F	rama	ahi
	3PL.S	go/come back	change	unusual	then
	pron	vi		prt	dem

'They started coming back.'

116	Me	kamawa		rama	ahi
	me	ka	-ma -waha+F	rama	ahi
	3PL.S	go/come back	change	unusual	then
	pron	vi		prt	dem

'They started coming back.'

117	Fa Biri	ka	me	toha		fa	bite	ka	mati
	Faha Biri	ka	me	to- ha.LIST		faha	bite	ka	mati
	(name of stream)	of	3PL.S	CH be		stream	small+F	of	3PL
	npropf	prt	pron	vc		nf	adj	prt	pron

'They were in the Faha Biri stream.'

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

118 *Me wiwina toemetemone me tabori te*
 me wi- wina to- ha -hemete -mone me tabori tee
 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS place+F 2PL.S
 pron vi aux pron pn pron

kiki toineni haro
 ki- kii to- ha -ne -ni haaro
 DUP look at CH AUX CONT+F BKG+F that one+F
 vt aux dem

"There aren't any fish left, you need to go fishing."

119 *Fa bite ka me tama , faya aba me me*
 faha bite ka me tama+F , faya aba me me
 stream small+F LOC 3PL.S be many so fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nf adj prt pron vi conj nm pron pron

kakaba toa me , fa saiha , fa saiha
 ka- kaba to- ha+F me , faha sai+F , faha sai+F
 DUP eat CH AUX 3PL.S water be empty water be empty
 vt aux pron nf vi nf vi

ihi tokomarabanihi
 ihi to- ka -ma -ra -haba -ni -hi
 because of+F away go/come back NEG FUT+F IP.N+F DUP
 post vi

'There were many of them in the stream. They always ate *aba* fish. Because the water level fell, the *aba* fish didn't go any further upstream.'

120 *Aba me kikita toa toemetemone me*
 aba me ki- kita to- ha to- ha -hemete -mone me
 fish sp 3PL.S DUP be hard CH AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S
 nm pron vi aux aux pron

amani , haha me tokoma me towinama
 ama -ni , haaha me to- ka -ma+F me to- wina -ma.LIST
 SEC BKG+F this+F 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S away live back
 sec dem pron vi pron vi

haro
 haaro
 that one+F
 dem

'The *aba* fish all had full bellies. Others went upstream and lived there.'

121 *Haha me katima me tama , aba me*
 haaha me ka -tima+F me tama.LIST , aba me
 this+F 3PL.S go/come upstream 3PL.S be many fish sp 3PL.S
 dem pron vi pron vi nm pron

foyafoya toemetemone me tabori Fa Biri
 foya- foya to- ha -hemete -mone me tabori Faha Biri
 DUP be inside CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS place+F (name of stream)
 vi aux pron pn npropf

amake haro , Fa Biri ya
 ama -ke haaro , Faha Biri ya
 be DECL+F that one+F (name of stream) ADJU
 vc dem npropf prt

'Many were still coming upstream. The *aba* fish were staying in the Faha Biri stream, their home.'

122 *Faya aba me me kakaba toemetemone me ka*
 faya aba me me ka- kaba to- ha -hemete -mone me ka
 so fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL POSS
 conj nm pron pron vt aux pron prt

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

aba me tabori bote amani
 aba me tabori bote ama -ni
 fish sp 3PL.POSS place+F old be BKG+F
 nm pron pn adj vc

'That was the old home of the *aba* fish that they always ate.'

123 *Me tafatafa toa me , faya me ,*
 me tafa- tafa to- ha+F me , faya me ,
 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX 3PL.S so 3PL
 pron vi aux pron conj pron

okititeba o- ka iti -tee -ba , *okititeba* o- ka iti -tee -ba
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather HAB FUT 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather HAB FUT
 nm nm

ehewe toahi , bati , okititeba
 ehewe to- ha+M , bati , o- ka iti -tee -ba
 child CH be 3SG.POSS.father 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather HAB FUT
 nm vc nm nm

ehewe toahi bati hiwakamaki
 ehewe to- ha+M bati hi- ka- ka -makI+M ,
 child CH be 3SG.POSS.father OC COMMIT go/come following
 nm vc nm vt

kokori ka , kokori ka aba
 kokori ka , kokori ka aba
 3SG.POSS.mother's brother POSS 3SG.POSS.mother's brother POSS fish sp
 nm prt nm prt nm

me kai kabe , Aa oko bitimi
 me kaha.NFIN kaba+M , aa o- ka bitimi
 3PL.S be toasted eat aha 1SG.POSS POSS nephew
 pron vi vt interj prt nm

kamakino
 ka -makI -hino
 go/come following IP.N+M
 vi

'They ate. My grandfather, who was a child, was brought by his father. He ate his uncle's roasted *aba* fish.
 "Oh, there is my nephew coming."

124 *Ota kamaki*
 otaa ka -makI.NOM
 1EX.S go/come following
 pron vi

""We came.""

125 *Koko aba mera ?*
 koko aba me -ra
 mother's brother fish sp 3PL NPQ
 nm nm pron

""Uncle, where are the *aba* fish?""

126 *Aba me me tabasi ona me*
 aba me me tabasi ona na+F me
 fish sp 3PL 3PL.O roast on grill 1SG.S AUX 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt aux pron

kawine haro
 ka- waa -ne haaro
 COMMIT stand CONT+F that one+F
 vi dem

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

133 *Fa* *isawa* *yama* *howa* *toniharawara* *ota*
 faha isawa+F yama howa to- niha- na -rawa -ra+F otaa
 water be shallow thing be open CH CAUS AUX F.PL NEG 1EX.S
 nf vi nf vi aux pron

tisa *nofarawa* *amani*
 tisa na nofa -rawa+F ama -ni
 shoot with arrow AUX recently F.PL SEC BKG+F
 vt aux sec

"The shallow water is full of them and we shoot them."

134 *Faya* *aba* *me* , *okobi* , *okiti*
 faya aba me o- ka abi o- ka iti
 so fish sp 3PL 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
 conj nm pron nm nm

, *okiti* *batiteba* , *Hiya* , *aba*
 o- ka iti bati -tee -ba hiya aba
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 3SG.POSS.father HAB FUT come on fish sp
 nm nm interj nm

me *sa* *omate*
 me saa o- na -mate
 3PL.O shoot with arrow 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F
 pron vt aux

"Let's go, I'm going to shoot *aba* fish," my grandfather's father said.'

135 *Oko* *yibote* *fimiharake*
 o- ka yibote fimi -hara -ke
 1SG.POSS POSS wife be hungry IP.E+F DECL+F
 prt nf vi

"My wife is hungry."

136 *Oko* *yibote* *fimiha* *owakanakosa* *ahi*
 o- ka yibote fimi+F o- ka- kana -kosa+F ahi
 1SG.POSS POSS wife be hungry 1SG.S COMIT leave middle there
 prt nf vi vt dem

"My wife is hungry, and I left her there."

137 *Oko* *yibote* *fimiharake*
 o- ka yibote fimi -hara -ke
 1SG.POSS POSS wife be hungry IP.E+F DECL+F
 prt nf vi

"My wife is hungry."

138 *Oko* *yibote* *owakanakosa* *haro*
 o- ka yibote o- ka- kana -kosa+F haaro
 1SG.POSS POSS wife 1SG.S COMIT leave middle that one+F
 prt nf vt dem

"I left my wife there."

139 *Aba* *me* *sa* *oni* *ya* *aba* *me*
 aba me saa o- na.NOM+F ya aba me
 fish sp 3PL.O shoot with arrow 1SG.S AUX ADJU fish sp 3PL.O
 nm pron vt aux prt nm pron

owakamabana *oke* *mata*
 o- ka- ka -ma -habana o- ke mata
 1SG.S COMIT go/come back FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F for now
 vt prt prt

"When I have shot some *aba* fish, I will bring them."

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

140 *Inamate* *owa* *abiyo* , *kokori* *bako*
 inamate owa abiyo+M , kokori bako
 child 1SG.O want the presence of 3SG.POSS.father-in-law chest+M
 nm pron vt nm pn

ibeka
 ibI -ka
 fill DECL+M
 vt

"The boy misses me. He is filling his father-in-law's stomach."

141 *Oof* , *kakamaki* *nofamate* *ati* *ama* ,
 oof , ka- ka -makI na nofa -mate ati ama
 hoo DUP go/come following AUX recently short time+M voice be
 interj vi aux pn vc

ota owa
 ota owa
 1SG.POSS.affinal relative
 nm

"Our in-law doesn't have any food, why doesn't he come here?"

142 *E owa* *tikamakiya* *mata* .
 e owa ti- ka -makI -yahi mata
 brother-in-law 2SG.S go/come following DIST.IMP+F for now
 voc vi prt

"Our in-law, come to be with us."

143 *Tikamamatiya* *ahi* .
 ti- ka -ma -mata -yahi ahi
 2SG.S go/come back short time DIST.IMP+F here
 vi dem

"You come here."

144 *E* *winakanikima* *namatahi* *mata* *ahi* .
 ee wina -kanikima na -mata -hi mata ahi
 1IN.S live scattered AUX short time IMP+F for now here
 pron vi aux prt dem

"We will each live in our own house."

145 *Aba* *me* *e* *kabakaba* *kawahibeya* *ahi* .
 aba me ee kaba- kaba ka- na -waha -be -ya ahi
 fish sp 3PL.O 1IN.S DUP eat COMMIT AUX change IMMED+F now here
 nm pron pron vt aux dem

"Let's eat *aba* fish a while more."

146 *Tiwinama* *ahi* *kowani* *ka* *ya* .
 ti- wina -ma ahi kowani ka ya
 2SG.S live back there other side LOC ADJU
 vi dem nf prt prt

"You live over there on the other side."

147 *Awa* , *awa* *e* *bore* *nibeya* .
 awa , awa ee bore na -be -ya
 garden garden 1IN.S pull out AUX IMMED+F now
 nf nf pron vt aux

"Let's make gardens."

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

148 *Awa e bore nibeya aba me wini*
 awa ee bore na -be -ya aba me wina.NOM+F
 garden 1IN.S pull out AUX IMMED+F now fish sp 3PL.S live
 nf pron vt aux nm pron vi

karo

karo
 LOC
 prt

"Let's make gardens where the *aba* fish live."

149 *Aba me wini ka aba me awa , awa me*
 aba me wina.NOM+F ka aba me awa+F , awa me
 fish sp 3PL.S live LOC fish sp 3PL.S see garden 3PL.S
 nm pron vi prt nm pron vt nf pron

bore nemetemone waha
 bore na -hemete -mone waha
 pull out AUX FP.N+F REP+F now
 vt aux prt

'When they saw where the *aba* fish lived, they made gardens there.'²³

150 *Awa me , awa me bore , awa me bore*
 awa me , awa me bore.LIST , awa me bore
 garden 3PL garden 3PL.S pull out garden 3PL.S pull out
 nf pron nf pron vt nf pron vt

na me awa me ti na , awa me ti
 na+F me awa me tii na+F , awa me tii
 AUX 3PL.S tree 3PL.S cut through AUX tree 3PL.S cut through
 aux pron nf pron vt aux nf pron vt

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

'They made gardens. They cleared the underbrush.'

151 *Awa me ka na me , aba me kakaba ya awa*
 awa me kaa na+F me , aba me ka- kaba ya awa
 tree 3PL.S chop AUX 3PL.S fish sp 3PL.S DUP eat ADJU tree
 nf pron vt aux pron nm pron pn prt nf

me ka nemetemoneke ahi
 me kaa na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S chop AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vt aux dem

'They chopped down the trees. They chopped down the trees while eating lots of *aba* fish.'

152 *Awa me ka na awa me ka ni ya , awa*
 awa me kaa na+F awa me kaa na.NOM+F ya , awa
 tree 3PL.S chop AUX tree 3PL.S chop AUX ADJU tree
 nf pron vt aux nf pron vt aux prt nf

ka ni ahaba , aba me kamimetemone
 kaa na.NFIN ahaba+F , aba me ka -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone
 chop AUX die fish sp 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
 result aux vi nm pron vi

amake

ama -ke
 be DECL+F
 vc

23 Siko actually said *awaha*, not *waha*, I'm not sure why.

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

'They chopped down trees. When they finished cutting down the trees, the *aba* fish came back.'

153 *Aba me kama me me tisa*
 aba me ka -ma+F me me tisa
 fish sp 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow
 nm pron vi pron pron vt

nemetemone

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

'The *aba* fish came back, and they shot them.'

154 *Aba me me tisa nemetemone*
 aba me me tisa na -hemete -mone
 fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nm pron pron vt aux

'They shot the *aba* fish.'

155 *Aba me me titisa toemetemone*
 aba me me ti- tisa to- ha -hemete -mone
 fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP shoot with arrow CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nm pron pron vt aux

okomi , *na* , *aati* , *toemetemone* , *bani*
 o- ka ami na a- ati.LIST to- ha -hemete -mone bani
 1SG.POSS POSS mother AUX DUP say CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F animal
 nf aux vt aux nm

me ini ya
 me ini ya
 3PL.POSS tooth+F ADJU
 pron pn prt

'They shot the *aba* fish with animal teeth, my mother used to say.'

156 *Bato tone , bereko amara ya , bereko amara ya ,*
 bato tone bereko ama -ra+F ya bereko ama -ra+F ya
 deer bone nail be NEG ADJU nail be NEG ADJU
 nm pn nf vc prt nf vc prt

bato tone ya aba me me titisa
 bato tone ya aba me me ti- tisa
 deer bone ADJU fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP shoot with arrow
 nm pn prt nm pron pron vt

toemetemone

to- ha -hemete -mone
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 aux

'They used to shoot *aba* fish with deer bones, not with nails.'

157 *Faya aba me me tisa na me aba me*
 faya aba me me tisa na+F me aba me
 so fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.S fish sp 3PL
 conj nm pron pron vt aux pron nm pron

, *okobi* , *okiti* , *bati* ,
 o- ka abi o- ka iti bati
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 3SG.POSS.father
 nm nm nm

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

161 *Aba* *me* *tafe* *aba* *me* *tafe* *aba* *me*
 aba me tafa+M aba me tafa+M aba me
 fish sp 3PL.O wrap fish sp 3PL.O wrap fish sp 3PL.O
 nm pron vt nm pron vt nm pron

tabasi *ne* , *aba* *me* *tabasi*
 tabasi na+M , aba me tabasi
 roast on grill AUX fish sp 3PL.O roast on grill
 vt aux nm pron vt

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

'He wrapped the *aba* fish in leaves. He roasted the fish.'

162 *Koko* *iyawa* , *iyawa* *te* *kiahani* *te*
 koko iyawa iyawa tee kiha -hani tee
 mother's brother manioc mash manioc mash 2PL.S have IP.N+F 2PL.S
 nm nf nf pron vt pron

ama ?

ama
 SEC
 sec

""Uncle, do you have manioc mash?""

163 *Iyawa* *warineke* *haro*
 iyawa waa -rI -ne -ke haaro
 manioc mash stand raised surface CONT+F DECL+F that one+F
 nf vi dem

""There is manioc mash there on the floor.""

164 *Iyawa* , *iyawa* *sirematamona* *fahi*
 iyawa iyawa sira -himata -mona fahi
 manioc mash manioc mash toast FP.N+M REP+M then
 nf nf vt dem

'He toasted some manioc mash.'

165 *Iyawa* *sire* , *iyawa* *sire* *aba* *kabe* *aba*
 iyawa sira+M iyawa sira+M aba kaba+M aba
 manioc mash toast manioc mash toast fish sp eat fish sp
 nf vt nf vt nm vt nm

kabakaba *kawahe* *biti* *fame* *aba* *kabe*
 kaba- kaba ka- na -waha+M biti fama+M aba kaba+M
 DUP eat COMMIT AUX change 3SG.POSS.son be two fish sp eat
 vt aux nm vi nm vt

okititeba *bati* *hikatafe*
 o- ka iti -tee -ba bati hi- ka- tafa+M
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather HAB FUT 3SG.POSS.father OC COMMIT eat
 nm nm vt

faya *Tisawimatahi*
 faya ti- sawi -mata -hi
 so 2SG.S be present short time IMP+F
 conj vi

'He toasted some manioc mash. He ate an *aba* fish. He quickly ate the rest of the *aba* fish. He ate the *aba* fish with his son. My grandfather ate with his father. "You stay here for now."'

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

166 *Koko* *ni ya tisawiya* *mata*
 koko ni ya ti- sawi -yahi mata
 2SG.POSS.mother's brother to ADJU 2SG.S be present DIST.IMP+F for now
 nm prt prt vi prt

"You stay with your uncle for now."

167 *Aba me osemamatibe*
 aba me o- to- isi -ma -mata -be
 fish 3PL.O 1SG.S away drop off back short time IMMED+F
 nm pron vt

ami ni ya
 ami ni ya
 2SG.POSS.mother to ADJU
 nf prt prt

"I'm going to take some fish to your mother."

168 *Ota banaminaba otake*
 otaa bana -mina -haba otaa -ke
 1EX.S move away morning FUT+F 1EX.S DECL+F
 pron vi pron

"We're going to move tomorrow."

169 *Aba me e kabibeya*
 aba me ee kaba -be -ya
 fish sp 3PL.O 1IN.S eat IMMED+F now
 nm pron pron vt

"We're going to eat *aba* fish."

170 *Aba me e kabibe*
 aba me ee kaba -be
 fish sp 3PL.O 1IN.S eat IMMED+F
 nm pron pron vt

"We're going to eat *aba* fish."

171 *Oko awa itamata mata*
 o- ka awa ita -mata mata
 1SG.POSS POSS garden stay short time for now
 prt nf vi prt

"Let my garden be for now."

172 *Awa titi ona itine*
 awa ti- tii o- na+F ita -ne
 garden DUP cut through 1SG.S AUX stay CONT+F
 nf vt aux vi

"My garden that I started to cut down will sit."

173 *Oko amo ni tamarabana oke*
 o- ka amo na.NFIN tama -ra -habana o- ke
 1SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX be many NEG FUT+F 1SG.POSS DECL+F
 prt vi aux vi prt

ahi
 ahi
 there
 dem

"I will not be there many days."

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

174 *Oko* *amo* *ni* *tamarabana* *oni*
 o- ka amo na.NFIN tama -ra -habana o- ni
 1SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX be many NEG FUT+F 1SG.POSS BKG+F
 prt vi aux vi prt

"I will not be many days."

175 *Kamakabote* *onabana* *oni*
 ka -ma -kabote o- na -habana o- ni
 go/come back quickly 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi aux prt

"I'll come back soon."

176 *Ee*
 ee
 yes
 interj

"All right."

177 *Oko* *amo* *ni* *famabana* *oni*
 o- ka amo na.NFIN fama -habana o- ni
 1SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX be two FUT+F 1SG.POSS BKG+F
 prt vi aux vi prt

"I'll be there two days."

178 *Oko* *amo* *ni* *fami* *ya* *kobo*
 o- ka amo na.NFIN fama.NOM+F ya kobo
 1SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX be two ADJU arrive
 prt vi aux vi prt vi

onamabana *ahi*
 o- na -ma -habana ahi
 1SG.S AUX back FUT+F here
 aux dem

"After two days I'll arrive back."

179 *Oka* *yobeba* *oka* *yobeba* *sakosako*
 o- ka yobe -ba o- ka yobe -ba sako- sako
 1SG.POSS POSS thatch FUT 1SG.POSS POSS thatch FUT DUP tie
 prt nm prt nm vt

tikawaiyahi
 ti- ka- na -waha -yahi
 2SG.S COMIT AUX change DIST.IMP+F
 aux

"You fasten the thatch on my roof together."

180 *Yobe* *sako* *yobe* *tati* *yoto* *tikani* *ya*
 yobe sako.LIST yobe tati yoto ti- ka- na.NOM+F ya
 house tie house top cover 2SG.S COMIT AUX ADJU
 nm vt nm pn vt aux prt

tasi *onamabana* *oke*
 tasi o- na -ma -habana o- ke
 emerge 1SG.S AUX back FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi aux prt

"When you close up the top of the roof, I'll appear."

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

- 181 *Ee*
 ee
 yes
 interj
 "All right."
- 182 *Faya yana tonematamona fahi*
 faya yana to- na -himata -mona fahi
 so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj vi aux dem
 'He left.'
- 183 *Yana tone yana tonematamona okobi*
 yana to- na+M , yana to- na -himata -mona o- ka abi
 start CH AUX start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father
 vi aux vi aux nm
aati tohemari amaka
 a- ati to- ha -himari ama -ka
 DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+M
 vt aux sec
 'He left. He left, my father said.'
- 184 *Okiti atimatamona okobi*
 o- ka iti ati -mata -mona o- ka abi
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather voice FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father
 nm pn nm
hihiyara toemari
 hi- hiyara to- ha -himari
 OC tell CH AUX FP.E+M
 vt aux
 'My father reported what my grandfather used to say.'
- 185 *Faya yana tone tokome fawa*
 faya yana to- na+M to- ka -ma+M fawa
 so start CH AUX away go/come back disappear
 conj vi aux vi vi
tonakosame biti tosawikosa
 to- na -kosa -ma+M , biti to- sawi -kosa.LIST ,
 away AUX middle back 3SG.POSS.son CH be present middle
 aux nm vi
kokori ni ya
 kokori ni ya
 3SG.POSS.father-in-law to ADJU
 nm prt prt
 'He left. He went. He went into the forest. His son stayed behind with his uncle.'
- 186 *Biti tosawikose bati kame*
 biti to- sawi -kosa+M bati ka -ma+M ,
 3SG.POSS.son CH be present middle 3SG.POSS.father go/come back
 nm vi nm vi
amo ni tofamame ya kamematamona
 amo na.NFIN to- fama -ma.NOM+M ya ka -ma -himata -mona
 sleep AUX away be two back ADJU go/come back FP.N+M REP+M
 vi aux vi prt vi

THEY DISCOVERED THE ABA FISH

fahi .

fahi
then
dem

'His son stayed behind. His father came back. He was away for two days, and then he came back.'

187 *Kame* , *kobo* *name* , *Okobi*
ka -ma+M , kobo na -ma+M , o- ka abi
go/come back arrive AUX back 1SG.POSS POSS father
vi vi aux nm

kame , *okobi* *kame* , *koko* ,
ka -ma+M , o- ka abi ka -ma+M , koko ,
go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS father go/come back mother's brother
vi nm vi nm

koko *okobi* *kame* *okobi*
koko o- ka abi ka -ma+M o- ka abi
mother's brother 1SG.POSS POSS father go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS father
nm nm vi nm

, *yama* , *hinaka* *yobebona* *yama* *onahareka* .
yama hinaka yobe -bona yama o- na -hare -ka
thing 3SG.POSS thatch INT+M work on 1SG.S AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
nf pron nm vt aux

'He came back. He arrived back. "My father came back. Uncle, my father came back. I worked on his thatch for him.'"

188 *Hiwa* *winamaka* .
hiwa wina -ma -ka
only.M live back DECL+M
pron vi

""Let him come and live here.'"

189 *Winamataho* , *oof* .
wina -mata -ho oof
live short time IMP+M hoo
vi interj

""Let him live here for now.'"

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

Free Translation

They were ready to leave, and they spoke. They were going to eat fish. The Brazilians called the deep place in the stream Buchão. It's Buchão now. It was a deep place in the stream.

"Let's go fishing with our hands in the deep place in the stream. Let's grab fish with our hands," they said.

They went into the water. They went into the depths. They grabbed fish with their hands. They brought the fish out.

Their wives came to them. They rotated a stick on cotton, since they didn't have matches. A flame emerged. They roasted fish on coals. They ate the fish.

They went back to the water. They disappeared into the water. They brought fish back out.

"You roast the fish on the grill. Let's eat them. Roasted they are good," they said. They ate fish.

"Come on, shall we go? Yes, let's grab more fish with our hands."

They went off to grab some more fish with their hands. They disappeared in the water. They caught more fish with their hands, and came up again. They took the fish onto the bank.

"Come on, let's get going. Let's sleep. We'll catch fish in the morning. Right, we'll catch them in the morning."

They went home. They slept back in the village. They ate. They slept.

Morning came. "It's morning."

"Yeah, it's morning."

His brother-in-law called him. "Yowa, Yowa."

"What?"

"Yowa, come on, let's eat."

"Yeah, let's go, let's eat." They got ready. They went out.

They had gotten up early. They arrived at the stream.

"There are lots of fish, and we are catching them all the time. Look at them." They always caught lots of fish.

"I'm going to take a little snuff. Let's take a bit of snuff."

"Right." They took snuff.

When they had all taken snuff, they were ready. They went underwater. "Splash, splash." They all disappeared.

Their wives came after them. "They haven't come up yet. They're underwater."

They were about to come up. They had caught fish and killed them, and they brought them back up, dead. They came up. They emerged on the surface.

"Whew. Did you come after us?"

"Yes, we did. We are here waiting."

"Light a fire. Roast the fish on the grill."

They roasted the fish, to eat them. They rotated the fire stick. They caused a flame to appear. They roasted the fish. The women got firewood. The women split the firewood. They toasted manioc mash.

They went down again. They came back up. They brought fish back. They carried fish in

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

their hands. They appeared carrying the fish. "Whew."

When they had eaten again, they went down again, full.

"Let's put these away for now. Let's go home now. We'll catch some more in the morning."

"Right, we'll catch them in the morning. What do you say?"

"Yowa, Yowa, come on, Yowa." The other one, Mawa. "Come on, Mawa, let's go." They were red like blood, their necks were red. My grandmother used to say their necks were red.

They went. They went and ate there. They slept. They slept back in the village several nights.

Morning came again. "Yowa, Yowa."

"What?"

"Yowa, it's morning."

"Yeah, it's morning."

"Come on, let's catch fish."

They were ready to go catch fish with their hands again. They went to the water. They went to the water before dawn.

They wanted snuff. They took snuff again. They took snuff, all of them. "It's good to swallow the snuff flem underwater."

They went under. They came back to the surface bringing fish. They went underwater. They disappeared. They came back. "Come and get the fish here," they said to their wives. They threw the fish on the bank.

They went down again. "Let's get fish, so they can be roasted." They went under again. "There are always lots of fish in the deep place in the stream. The deep place in the stream is always full of fish. We always catch them." They went down again. They disappeared. They grabbed fish. They came back. They were swimming carrying the fish. They threw the fish.

The women came and got the fish. They gutted the fish. They took the fish away. "Are they to be roasted on the grill?"

"Yes, roast them on the grill. They will be taken back roasted." They roasted the fish.

"Wait, let's go and take a look at them again." They went down again. They caught fish and brought them back. They went and got more fish.

"Come on, that's enough. That's enough for now. Let's plant our gardens. Let's plant gardens that we have burned. When we have planted the gardens which we have burned, and when we have finished planting manioc, we will go into the water again, to catch fish.

"Right, that's all right," they said.

They were ready to go. They planted manioc all day long. It was very hot, and they were naked, since clothes didn't exist. They planted manioc naked in the heat of the day. They didn't drink water, either. After the sun set they came back. They finished planting the whole garden. They came back. They arrived back.

"Well, are you finished scraping the manioc?"

"Yes, it's all done. I finished it all."

"We planted all of it. It was done quickly."

"Aren't there going to be bananas?"

"We'll plant bananas, pineapples, *haso taro*, *nakafira taro*, yams, everything, when we come back. When we come back, we'll plant all the crops. There will be yams. There will be *haso taro*. There will be *nakafira taro*. There will be corn. We'll plant corn. And we'll plant all the crops. Also *soba* tubers, and *yaro* vine. The burned out tree that will support my *yaro* vines is there in the middle. The tree for the *yaro* vine to climb up is there in the middle of the garden."

"Where will my *yaro* vine be?" they asked. They carried *yaro* vines in their hands. They

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

carried *yaro* vines. They were ready, they went.

They planted *yaro* vines. They planted the garden. They planted bananas, and all the other crops.

They came back again at sunset. They arrived back again. They didn't bathe. They planted the garden. They didn't bathe, so they could bathe the next day, they said, my grandmother used to say. My grandmother reported her father's words, at night. They didn't bathe. They planted the crops. They didn't bathe.

They slept. They got up early, my grandmother used to say. They got up early. They took a lot of snuff. After they took a lot of snuff, they left off taking snuff, and then they went to the water.

"You all line up there along the bank, sitting together. We'll all go underwater. The fish will all stay together [because we will hem them in]."

They all went underwater. They caught fish with their hands. They brought the fish up.

"They didn't come. You put the fish there on the ground, for them to roast them."

They took the fish. The fish were all scattered on the bank.

The women came. "Yoo-hoo. Here we are."

"Did you come?"

The women came. They arrived.

"The fish are in a pile there. These are mine, these are my older brother's, my younger brother's, Mawa's, Fawa's. Fawa's are on the other side of mine. Fawa's are there on the ground. Those of many others are there on the ground. They went in there. We're going after them to see them."

They went in. They went underwater after them to see them. Two of them went in. They caught fish with their hands. "Whew."

They brought the fish up. One of them who had disappeared came to them. He didn't come. They waited for him. He came. He emerged from the water. He was holding fish. "Whew, you almost caused me trouble."

"What is it?"

"The water in which we always fish is always without problems, but something wanted to get me and I saw it standing there. It was standing there in the hole. I caught this fish there. I came back really fast. The thing was standing there, really tall. The hole went way down. The thing stood this tall." The thing that takes people away would take them away.

"Come on, you'll see it. Come. You don't believe me, but you'll see it," he said. "How is it that in our water, which we catch fish in with our hands, which you say is always clear, a thing made me afraid? The thing made me afraid.

You'll see it. Come on, you'll see it. Come."

They went in, all of them. They all went in.

The women sat on the ground eating. They wouldn't eat anymore. They sat on the edge of the water eating.

"It must be a monster." They didn't really want to go but they went, to see it. They wanted to see it. In order to see it, they got up. They went in. They went underwater. They didn't come back. They would not come back. They would disappear. They saw it and went after it, and they disappeared, hurt. They didn't come back.

The women went home. They cried. Their crying could be heard. They slept. "Let's sleep. We'll take a look at them tomorrow." They were going to see them the next day, and they slept.

They came again. They got up early. They arrived. "You come, all of you. Let's go see them. Are they living there?"

"I guess they are living there. I guess they are living at the bottom of the stream," they said.

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"Come on."

"Yes, come on, let's go see them."

The women were ready to go see them. They were ready. They went underwater, "Splash, splash." They went after them. They didn't come back. They would not come back. They disappeared, just like their husbands. They didn't come back.

Their children sat on the ground crying. One of them had been carrying a child on her back. She went underwater after them, carrying her son. She disappeared, child and all. The women didn't come back. They stayed living at Yiwa Me Fawa Kani.

The children cried. The adolescent boys sat, calling, "Father, Father, Mother, Mother," because there was no one to be with them. They called out. "My father and the others didn't come back. Why did they disappear? They were always catching fish, and now they disappeared."

The adolescents and the younger children slept. They slept hungry. They saw when day dawned. "Come on, let's go see them," they said. Their children got up early to go see them. They were adolescents. They came after them with the little ones. "They always went here. I think my mother is living here. Here, little sister, come on, I will carry you." He was brave. He hoisted his sister onto his back. "Let's go take a look at my mother. Come. Let's go after them." They went after them. All of them came after them.

"I'm going after them. I'm going to die in the water," one of them said. "I think the deep water does harm."

"I think it will be all right. I think that my father and the others are living there. Let's go and find my father and the others, come on." "Splash, splash." He carried his younger sister. The other one carried his younger brother. The other one carried his younger brother. They carried them and went after them. They had cried. They went after them, but they would not come back. They disappeared just like their fathers. There wasn't one left. It was all of them. They all disappeared in the water.

The deep place in the stream is now Buchão. It's the deep place in the stream where they used to catch fish with their hands. It is Buchão now, because the Brazilians gave it this name. They disappeared. There was no one left where they had slept.

There was a cousin of one of them, he always ate her food, and called her cousin. His cousin always fed him when he came, and he came to see her. He came.

"Yikes, everything is quiet." Everything was quiet. "They were always making lots of noise, why aren't they saying anything? Here, let me take a look at their village. Let me look at their village a little."

He came. He stood looking around. "There, look, their house is empty. What are they doing that their house is empty? Where are they? Just a minute, let me look at the stream. Look, there is their grill for roasting fish."

He came. He called. "Yoohoo, where are you? Where have you disappeared to?" They disappeared.

He was a spirit. The spirit had seen them disappear, and he appeared. "Whew." The spirit appeared. "Is that you calling?"

"I'm calling them. I'm calling the ones who disappeared."

"You are calling the ones who disappeared. They aren't going to come back, they are going to live down there. Something shut them in, and they live there now. The rock fell on them," the spirit said, my grandmother used to say, my father used to say.

"Are you going to see them? If you go see them, you won't come back. They aren't going to come back, they are living underwater. The rock fell on them, and they are living there," the spirit said. The spirit told the story. "Go home. I'm going, too."

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"Really?"

"Really. I'm warning you. Go home. If you go see them, you won't come back. Go back to your wife."

"My cousin, whose food I always ate, is now living underwater. That thing doesn't give up," he said. "Whew, my cousin, whose food I always ate and who has disappeared, her crops are in the field. I'm going to live in her village now and eat her manioc. Her manioc which they had planted was growing all in rows. My cousin's manioc is growing there. I'm going to live where the manioc is. Let it be. I'm going."

He went. He went back to his own people. He went walking upstream over there. He went back upstream. He went back and told about them. "Whew, they disappeared. They are said to be living underwater. A spirit spoke. It is their village. Their manioc is growing in their gardens which they planted. There are many things growing which they planted: pineapple, *nakafira* taro, *haso* taro. I'm going to eat my cousin's crops," he said.

"I came back. I thought I was going to cry, grieving for my cousin. I held in my grief as I came. It's sad. I used to eat my cousin's food, and it's sad. As I came, a collared peccary startled me, it was there and I didn't see it. The peccary went, 'Hee, hee, hee.' I didn't shoot an arrow at it, but came on, because I was sad. The peccary went away. I didn't shoot the peccary with an arrow. I was grieving as I came. The blowgun which I was carrying, which belonged to our affinal relative, is lying there on the trail. I will get it tomorrow."

They listened to the news about them. "Come on, let's see their village," they said. They lived way over there.

They came downstream. They arrived at the others' village. "Where is the trail?"

"This is their trail."

"I'm going to shoot a fish with an arrow." So he went to where the people had always caught fish with their hands. He went to shoot a fish with an arrow. Wow, there were a lot of fish all together. He shot a fish with an arrow. He hit the fish on the head with a stick. He went further downstream. He found some more fish. He shot another fish with an arrow. He shot a few more fish with arrows. He came back upstream. "That's enough. They will be eaten tomorrow."

He came back. He arrived back, carrying the fish. "You haven't seen the fish in the deep place in the stream, the fish they always ate. At the deep place in the stream the fish they always ate are right at the edge. I shot one which was at the edge. I'm going to shoot others tomorrow. The fish which were their downfall are numerous. I think that the fish which they caught with their hands caused their ruin. It seems a rock fell on them. 'A rock fell on them,' I thought, as I shot a fish."

So they roasted the fish on a grill. They ate the fish. They ate. They toasted manioc mash. They ate the manioc mash. They ate the fish.

"I could go in the water after the people who always ate the good-tasting fish and disappeared, but I'm not going to. I will just eat fish. I'm going to shoot a fish tomorrow, so I can eat fish. I think it was because there were so many fish that they caused their ruin. The fish are right at the edge. They are living with the fish."

"Is it Fawa, Fawakane?"

"Yes, it's Fawakane. He is living with the fish now, along with Mawa. Mawa is with Fawakane. They are eating underwater now. They are not coming back."

"Shall we live in their village?"

"Let's live in their village. When we have shot some fish with arrows and roasted them, we will go home. The crops haven't grown big yet."

"Right, let the crops grow a while. Look at my cousin's former crops. Look at the crops my cousin planted, *nakafira* taro, *haso* taro, on the edge of the garden. The fish are taking the place of

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the yams, pineapples, and all the garden crops. [That is, now it is the time to eat fish, and later when the crops are ready, it will be the time to eat crops.]"

He went home. He missed his cousin who was gone. He went to Momonena. They lived at Monena, my father's people, the people of long ago. He went to where my father's father's people were living. He arrived.

"They disappeared. The people who went in the water disappeared. My cousin whose food I ate disappeared," he said.

"What happened to them?"

"I don't know. Nobody saw it. A spirit said they disappeared, he was standing there. I was calling for them and the spirit heard me calling and he stood there and told me about them. 'Don't call for them. You are calling for people who disappeared,' the spirit said to me. I was calling for them and the spirit came to me. 'You are calling for people who disappeared. They are living underwater,' the spirit said. You haven't seen the crops they planted, the people who disappeared. Let's eat the crops. Let's go. Let's live there. Let's live there in their village, come on."

My father and the others were teenagers. They were the sons of Bono Wiyo when he married. My grandfather and the others set out. They came. They arrived. It's the place in the stream where the water is deep. They arrived at the place in the stream where the water is deep. "Wow, look at the crops in the garden. The crops they planted are there."

"They are underwater. The spirit said they disappeared."

Wow, the fish which they caught with their hands were there at the edge of the stream. "They caused their ruin. Look at them." They had arrows. Now they had arrows. They shot fish with arrows. They ate fish after they arrived. They lived there. They lived there and ate.

"Shall we make a new garden?"

"Let's make a new garden. There are our manioc cuttings. We can't let our manioc cuttings go bad."

They made a garden for the manioc cuttings, so they wouldn't let them go bad. They lived there, my father's father used to say, my grandfather used to say. My father used to tell about them. My grandmother used to tell what he said. They lived there. They lived here. They ate, they ate fish. They cleared brush. They cut down trees. When their trees dried, they would burn the trees. They would burn the trees when the *wahana* cicada sang. The trees would be burned when the *wahana* cicada sang. They burned the trees when the *wahana* cicada sang. They burned the trees in the heat of the summer. They burned all the trees. They sang as the trees burned. The women sang. When the trees went out they stopped singing.

The looked at the burned trees. "The trees burned well. Let's plant the garden." They wanted to plant the garden.

"Wait, let the trees cool off. Let the trees cool off for a while. Later the garden will be planted."

So they slept.

"We will shoot fish with arrows a while." They went out to shoot fish with arrows. They shot fish during the day. They carried the fish which had been killed by their arrows. They brought the fish back. They arrived back. They roasted the fish on a grill.

"Did you make manioc cuttings?"

"Yes, we did. The manioc cuttings are standing there in the house."

Morning came. They ate. As they ate, they thought about the manioc. They wanted to make holes for planting manioc. So they planted the garden. They planted the garden during the day. When the sun set they came back. They arrived back, to eat. They bathed in order to eat. when the

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sun set they ate. It got dark on them.

Interlinear Presentation

1 *Me* , *me* *yana* *tonaba* *me* , *me* *ati* *yana*
 me me yana to- na -haba me me ati yana
 3PL 3PL.S start CH AUX FUT+F 3PL 3PL.POSS voice start
 pron pron vi aux pron pron pn vi
tonemete *me* , *aba* *me* *me* *kabateba* *mati*
 to- na -hemete me , aba me me kaba -tee -haba mati
 CH AUX FP.N+F 3PL fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat HAB FUT+F 3PL.S
 aux pron nm pron pron vt pron
 'They were ready to leave, and they spoke. They were going to eat fish.'

2 *Aba* *me* , *fa* , *fa* *nabatiri* *ya* , *fa* *nabatiri* ,
 aba me , faha , faha nabatiri ya , faha nabatiri ,
 fish 3PL stream stream pool ADJU water pool
 nm pron nf nf pn prt nf pn
haha *Bosao* *ini* *yara* *me*
 haaha Bosao ini yara me
 this+F (name of place) name+F Brazilian 3PL.S
 dem npropf pn npropm pron
hinawatehemete *amake* *ahi*
 hi- na- wata -hemete ama -ke ahi
 OC CAUS be located FP.N+F SEC DECL+F then
 vt sec dem
 'The Brazilians called the deep place in the stream Buchão.'

3 *Bosao* *toawaineke*
 Bosao to- ha -waha -ne -ke
 (name of place) CH be change CONT+F DECL+F
 npropf vc
 'It's Buchão now.'

4 *Fa* *nabatiri* *totoa* *toemetemoneke* , *fa*
 faha nabatiri to- to- ha to- ha -hemete -mone -ke , faha
 stream pool DUP CH be CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F stream
 nf pn vc aux nf
nabatiri
 nabatiri
 pool
 pn
 'It was a deep place in the stream.'

5 *Fa* *nabatiri* *e* *afi* *nahi*
 faha nabatiri ee afi nahi -hi
 stream pool 1IN.S bathe in AUX IMP+F
 nf pn pron vt aux
 "'Let's go fishing with our hands in the deep place in the stream.'"

6 *Aba* *me* *e* *watibeya* , *me* *ati* *na* *me* *afi*
 aba me ee wata -be -ya , me ati na+F me afi
 fish 3PL.O 1IN.S catch IMMED+F now 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.S bathe
 nm pron pron vt pron vt aux pron vi

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na me , me toka fa boti me toka
na+F me , me to- ka+F faha boti me to- ka+F
AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come water inside 3PL.S away go/come
aux pron pron vi nf pn pron vi

aba me me wata aba me me kakama me
aba me me wata+F aba me me ka- ka -ma+F me
fish 3PL.O 3PL.S catch fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
nm pron pron vt nm pron pron vt pron

, me ka yibote me kamakia me , me
me ka yibote me ka -makI+F me , me
3PL POSS wife 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S 3PL.S
pron prt nf pron vi pron pron

kamakietemoneke

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

'Let's grab fish with our hands,' they said. They went in the water. They went. They went into the depths. They grabbed fish with their hands. They brought the fish out. Their wives came to them. They came.'

7 *Me kamakia me , ee , wafe , wafe*
me ka -makI+F me , ee , wafe , wafe
3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S (pause) cotton cotton
pron vi pron interj nf nf

tiwa tike , wafe , Ara , ahi , wafe , wafe
ti- awa ti- ke , wafe , Ara , ahi , wafe , wafe
2SG.S see 2SG.S DECL+F cotton Alan this cotton cotton
vt prt nf npropm dem nf nf

me wari na , barito watari ya , wafe
me wari na+F , barito wata -ra.NOM+F ya , wafe
3PL.S rotate something on AUX match exist NEG ADJU cotton
pron vt aux nf vi prt nf

me wari nemetemone
me wari na -hemete -mone
3PL.S rotate something on AUX FP.N+F REP+F
pron vt aux

'They came. Cotton, you've seen cotton, Alan. They rotated [a stick on] cotton, since they didn't have matches. They rotated [a stick on] cotton.'

8 *Wafe me wari na yama , yama hiri*
wafe me wari na+F yama , yama hiri
cotton 3PL.S rotate something on AUX thing thing catch fire
nf pron vt aux nf nf vi

ni tasi tonemetemoneke
na.NFIN tasi to- na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX emerge CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux vi aux

'They rotated on cotton. A flame emerged.'

9 *Aba me me yoka me aba me me*
aba me me yoka+F me aba me me
fish 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on coals 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S
nm pron pron vt pron nm pron pron

yokehemetemoneke ahi
yoka -hemete -mone -ke ahi
roast on coals FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
vt dem

'They roasted fish on coals.'

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

10 *Aba me me yoka me aba me me kaba*
 aba me me yoka+F me aba me me kaba+F
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on coals 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat
 nm pron pron vt pron nm pron pron vt
me , me tokoma me fawa na aba me
 me , me to- ka -ma+F me fawa na+F aba me
 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S disappear AUX fish 3PL.O
 pron pron vi pron vi aux nm pron
me kakamemetemoneke
 me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S COMMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vt

'They roasted fish on coals. They ate the fish. They went back to the water. They disappeared. They brought fish back out.'

11 *Aba me kakama aba me , aba me , me*
 aba me ka- ka -ma+F aba me , aba me , me
 fish 3PL.O COMMIT go/come back fish 3PL fish 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nm pron vt nm pron nm pron pron
te tabasi nahi
 tee tabasi na -hi
 2PL.S roast on grill AUX IMP+F
 pron vt aux

'They brought fish back out. "You roast the fish on the rack."²⁴

12 *Me te tabasi nahi*
 me tee tabasi na -hi
 3PL.O 2PL.S roast on grill AUX IMP+F
 pron pron vt aux

""You roast the fish on the rack.""

13 *Me e kabibeya*
 me ee kaba -be -ya
 3PL.O 1IN.S eat IMMED+F now
 pron pron vt

""Let's eat them.""

14 *Me kai kabi eto nofa me amake ,*
 me kaha.NFIN kaba.NFIN eheto nofa+F me ama -ke
 3PL.S be toasted eat be good recently 3PL.POSS SEC DECL+F
 pron vi result vi prt pron sec
me ati nemetemoneke
 me ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vt aux

""Roasted they are good," they said.'

15 *Aba me me kaba me , Hima e*
 aba me me kaba+F me , hima ee
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S let's go 1IN.S
 nm pron pron vt pron interj pron
tokomibana ?
 to- ka -ma+F -bana
 away go/come back FUT
 vi

24 There is a *me* missing in the first clause.

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

"They ate fish. "Come on, shall we go?"

16 *Hibare mata*
 hibare mata
 wait for now
 interj prt

"Wait."

17 *Aba me one e watamakematahi*
 aba me one ee wata -makI -mata -hi
 fish 3PL other+F 1IN.S catch following short time IMP+F
 nm pron adj pron vt

"Let's grab some more fish with our hands."

18 *Aba me one me watamakebone me*
 aba me one me wata -makI -habone me
 fish 3PL other+F 3PL.S catch following INT+F 3PL.S
 nm pron adj pron vt pron

tokoma me me tokoma me fawa
 to- ka -ma+F me , me to- ka -ma+F me fawa
 away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S disappear
 vi pron pron vi pron vi

na me , aba me watani me
 na+F me , aba me wata -hani me
 AUX 3PL.S fish 3PL.O catch IP.N+F 3PL.S
 aux pron nm pron vt pron

kamatase metemoneke

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

"They went off to grab some more fish with their hands. They went. They disappeared. They caught more fish with their hands, and came up again."²⁵

19 *Me kama me , aba me me*
 me ka -ma+F me , aba me me
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron vi pron nm pron pron

towakimisa me aba me , Hima , e yana
 to- ka- ka -misa+F me aba me , hima , ee yana
 away COMIT go/come up 3PL.S fish 3PL let's go 1IN.S start
 vi pron nm pron interj pron vi

nahi

na -hi
 AUX IMP+F
 aux

"They came up. They took the fish onto the bank. "Come on, let's get going."

20 *E amo nibeya*
 ee amo na -be -ya
 1IN.S sleep AUX IMMED+F now
 pron vi aux

"Let's sleep."

²⁵ There is a *me* missing, it should be *aba me me watani*.

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

21 *Aba me e waka , waka naminabanake*
 aba me ee waka , waka na -mina -habana -ke
 fish 3PL.O 1IN.S kill kill AUX morning FUT+F DECL+F
 nm pron pron vt vt aux

"We'll kill fish in the morning."

22 *Ee , me e waka naminabanake*
 ee , me ee waka na -mina -habana -ke
 yes 3PL.S 1IN.S kill AUX morning FUT+F DECL+F
 interj pron pron vt aux

"Right, we will kill them in the morning."

23 *Faya me tokoma me , me*
 faya me to- ka -ma+F me , me
 so 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron pron

tokometemoneke

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

'They went home.'

24 *Me amo tonama me me tafa me amo na ,*
 me amo to- na -ma+F me me tafa+F me amo na+F
 3PL.S sleep away AUX back 3PL.S 3PL.S eat 3PL.S sleep AUX
 pron vi aux pron pron vi pron vi aux

me amo nemetemoneke
 me amo na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

'They slept back in the village. They ate. They slept.'

25 *Me amo na me , yama we*
 me amo na+F me , yama wehe
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S thing light+F
 pron vi aux pron nf pn

kamakietemone amani
 ka -makI -hemete -mone ama -ni
 go/come following FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
 vi sec

'They slept. Morning came.'

26 *Yama we kamakia , yama we , Yama*
 yama wehe ka -makI+F , yama wehe , yama
 thing light+F go/come following thing light+F thing
 nf pn vi nf pn nf

waineni
 waha -ne -ni
 dawn CONT+F BKG+F
 vi

'Morning came. "It's morning."

27 *Ee yama waineni*
 ee yama waha -ne -ni
 yes thing dawn CONT+F BKG+F
 interj nf vi

"Yeah, it's morning."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

- 28 **Faya wabori** **ha hinematamonaka**
 faya wabori haa hi- na -himata -mona -ka
 so 3SG.POSS brother-in-law call OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj nm vt aux
 'His brother-in-law called him.'
- 29 **Yowa** , **Yowa**
 Yowa , Yowa
 (man's name) (man's name)
 npropm npropm
 "'Yowa, Yowa.'"
- 30 **Hoo**
 hoo
 huh?
 interj
 "'What?'"
- 31 **Yowa** , **hima** , **e tafibeya**
 Yowa , hima , ee tafa -be -ya
 (man's name) let's go 1IN.S eat IMMED+F now
 npropm interj pron vi
 "'Yowa, come on, let's eat.'"
- 32 **Ee** , **hima** , **e tafibeya**
 ee , hima , ee tafa -be -ya
 yes let's go 1IN.S eat IMMED+F now
 interj interj pron vi
 "'Yeah, let's go, let's eat.'"
- 33 **Me yana tona me yana tonemetemoneke ahi**
 me yana to- na+F me yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi aux pron vi aux dem
- 'They got ready.'
- 34 **Me yana tona me , tisawa me**
 me yana to- na+F me , tisa -waha+F me
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S leave right away change 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron vi pron
- toka me bosa nemetemoneke**
 to- ka+F me bosa na -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come 3PL.S get up early AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi pron vi aux
- 'They got ready. They got ready. They went out. They got up early.'
- 35 **Me bosa na me toka , me kobo**
 me bosa na+F me to- ka+F , me kobo
 3PL.S get up early AUX 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S arrive
 pron vi aux pron vi pron vi
- towitia Me fawa tonofa me ota**
 to- na -witI+F , me fawa to- na nofa+F me otaa
 away AUX out 3PL.S disappear CH AUX recently 3PL.O 1EX.S
 aux pron vi aux pron pron

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

wawata toine , aba mati
 wa- wata to- ha -ne , aba mati
 DUP catch CH AUX CONT+F fish 3PL
 vt aux nm pron

"They got up early. They went out. They arrived at the stream. "There are lots of fish, and we are catching them all the time."

36 **Me tiwa haro**
 me ti- awa haaro
 3PL.O 2SG.S see that one+F
 pron vt dem

"Look at them."

37 **Aba me tama me me wawata**
 aba me tama+F me me wa- wata
 fish 3PL.S be many 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP catch
 nm pron vi pron pron vt

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

'They always caught lots of fish.'

38 **Hiya , sina hisi omate , sina**
 hiya , sina hisi o- na -mate , sina
 come on snuff sniff 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F snuff
 interj nf vt aux nf

"I'm going to take a little snuff."

39 **Sina e hisi namatahi**
 sina ee hisi na -mata -hi
 snuff 1IN.S sniff AUX short time IMP+F
 nf pron vt aux

"Let's take a bit of snuff."

40 **Ee**
 ee
 yes
 interj

"Right."

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

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

'They took snuff.'

42 **Sina me hisi na me , faya me nafi sina hisi**
 sina me hisi na+F me , faya me nafi sina hisi
 snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX 3PL.S so 3PL.POSS all snuff sniff
 nf pron vt aux pron conj pron pn nf vt

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

ni ya , me yana tonemetemoneke ahi
na.NOM+F ya , me yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
AUX ADJU 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
aux prt pron vi aux dem
'They took snuff. When they had all taken snuff, they were ready.'

43 *Me yana tona me , bokehemetemoneke*
me yana to- na+F me , boka -hemete -mone -ke
3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S enter water FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron vi aux pron vi
oooo oooo oooo oooo
oooo oooo oooo oooo
(sound of water) (sound of water) (sound of water) (sound of water)
sound sound sound sound
'They were ready. They went underwater. "Splash, splash."'

44 *Me nafi fawa ni ya , me ka yibote me*
me nafi fawa na.NOM+F ya , me ka yibote me
3PL.POSS all disappear AUX ADJU 3PL POSS wife 3PL.S
pron pn vi aux prt pron prt nf pron
kamaki , Me kamara me awineni
ka -makI.LIST , me ka -ma -ra+F me awine -ni
go/come following 3PL.S go/come back NEG 3PL.S seem+F BKG+F
vi pron vi pron sec
'They all disappeared. Their wives came after them. "They haven't come up yet."'

45 *Me fawa nini*
me fawa na -ni
3PL.S disappear AUX BKG+F
pron vi aux
'"They're underwater."'

46 *Me kamibeni ya , aba me me*
me ka -ma -be -ni ya , aba me me
3PL.S go/come back FUT+F IP.N+F ADJU fish 3PL.O 3PL.S
pron vi prt nm pron pron
watani aba me me , aba me me nabiani
wata -hani aba me me , aba me me na- ahaba -hani
catch IP.N+F fish 3PL.O 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S CAUS die IP.N+F
vt nm pron pron nm pron pron vi
aba me abowi me kakamemetemone
aba me abohi me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone
fish 3PL.POSS dead body 3PL.S COMMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
nm pron pn pron vt
'They were about to come up. They had caught fish and killed them, and they brought the fish back up, dead.'²⁶

47 *Aba me abowi me kakama me , me*
aba me abohi me ka- ka -ma+F me , me
fish 3PL.POSS dead body 3PL.S COMMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S
nm pron pn pron vt pron pron
kama me tasi nama me , Hoo te
ka -ma+F me tasi na -ma+F me , hoo tee
go/come back 3PL.S emerge AUX back 3PL.S whew 2PL.S
vi pron vi aux pron interj pron

²⁶ *kamibeni* is an archaic form, the form according to current use would be *kamibani*.

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

kamakini ?

ka -makI -ni
go/come following BKG+F
vi

"They brought the dead fish up. They came up. They emerged on the surface. "Whew. Did you come after us?"

48 **Ota kamakia otani**
otaa ka -makI+F otaa -ni
1EX.S go/come following 1EX.S BKG+F
pron vi pron

"We came after you."

49 **Ota kamakia otani**
otaa ka -makI+F otaa -ni
1EX.S go/come following 1EX.S BKG+F
pron vi pron

"We came after you."

50 **Ota naomakini**
otaa naho -makI -ni
1EX.S stand following BKG+F
pron vi

"We are here waiting."

51 **Yifo te afo kanahi**
yifo tee afo ka- na -hi
fire 2PL.S light COMMIT AUX IMP+F
nf pron vt aux

"Light a fire."

52 **Aba me te tabasi nahi**
aba me tee tabasi na -hi
fish 3PL.O 2PL.S roast on grill AUX IMP+F
nm pron pron vt aux

"Roast the fish on the rack."

53 **Aba me te tabasi na**
aba me tee tabasi na
fish 3PL.O 2PL.S roast on grill AUX
nm pron pron vt aux

"Roast the fish."

54 **Me e kababanake**
me ee kaba -habana -ke
3PL.O 1IN.S eat FUT+F DECL+F
pron pron vt

"We will eat them."

55 **Faya aba me me tabasi na , awa me wari na**
faya aba me me tabasi na+F , awa me wari na+F
so fish 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX wood 3PL.S turn AUX
conj nm pron pron vt aux nf pron vt aux
, **awa me wari na me , awa me wari na , yama**
awa me wari na+F me , awa me wari na+F , yama
wood 3PL.S turn AUX 3PL.S wood 3PL.S turn AUX thing
nf pron vt aux pron nf pron vt aux nf

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

hiri , *yama* *hiri* *ni* *me* *tasi* *toniha*
 hiri yama hiri na.NFIN me tasi to- niha- na+F
 catch fire thing catch fire AUX 3PL.S emerge CH CAUS AUX
 vi nf vi aux pron vi aux

me , *faya* *aba* , *aba* *me* *me* *tabasi* *nemete*
 me faya aba , aba me me tabasi na -hemete
 3PL.S so fish fish 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX FP.N+F
 pron conj nm nm pron pron vt aux
 'They roasted the fish. They rotated the fire stick. They caused a flame to appear. They roasted the fish.'

56 *Yifo* *awarawa* *yifo* *tafa* *narawa* , *yifo*
 yifo awa -rawa+F yifo tafa na -rawa+F yifo
 firewood see F.PL firewood split AUX F.PL firewood
 nf vt nf vt aux nf

awarawemetemoneke
 awa -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 see F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'The women got firewood. The women split the firewood. They got firewood.'

57 *Yifo* *awarawa* *iyawa* , *iyawa* *me*
 yifo awa -rawa+F iyawa , iyawa me
 firewood see F.PL manioc mash manioc mash 3PL.S
 nf vt nf nf pron

sirehemetemoneke *ahi*
 sira -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 toast FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt dem

'The women got firewood. They toasted manioc mash.'

58 *Iyawa* *me* *sira* *me* , *iyawa* *me* *sira* *me* ,
 iyawa me sira+F me , iyawa me sira+F me ,
 manioc mash 3PL.S toast 3PL.S manioc mash 3PL.S toast 3PL.S
 nf pron vt pron nf pron vt pron

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

'They toasted manioc mash. They went down again. They came back up.'

59 *Aba* *me* *me* *kakamemetemoneni*
 aba me me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 nm pron pron vt

'They brought fish back.'

60 *Aba* *me* *me* *ibori* *kawahemetemone*
 aba me me ibori ka- waha -hemete -mone
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S carry COMMIT dawn FP.N+F REP+F
 nm pron pron vt vi

'They carried fish in their hands.'²⁷

²⁷ *ibori na* is an archaic form; the form in current use is *bokori na*.

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

61 *Aba me me ibori kawaha me tasi nama*
 aba me me ibori ka- na -waha+F me tasi na -ma+F
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S carry COMIT AUX change 3PL.S emerge AUX back
 nm pron pron vt aux pron vi aux
me , Oof hoo faya me tafatasi ya , me tafa
 me , oof hoo faya me tafa -tasa.NOM+F ya , me tafa+F
 3PL.S hoo whew so 3PL.S eat again ADJU 3PL.S eat
 pron interj interj conj pron vi prt pron vi
me , akara me tokomemetemoneni
 me , akara+F me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL.S be satiated 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron vi pron vi

"They appeared carrying the fish."Whew." When they had eaten again, they went down again, full.'

62 *Hine me namati na mata*
 hine me na -mata.NOM+F na mata
 only 3PL.S exist short time AUX for now
 pron pron aux aux prt

"Let's put these away for now."

63 *E tokomamatahi*
 ee to- ka -ma -mata -hi
 1IN.S away go/come back short time IMP+F
 pron vi

"Let's go home now."

64 *Me e wataminabanake*
 me ee wata -mina -habana -ke
 3PL.O 1IN.S catch morning FUT+F DECL+F
 pron pron vt

"We'll catch some more in the morning."

65 *Ee , me e wataminabana*
 ee me ee wata -mina -habana
 yes 3PL.O 1IN.S exist morning FUT+F
 interj pron pron vt

"Right, we'll catch them in the morning."

66 *E tini ?*
 ee ati ti- na -ni
 like this say 2SG.S AUX BKG+F
 dem vt

"What do you say?"

67 *Yowa , Yowa , hima , Yowa*
 Yowa , Yowa , hima , Yowa
 (man's name) (man's name) let's go (man's name)
 npropm npropm interj npropm

"Yowa, Yowa, come on, Yowa."

68 *Ee*
 ee
 (pause)
 interj

"Right."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

69 *Ee* , *owa* , *Mawa* , *Mawa* , *Mawa* ,
 ee , owa , Mawa , Mawa , Mawa ,
 (pause) other+M (man's name) (man's name) (man's name)
 interj adj npropm npropm npropm

Ee , *hima* *Mawa* , *e* *tokomamata*
 ee , hima Mawa , ee to- ka -ma -mata
 yes let's go (man's name) 1IN.S away go/come back short time
 interj interj npropm pron vi

mata

mata
 for now
 prt

'The other one, Mawa. "Right, come on, Mawa, let's go."'

70 *Me* , *me* *ame* *yoyowa* *toemetemone* *ahi* ,
 me me ame yo- yowa to- ha -hemete -mone ahi ,
 3PL 3PL.POSS blood+F DUP reach CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron pron pn vi aux dem

me *namiti* *mawawa* *na* *mati* *haro*
 me namiti mawa -wa na+F mati haaro
 3PL.POSS neck be red DUP AUX 3PL.POSS that one+F
 pron pn vi aux pron dem

'They were red like blood, their necks were red.'

71 *Me* *namiti* *mawawa* *na* *toemetemone*
 me namiti mawa -wa na to- ha -hemete -mone
 3PL.POSS neck be red DUP AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron pn vi aux aux

okaki *aati* *toamaroke*
 o- ka aki a- ati to- ha -hamaro -ke
 1SG.S POSS grandmother DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F
 nf vt aux

'My grandmother used to say their necks were red.'

72 *Faya* *me* *tokomemetemoneke*
 faya me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 so 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj pron vi

'They went.'

73 *Me* *tokoma* *me* *me* *totafama* , *me*
 me to- ka -ma+F me me to- tafa -ma+F , me
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S away eat back 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

totafama *me* *amo* *na* *me* , *me* *amo* *tasa*
 to- tafa -ma+F me amo na+F me , me amo na -tasa+F
 away eat back 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX again
 vi pron vi aux pron pron vi aux

me , *me* *amo* *na* *me* *me* *amo* *ni* , *yama* *we*
 me me amo na+F me me amo na.NFIN , yama wehe
 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX thing light+F
 pron pron vi aux pron pron vi aux nf pn

kamakitasa *yama* *we* *kamakitasa*
 ka -makI -tasa+F , yama wehe ka -makI -tasa+F
 go/come following again thing light+F go/come following again
 vi nf pn vi

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

yama , **Yowa** , **Yowa** .
 yama , Yowa , Yowa
 thing (man's name) (man's name)
 nf npropm npropm
 "They went and ate there. They slept. They slept back in the village. They slept. Morning came again. "Yowa, Yowa."

74 **Haa** .
 haa
 huh?
 interj
 "What?"

75 **Yowa** **yama** **waineni** .
 Yowa yama waha -ne -ni
 (man's name) thing dawn CONT+F BKG+F
 npropm nf vi
 "Yowa, it's morning."

76 **Ee** **yama** **waineke** .
 ee yama waha -ne -ke
 yes thing dawn CONT+F DECL+F
 interj nf vi
 "Yeah, it's morning."

77 **Hima** , **hima** , **aba** **e** **watibeya** .
 hima , hima , aba ee wata -be -ya
 let's go let's go fish 1IN.S catch IMMED+F now
 interj interj nm pron vt
 "Come on, let's catch fish."

78 **Aba** **me** **watabone** , **me** **yana** **tonemetemoneke**
 aba me wata -habone , me yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke
 fish 3PL.S catch INT+F 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron vt pron vi aux

tasa .
 tasa
 again
 prt
 "They were ready to go catch fish with their hands again."

79 **Me** **yana** **tona** **me** **tokifiwawitia** , **me**
 me yana to- na+F me to- ka -fI -waha -witI+F , me
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S away go/come water change out 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron vi pron
tokifiwawitia **yama** **warisi** **ya** .
 to- ka -fI -waha -witI+F yama waha -risa.NOM+F ya
 away go/come water change out thing dawn down ADJU
 vi nf vi prt
 "They were ready. They went to the water. They went to the water before dawn."

80 **Sina** **me** **wati** **kana** **sina** **me** **hisi** **tasa**
 sina me wati ka- na+F sina me hisi na -tasa+F
 snuff 3PL.S go after COMMIT AUX snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX again
 nf pron vt aux nf pron vt aux

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

me , *sina* *me* *hisi* *nemetemoneke* , *me* *nafi* .
 me sina me hisi na -hemete -mone -ke , me nafi
 3PL.S snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS all
 pron nf pron vt aux pron pn
 'They wanted snuff. They took snuff again. They took snuff, all of them.'

81 *Sina* *yoti* , *sina* *yoti* *yome* *ni* *eto* *nofa*
 sina yoti , sina yoti yome na.NFIN eheto nofa+F
 snuff mucus+F snuff mucus+F swallow AUX be good recently
 nf pn nf pn result aux vi prt

amake *faha* *boti* *karo* .
 ama -ke faha boti karo
 SEC DECL+F water inside LOC
 sec nf pn prt

"It's good to swallow the snuff flem underwater."

82 *Faha* *boti* *ka* *sina* *yoti* *yome* *ni* *eheto* *nofa*
 faha boti ka sina yoti yome na.NFIN eheto nofa+F
 water inside LOC snuff mucus+F swallow AUX be good recently
 nf pn prt nf pn result aux vi prt

amake .
 ama -ke
 SEC DECL+F
 sec

"Swallowing snuff flem underwater is good."

83 *Faya* *yama* , *me* *fawa* *na* *me* , *me* *tasi*
 faya yama , me fawa na+F me , me tasi
 so thing 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S emerge
 conj nf pron vi aux pron pron vi

namemetemoneke *aba* *me* *me* *kakama*
 na -ma -hemete -mone -ke aba me me ka- ka -ma+F
 AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come back
 aux nm pron pron vi

mati .
 mati
 3PL.S
 pron

'They went under. They came back to the surface bringing fish.'

84 *Me* *bokemetemoneke* .
 me boka -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S enter water FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They went underwater.'

85 *Me* *boka* *me* *fawa* *na* *me* *kama* *me* ,
 me boka+F me fawa na+F me ka -ma+F me ,
 3PL.S enter water 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi aux pron vi pron

me *ka* *yibote* *me* , *Aba* *me* *te* *nakamaki* ,
 me ka yibote me , aba me tee na- ka -maki ,
 3PL POSS wife 3PL fish 3PL.O 2PL.S CAUS go/come following
 pron prt nf pron nm pron pron vt

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

haro

haaro
that one+F
dem

'They went under water. They disappeared. They came back. "Come and get the fish here," they said to their wives.'

86 *Aba me me were nemetemone ahi*
aba me me were na -hemete -mone ahi
fish 3PL.O 3PL.S throw AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
nm pron pron vt aux dem

'They threw the fish on the bank.'

87 *Aba me me were na me , aba me me were*
aba me me were na+F me , aba me me were
fish 3PL.O 3PL.S throw AUX 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S throw
nm pron pron vt aux pron nm pron pron vt

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

'They threw the fish.'

88 *Me tokomataša Me , ota*
me to- ka -ma -tasa+F me , otaa
3PL.S away go/come back again 3PL.O 1EX.S
pron vi pron pron

tonakamamateya me tabasi
to- na- ka -ma -mate -ya , me tabasi
away CAUS go/come back short time.IMP+F now 3PL.S roast on grill
vt pron result

naba mati
na -haba mati
AUX FUT+F 3PL.S
aux pron

'They went down again. "Let's get them, so they will be roasted."'

89 *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 under again.'

90 *Me tokoma me , fa nabatiri , fa nabatiri*
me to- ka -ma+F me , faha nabatiri , faha nabatiri
3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S stream pool stream pool
pron vi pron nf pn nf pn

aba kiakia raba nofara amake
aba kiha- kiha na -raba na nofa -ra+F ama -ke
fish DUP have AUX a bit AUX recently NEG SEC DECL+F
nm vt aux aux sec

'They went under. "There are always lots of fish in the deep place in the stream."'

91 *Fa nabatiri , fa nabatiri howa tonofara*
faha nabatiri , faha nabatiri howa tonofara
stream pool stream pool be open CH AUX recently NEG
nf pn nf pn vi aux

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

amani **aba** **me** **ihi**
 ama -ni aba me ihi
 SEC BKG+F fish 3PL.POSS because of+F
 sec nm pron post
 "The deep place in the stream is always full of fish."

92 **Me** **ota** **wawata** **toineke**
 me otaa wa- wata to- ha -ne -ke
 3PL.O 1EX.S DUP catch CH AUX CONT+F DECL+F
 pron pron vt aux
 "We always catch them."

93 **Faya** **me** **tokometemoneke**
 faya me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 so 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj pron vi
 "They went down again."

94 **Me** **tokoma** **me** **fawa** **na** **me** , **aba** , **aba**
 me to- ka -ma+F me fawa na+F me , aba , aba
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.S fish fish
 pron vi pron vi aux pron nm nm
me **me** **watemetemone**
 me me wata -hemete -mone
 3PL.O 3PL.S catch FP.N+F REP+F
 pron pron vt
 "They went down again. They disappeared. They grabbed fish."

95 **Aba** **me** **me** **wata** **me** , **kamemetemoneke**
 aba me me wata+F me , ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S catch 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron pron vt pron vi
tasa
 tasa
 again
 prt
 "They grabbed fish. They came back to the surface."

96 **Me** **kama** **me** , **me** **kama** **me** , **faya**
 me ka -ma+F me , me ka -ma+F me , faya
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S so
 pron vi pron pron vi pron conj
me **kama** **me** , **me** **kamemetemone**
 me ka -ma+F me , me ka -ma -hemete -mone
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vi pron pron vi
 "They came back."

97 **Aba** **me** **me** **tibori** **kana** **aba** **me** **me** **were**
 aba me me tibo -ri ka- na+F aba me me were
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S swim DISTR COMIT AUX fish 3PL.O 3PL.S throw
 nm pron pron vi aux nm pron pron vt
nemetemoneke
 na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux
 "They were swimming carrying the fish. They threw the fish."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

98 *Me fanawi* , *me fanawi* *aba* *me* *me* *nakamake* *aba*
 me fanawi , me fanawi aba me me na- ka -makI aba
 women women fish 3PL.O 3PL.S CAUS go/come following fish
 nf nf nm pron pron vt nm

me *me* *soko* *na* *aba* *me* *me* *towakama*
 me me soko na+F aba me me to- ka- ka -ma+F
 3PL.O 3PL.S wash AUX fish 3PL.O 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back
 pron pron vt aux nm pron pron vt

me *Me* *tabasi* *nibana* ?
 me me tabasi na+F -bana ?
 3PL.S 3PL.S roast on grill AUX FUT
 pron pron result aux

"The women came after the fish. They washed the fish. They took the fish away. "Are they to be roasted on the rack?"

99 *Ee* *me* *te* *tabasi* *nahi*
 ee me tee tabasi na -hi
 yes 3PL.O 2PL.S roast on grill AUX IMP+F
 interj pron pron vt aux

"Yes, roast them on the rack."

100 *Me* *te* *tabasi* *nahi*
 me tee tabasi na -hi
 3PL.O 2PL.S roast on grill AUX IMP+F
 pron pron vt aux

"Roast them on the rack."

101 *Me* *kai* *towakamabanake*
 me kaha.NFIN to- ka- ka -ma -habana -ke
 3PL.S be toasted away COMIT go/come back FUT+F DECL+F
 pron vi result

"They will be taken back roasted."

102 *Aba* *me* *me* *tabasi* *nemetemoneke*
 aba me me tabasi na -hemete -mone -ke
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron pron vt aux

"They roasted the fish."

103 *Aba* *me* *me* *tabasi* *na* *me* *Hiba* *me*
 aba me me tabasi na+F me , hiba , me
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX 3PL.S wait 3PL.O
 nm pron pron vt aux pron interj pron

ota *towamamatibe*
 otaa to- awa -ma -mata -be
 1EX.S away see back short time IMMED+F
 pron vt

"They roasted the fish. "Wait, let's go and take a look at them again."

104 *Me* *tokoma* *me* *aba* *me* *me* *watahani*
 me to- ka -ma+F me , aba me me wata -hani
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S catch IP.N+F
 pron vi pron nm pron pron vt

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

aba me me kakamatasa me , aba me me
 aba me me ka- ka -ma -tasa+F me , aba me me
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come back again 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt pron nm pron pron
kakama aba me , tonakamatasa me ,
 ka- ka -ma+F aba me , to- na- ka -ma -tasa+F me ,
 COMIT go/come back fish 3PL.S away CAUS go/come back again 3PL.S
 vt nm pron vt pron

Hima , ee , faya me amani .
 hima ee faya me ama -ni
 let's go (pause) enough 3PL.S be BKG+F
 interj interj adj pron vc

"They went down. They brought back the fish they had caught. They brought the fish. They went and got more fish. "Come on, that's enough."

105 *Faya me amani mata .*
 faya me ama -ni mata
 enough 3PL.S be BKG+F for now
 adj pron vc prt

"That's enough for now."

106 *E ka , e ka awa , e ka awa e*
 ee ka , ee ka awa , ee ka awa ee
 1IN POSS 1IN POSS garden 1IN POSS garden 1IN.S
 pron prt pron prt nf pron prt nf pron

natafamataba ereke .
 na- tafa -mata -haba ere -ke
 CAUS eat short time FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F
 vt pron

"Let's plant our gardens."

107 *Awa e natafamataba ere .*
 awa ee na- tafa -mata -haba ere
 garden 1IN.S CAUS eat short time FUT+F 1IN.S
 nf pron vt pron

"Let's plant the gardens."

108 *Awa , e sari naro , awa e sari na e*
 awa ee sari na -haaro , awa ee sari na+F ee
 garden 1IN.S burn AUX PFUT+F garden 1IN.S burn AUX 1IN.S
 nf pron vt aux nf pron vt aux pron

natafi ya fowa sero ni ahabe ya , e
 na- tafa.NOM+F ya fowa sero na.NFIN ahaba.NOM+M ya , ee
 CAUS eat ADJU manioc hoe AUX end ADJU 1IN.S
 vt prt nm result aux vi prt pron

afi naba eke aba me e wataba e .
 afi na -haba ee -ke aba me ee wata -haba ee
 bathe AUX FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F fish 3PL.O 1IN.S catch FUT+F 1IN.S
 vi aux pron nm pron pron vt pron

"When we have burned the gardens, when we have planted the gardens which we have burned, and when the planting of manioc is finished, we will go into the water, to catch fish."

109 *Ee , towe amakere , me ati nemetemoneke*
 ee towe ama -ke -re , me ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 yes bad be DECL+F NEG+F 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 interj adj vc pron vt aux

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

ahi

ahi
then
dem

"Right, that's all right," they said.'

110 *Me ati na , me yana tonemetemone*
me ati na+F , me yana to- na -hemete -mone
3PL.S say AUX 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
pron vt aux pron vi aux

'They were ready to go.'

111 *Fowa me , fowa me koro natia me , fowa*
fowa me , fowa me koro na nahatI+F me , fowa
manioc 3PL manioc 3PL.S plant AUX daytime 3PL.S manioc
nm pron nm pron vt aux pron nm

me koro natia me yama hiwahiwa raba
me koro na nahatI+F me yama hiwa- hiwa na -raba
3PL.S plant AUX daytime 3PL.S thing DUP be hot AUX a bit
pron vt aux pron nf vi aux

ri ya , makari watari ya me kori
na -ra.NOM+F ya , makari wata -ra.NOM+F ya me kori
AUX NEG ADJU clothes exist NEG ADJU 3PL.POSS naked+F
aux prt nf vi prt pron pn

me kori fowa sero nemetemone bai hiwene ya
me kori fowa sero na -hemete -mone bahi hiwene ya
3PL.POSS naked+F manioc hoe AUX FP.N+F REP+F sun heat+M ADJU
pron pn nm vt aux nm pn prt

'They planted manioc all day long. It wasn't a little hot, and they were naked before there were clothes. They planted manioc naked in the heat of the sun.'

112 *Fa me fawarihi , bai ahabe yokana ya me*
faha me fawa -rihi , bahi ahaba.NOM+M yokana ya me
water 3PL.S drink NEG.LIST sun end true ADJU 3PL.S
nf pron vt nm vi adj prt pron

kama me awa me nahabia me , kama
ka -ma+F me awa me na- ahaba+F me , ka -ma+F
go/come back 3PL.S garden 3PL.S CAUS end 3PL.S go/come back
vi pron nf pron vt pron vi

me kobo nama me , me kobo
me kobo na -ma+F me , me kobo
3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive
pron vi aux pron pron vi

namemetemoneke

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

'They didn't drink water, either. After the sun set they came back. They finished planting the whole garden. They came back. They arrived back.'

113 *Me kobo nama me , Fera ?*
me kobo na -ma+F me , fee -ra ?
3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S that+M NPQ
pron vi aux pron dem

'They arrived home. "Well?"'

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

naba *eni*
na -haba ee -ni
AUX FUT+F 1IN.S BKG+F
aux pron
'When we come back, we'll plant all the crops.'

122 *Bihaba* *amani*
biha -ba ama -ni
plant sp FUT be BKG+F
nm vc
'""There will be yams.'"

123 *Hasoba* *amane*
haso -ba ama -ne
taro sp FUT be BKG+M
nm vc
'""There will be *haso* taro.'"

124 *Nakafiraba* *amani*
nakafira -ba ama -ni
taro sp FUT be BKG+F
nf vc
'""There will be *nakafira* taro.'"

125 *Kimiba* *ama* , *kimi*
kimi -ba ama , kimi
corn FUT be corn
nm vc nm
'""There will be corn.'"

126 *Kimi* *e* *koro* , *yama* *nafi* *e* *koro* , *naba*
kimi ee koro.LIST , yama nafi ee koro.LIST , na -haba
corn 1IN.S plant thing all 1IN.S plant AUX FUT+F
nm pron vt nf pn pron vt aux

ere
ere
1IN.S
pron
'""We'll plant corn. And we'll plant all the crops.'"

127 *Soba* , *ee* *soba* , *ino* , *ino* *fawa*
soba , ee soba.LIST , ino , ino fawa
plant sp (pause) plant sp name+M name+M disappear
nm interj nm pn pn vi
nenoka , *yaro* , *yaro* , *yaro* , *yaro* *toha*
na -hino -ka , yaro , yaro , yaro , yaro to- ha.LIST
AUX IP.N+M DECL+M vine sp vine sp vine sp vine sp CH be
aux nm nm nm nm vc
, *oka* *yaro* *ewenebona* *wakose* *amane*
o- ka yaro ewene -bona waa -kosa+M ama -ne
1SG.POSS POSS vine sp stick+M INT+M stand middle SEC BKG+M
prt nm pn vi sec
'""Also *soba* tubers...I forgot its name...*yaro* vine. The burned out tree for my *yaro* vines is there in the middle.'"

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

128 *Awa wa awa baikani ya , yaro webona*
 awa waa+F awa baikani ya , yaro waa -hibona
 tree stand garden middle ADJU vine sp stand INT+M
 nf vi nf pn prt nm vi

ewenebona waka
 ewene -bona waa -ka
 stick+M INT+M stand DECL+M
 pn vi

'The tree for the *yaro* vine to grow on is there in the middle of the garden.'

129 *Hibaka ya oko yaro waraba , ha owa ?*
 hibaka ya o- ka yaro waa -ra -ba , haa owa ?
 where ADJU 1SG.POSS POSS vine sp stand CQ+M FUT DEM 1SG
 interrog prt prt nm vi dem pron

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

'Where will my *yaro* vine be?' they said.'

130 *Yaro me ibori kawahemetemoneke ahi*
 yaro me ibori ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 vine sp 3PL.S carry COMMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nm pron vt aux dem

'They carried *yaro* vines in their hands.'

131 *Faya yaro me ibori kawaha me , me yana*
 faya yaro me ibori ka- na -waha+F me , me yana
 so vine sp 3PL.S carry COMMIT AUX change 3PL.S 3PL.S start
 conj nm pron vt aux pron pron vi

tonabone me , tokemetemoneke
 to- na -habone me , to- ka -hemete -mone -ke
 CH AUX INT+F 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux pron vi

'They carried *yaro* vines. They were ready, and they went.'

132 *Yaro me koro nemetemone*
 yaro me koro na -hemete -mone
 vine sp 3PL.S plant AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nm pron vt aux

'They planted *yaro* vines.'

133 *Awa me koro na , yifari yamata na me*
 awa me koro na+F , yifari.LIST yamata.LIST na+F me
 garden 3PL.S plant AUX banana crops AUX 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux nf nf aux pron

koro nemetemoneke nafi ahi
 koro na -hemete -mone -ke nafi ahi
 plant AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F all then
 vt aux pn dem

'They planted the garden. They planted bananas, and all the other crops.'

134 *Bai fawa nise ya me kamatasa*
 bahi fawa na -risa.NOM+M ya me ka -ma -tasa+F
 sun disappear AUX down ADJU 3PL.S go/come back again
 nm vi aux prt pron vi

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

me , *me* *kobo* *namatasa* , *me* *kobo*
 me me kobo na -ma -tasa+F me kobo
 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive AUX back again 3PL.S arrive
 pron pron vi aux pron vi

namemetemoneke *tasa* .
 na -ma -hemete -mone -ke tasa
 AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F again
 aux prt

'They came back again at sunset. They arrived back again. They arrived back again.'

135 *Me* , *me* *afi* *rihi* , *me* *afi*
 me me afi na -rihi me afi
 3PL 3PL.S bathe AUX NEG.LIST 3PL.S bathe
 pron pron vi aux pron vi

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

'They didn't bathe.'

136 *Awa* *me* *natafa* *me* *afi* *remetemoneke* ,
 awa me na- tafa+F me afi na -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 garden 3PL.S CAUS eat 3PL.S bathe AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf pron vt pron vi aux

me *afi* *naminibone* *karo* , *me* *ati*
 me afi na -mina.NOM+F -bone karo me ati
 3PL.S bathe AUX morning INT+F so that 3PL.S say
 pron vi aux prt pron vt

nemetemone *okaki* *aati* *toamaroni* .
 na -hemete -mone o- ka aki a- ati to- ha -hamaro -ni
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.S POSS grandmother DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F BKG+F
 aux nf vt aux

'They planted the garden. They didn't bathe, so they could bathe the next day, they said, my grandmother used to say.'

137 *Okaki* *bati* *atimatamona* , *faya*
 o- ka aki bati ati -mata -mona faya
 1SG.S POSS grandmother 3SG.POSS.father voice FP.N+M REP+M so
 nf nm pn conj

okaki *hiyara* *naba* , *faya* *me* *afi* *rihi*
 o- ka aki hiyara nahaba+F faya me afi na -rihi
 1SG.S POSS grandmother speak at night so 3PL.S bathe AUX NEG.LIST
 nf vi prt conj pron vi aux

, *me* *afi* *ra* *yama* *me* *natafa* *me* *afi*
 me afi na -ra+F yama me na- tafa+F me afi
 3PL.S bathe AUX NEG thing 3PL.S CAUS eat 3PL.S bathe
 pron vi aux nf pron vt pron vi

ra *me* , *amo* *na* *me* , *bosa*
 na -ra+F me amo na+F me bosa
 AUX NEG 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S get up early
 aux pron vi aux pron vi

nemetemoneni , *okaki* *aati* *tohamaro*
 na -hemete -mone -ni o- ka aki a- ati to- ha -hamaro
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 1SG.S POSS grandmother DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F
 aux nf vt aux

'My grandmother reported her father's words, at night. They didn't bathe. They planted the crops. They

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

didn't bathe. They slept. They got up early, my grandmother used to say.'

138 *Faya me bosa na me , bosa*
 faya me bosa na+F me , bosa
 so 3PL.S get up early AUX 3PL.S get up early
 conj pron vi aux pron vi

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

'They got up early.'

139 *Me bosa na me sina me , sina me*
 me bosa na+F me sina me , sina me
 3PL.S get up early AUX 3PL.S snuff 3PL snuff 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron nf pron nf pron

mahika nemetemoneke
 mahika na -hemete -mone -ke
 consume a lot AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux

'They got up early. They took a lot of snuff.'

140 *Sina me mahika na , sina , sina me*
 sina me mahika na+F , sina , sina me
 snuff 3PL.S consume a lot AUX snuff snuff 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux nf nf pron

mahika ni ya , sina me mahika ni ya
 mahika na.NOM+F ya , sina me mahika na.NOM+F ya
 consume a lot AUX ADJU snuff 3PL.S consume a lot AUX ADJU
 vt aux prt nf pron vt aux prt

sina me sa tosi ya me ,
 sina me saa to- na -kosa.NOM+F ya me
 snuff 3PL.S leave off CH AUX middle ADJU 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux prt pron

tokifiwaha me tokifiwaha me ,
 to- ka -fi -waha+F , me to- ka -fi -waha+F me ,
 away go/come water change 3PL.S away go/come water change 3PL.S
 vi pron vi pron

Te bere kanahi
 tee bere ka- na -hi
 2PL.S be across COMIT AUX IMP+F
 pron vi aux

'They took a lot of snuff. After they took a lot of snuff, they left off taking snuff, and then they went to the water. "You all line up."'

141 *Te bere kanahi , ahi*
 tee bere ka- na -hi , ahi
 2PL.S be across COMIT AUX IMP+F there
 pron vi aux dem

'"You all line up there."'

142 *E nafi bokibeya*
 ee nafi boka -be -ya
 1IN.S all enter water IMMED+F now
 pron pn vi

'"We'll all go underwater."'

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

143 *Aba me , aba me towitaribeya ahi*
 aba me , aba me to- ita -rI -be -ya ahi
 fish 3PL fish 3PL.S away sit raised surface IMMED+F now there
 nm pron nm pron vi dem

"The fish will all stay together."

144 *Me nafi boka me nafi boka me aba*
 me nafi boka+F me nafi boka+F me aba
 3PL.POSS all enter water 3PL.POSS all enter water 3PL.S fish
 pron pn vi pron pn vi pron nm

me , aba me me watehemetemone ahi
 me aba me me wata -hemete -mone ahi
 3PL fish 3PL.O 3PL.S catch FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron nm pron pron vt dem

'They all went underwater. They caught fish with their hands.'

145 *Aba me me wata me , aba me me wata aba*
 aba me me wata+F me , aba me me wata+F aba
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S catch 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S catch fish
 nm pron pron vt pron nm pron pron vt nm

me me kakama me , aba me Me
 me me ka- ka -ma+F me , aba me me
 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S fish 3PL 3PL.S
 pron pron vt pron nm pron pron

kamakikereni

ka -makI -ke -re -ni
 go/come following DECL+F NEG+F IP.N+F
 vi

'They caught fish with their hands. They brought the fish up. "They didn't come."

146 *Aba me te so tonihamahi , me me*
 aba me tee soo to- niha- na -ma -hi , me me
 fish 3PL.O 2PL.S lie CH CAUS AUX back IMP+F 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vi aux pron pron

tabasi hinaba mati
 tabasi hi- na -haba mati
 roast on grill OC AUX FUT+F 3PL.O
 vt aux pron

"You put the fish on the ground, for them to roast them."

147 *Aba me me towakama aba me ta*
 aba me me to- ka- ka -ma+F aba me taa
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back fish 3PL.S be piled up
 nm pron pron vi nm pron vi

torekanikima nemetemoneke ahi
 to- na -rI -kanikima na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 CH AUX raised surface scattered AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux aux dem

'They took the fish. The fish were all scattered on the bank.'

148 *Me fanawi kamakia Hee*
 me fanawi ka -makI+F hee
 women go/come following hey
 nf vi interj

'The women came. "Yoo-hoo."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

- 149 *Hoo*
 hoo
 yoohoo
 interj
 ""Here we are.""
- 150 *Te kamakini* ?
 tee ka -makI -ni
 2PL.S go/come following BKG+F
 pron vi
 ""Did you come?""
- 151 *Faya me fanawi kamakia me kamakia me*
 faya me fanawi ka -makI+F me ka -makI+F me
 so women go/come following 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S
 conj nf vi pron vi pron
kobo namakia , *Aba me ta*
 kobo na -makI+F aba me taa
 arrive AUX following fish 3PL.S be piled up
 vi aux nm pron vi
torine fa
 to- na -rI -ne faa
 CH AUX raised surface CONT+F that
 aux dem
 "The women came. They came. They arrived. "The fish are in a pile there.""
- 152 *Ha oko me mata* , *okoyo* ,
 haa o- ka me mata o- ka ayo.LIST
 DEM 1SG.POSS POSS 3PL for now 1SG.POSS POSS older brother
 dem prt pron prt nm
okaniso , *Mawa Mawa karo* ,
 o- ka niso.LIST Mawa.LIST Mawa karo
 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother (man's name) (man's name) POSS+F
 nm npropm npropm prt
Fawa Fawa kari
 Fawa.LIST Fawa kari
 (man's name) (man's name) POSS+M
 npropm npropm prt
 ""These are mine, these are my older brother's, my younger brother's, Mawa's, Fawa's.""
- 153 *Fawa ka me tohawitineke ahi*
 Fawa ka me to- ha -witI -ne -ke ahi
 (man's name) POSS 3PL.S CH be out CONT+F DECL+F there
 npropm prt pron vi dem
 ""Fawa's are on the other side.""
- 154 *Fawa ka me so tosine ha*
 Fawa ka me soo to- na -kosa -ne haa
 (man's name) POSS 3PL.S lie CH AUX middle CONT+F DEM
 npropm prt pron vi aux dem
 ""Fawa's are there on the ground.""
- 155 *Me tama me ka me so tosine fa*
 me tama+F me ka me soo to- na -kosa -ne faa
 3PL.S be many 3PL POSS 3PL.S lie CH AUX middle CONT+F that
 pron vi pron prt pron vi aux dem
 ""Those of many others are there on the ground.""

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

156 *Me tokomi ahi*
 me to- ka -ma.NOM+F ahi
 3PL.S away go/come back there
 pron vi dem

"They went in there."

157 *Me ota towamakemate*
 me otaa to- awa -makI -mate
 3PL.O 1EX.S away see following short time.IMP+F
 pron pron vt

"We're going after them to see them."

158 *Me tokoma me me towamakebone*
 me to- ka -ma+F me me to- awa -makI -habone
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.O 3PL.S away see following INT+F
 pron vi pron pron vt

me tobokamakiemetemoneke
 me to- boka -makI -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S away enter water following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They went in. They went underwater after them to see them.'

159 *Me towakamakia me aba me me*
 me to- ka- ka -makI+F me aba me me
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron vi pron nm pron pron

watehemetemone
 wata -hemete -mone
 catch FP.N+F REP+F
 vt

'Two of them went in. They caught fish with their hands.'

160 *Aba me me wata aba me aba me me*
 aba me me wata+F aba me aba me me
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S catch fish 3PL fish 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt nm pron nm pron pron

watehemetemoneke
 wata -hemete -mone -ke
 catch FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'They caught fish with their hands.'

161 *Aba me me wata Hoo aba me me wata aba*
 aba me me wata+F hoo aba me me wata+F aba
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S catch whew fish 3PL.O 3PL.S catch fish
 nm pron pron vt interj nm pron pron vt nm

me me kakamatasa me ni ya
 me me ka- ka -ma -tasa+F me ni ya
 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come back again 3PL to ADJU
 pron pron vt pron prt prt

kamakimatamona fawa namakiari
 ka -makI -himata -mona fawa na -makI -haari
 go/come following FP.N+M REP+M disappear AUX following IP.E+M
 vi vi aux

'They caught fish with their hands. "Whew." They brought the fish up. One of them who had disappeared came to them.'

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

162 *Kakamaki* , *re* , *kakamaki* , *re* ,
 ka- ka -makI na -ra+M , ka- ka -makI na -ra+M ,
 DUP go/come following AUX NEG DUP go/come following AUX NEG
 vi aux vi aux

me noki hine , *kamakimatamonaka* .
 me noki hi- na+M , ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.S wait for OC AUX go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt aux vi

'He didn't come. They waited for him. He came.'

163 *Kamaki* , *tasi* , *aba mera tama*
 ka -makI+M , tasi.LIST , aba mera tama
 go/come following emerge fish 3PL.O hold onto
 vi vi nm pron vt

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

'He came. He emerged from the water. He was holding fish.'

164 *Hoo* , *oof* , *owa te yokonehe* .
 hoo , oof , owa tee yoko -hene -he
 whew hoo 1SG.O 2PL.S bring misfortune on IRR+F DUP
 interj interj pron pron vt

""Whew, you almost caused me trouble.""

165 *Himata amari* ?
 himata ama -ri
 what? be CQ+F
 interrog vc

""What is it?""

166 *Yama* , *fa e afi nofa yama* , *eerebo*
 yama faha ee afi na nofa+F yama e- erebo
 thing water 1IN.S bathe AUX recently thing DUP be bad
 nf nf pron vi aux nf vi

nofara yama , *owa wati kanani ta*
 na nofa -ra+F yama , owa wati ka- na -hani taa
 AUX recently NEG thing 1SG.O plan against COMMIT AUX IP.N+F protrude
 aux nf pron vt aux aux

nakearake ahi .
 na -kI -hara -ke ahi
 AUX coming IP.E+F DECL+F there
 aux dem

""The water in which we always fish is always without problems, but something wanted to get me and I saw it standing there.""

167 *Yama ta nakeara ahi yama* , *hoti ya* .
 yama taa na -kI -hara ahi yama , hoti ya
 thing protrude AUX coming IP.E+F there thing hole+F ADJU
 nf vi aux dem nf pn prt

""It was standing there in the hole.""

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

168 *Aba owate ama hari*
 aba o- wata+M ama haari
 fish 1SG.S catch SEC that one+M
 nm vt sec dem

"I caught this fish there."

169 *Kasiro okomakehara oke*
 kasiro o- ka -makI -hara o- ke
 a lot 1SG.S go/come following IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 nf vi prt

"I came back really fast."

170 *Okomake okomakine oke*
 o- ka -makI o- ka -makI -ne o- ke
 1SG.S go/come following 1SG.S go/come following CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi vi prt

"I came back."

171 *Yama ta nakeba narani ahi*
 yama taa na -kI -baa na -hara -ni ahi
 thing protrude AUX coming at a distance AUX IP.E+F BKG+F there
 nf vi aux aux dem

"The thing was standing there, really tall."

172 *Yama hoti toka narani ahi , boti ya*
 yama hoti to- ka.LIST na -hara -ni ahi , boti ya
 thing hole+F away go/come AUX IP.E+F BKG+F there way down ADJU
 nf pn vi aux dem nf prt

ahi
 ahi
 there
 dem

"The hole went way down."

173 *Yama ta naki toarake ahi*
 yama taa na -kI.NFIN to- ha -hara -ke ahi
 thing protrude AUX coming CH be IP.E+F DECL+F there
 nf vi aux vc dem

"The thing stood this tall."

174 *Oof , yama fawa kana yama me fawa*
 oof , yama fawa ka- na+F yama me fawa
 hoo thing disappear COMIT AUX thing 3PL.O disappear
 interj nf vi aux nf pron vi

kiteba
 ka- na -tee -hiba
 COMIT AUX HAB FUT+M
 aux

'The thing that takes people away would take them away.'

175 *Hima , te awibe*
 hima tee awa -be
 let's go 2PL.S see IMMED+F
 interj pron vt

"Come on, you'll see it."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

176 *Te kamaki*
tee ka -makI
2PL.S go/come following
pron vi

"Come."

177 *Owati te kasawariha yama te awibeya*
o- ati tee ka- sawari+F yama tee awa -be -ya
1SG.POSS voice 2PL.S COMIT frustrate thing 2PL.S see IMMED+F now
pn pron vt nf pron vt

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

"You don't believe me, but you'll see it," he said.'

178 *Hiyamata ota ka faha ota afi nofa yama*
hiyamataha otaa ka faha otaa afi na nofa+F yama
what? 1EX POSS stream 1EX.S bathe AUX recently thing
interrog pron prt nf pron vi aux nf

hohona nofara yama hohona
ho- hona na nofa -ra+F yama ho- hona
DUP have something AUX recently NEG thing DUP have something
vi aux nf vi

nofara tina yama owa
na nofa -ra+F ati ti- na+F yama owa
AUX recently NEG say 2SG.S AUX thing 1SG.O
aux vt nf pron

kanakomeharake
ka- na- komeha -hara -ke
COMIT CAUS be fearsome IP.E+F DECL+F
vt

"How is it that in our stream, which we always catch fish in with our hands, which you say is always clear, a thing made me afraid?"

179 *Yama owa kanakomeharani*
yama owa ka- na- komeha -hara -ni
thing 1SG.O COMIT CAUS be fearsome IP.E+F BKG+F
nf pron vt

"The thing made me afraid."

180 *Tiwibeya*
ti- awa -be -ya
2SG.S see IMMED+F now
vt

"You'll see it."

181 *Faya me Hima te awibe*
faya me hima tee awa -be
so 3PL let's go 2PL.S see IMMED+F
conj pron interj pron vt

"Come on, you'll see it."

182 *Te kamaki*
tee ka -makI
2PL.S go/come following
pron vi

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

"Come."

183 *Me tokometemoneke ahi , me nafi*
 me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi , me nafi
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3PL.POSS all
 pron vi dem pron pn

'They went in, all of them.'

184 *Me nafi tokoma me , tafamarawaraba*
 me nafi to- ka -ma+F me , tafa -ma -rawa -ra -haba
 3PL.POSS all away go/come back 3PL.S eat back F.PL NEG FUT+F
 pron pn vi pron vi

tafarawa nahorawemetemoneke , me fanawiri
 tafa -rawa+F naho -rawa -hemete -mone -ke , me fanawiri -ri
 eat F.PL sit F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS woman PN
 vi vi pron pn

'They all went in. The women sat on the ground, eating. They wouldn't eat anymore.'

185 *Me fanawiri , me fanawiri tafa naoa , me*
 me fanawiri -ri , me fanawiri -ri tafa+F naoha , me
 3PL.POSS woman PN 3PL.POSS woman PN eat sit 3PL.S
 pron pn pron pn vi vi pron

tafa me nahobasemetemone
 tafa+F me naho -basa -hemete -mone
 eat 3PL.S sit edge FP.N+F REP+F
 vi pron vi

'The women sat eating. They sat at the edge of the water eating.'

186 *Yama toha awineke*
 yama to- ha+F awine -ke
 monster CH be seem+F DECL+F
 nf vc sec

"It must be a monster."

187 *Yama hine na ni na me ati*
 yama hine na.LIST na.NOM+F na me ati
 thing only exist AUX AUX 3PL.S say
 nf pron vi aux aux pron vt

remetemoneke fara me , me hiwahabonehe
 na -ra -hemete -mone -ke fara me , me hi- awa -habone -he
 AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F same+F 3PL 3PL.S OC see INT+F DUP
 aux dem pron pron vt

'They didn't really want to go but they went, to see it.'

188 *Me hiwahabone me ati nemetemoneni*
 me hi- awa -habone me ati na -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL.S OC see INT+F 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron vt pron vt aux

'They wanted to see it.'

189 *Me hiwahabone , me hiwabone me yana na*
 me hi- awa -habone , me hi- awa -habone me yana na+F
 3PL.S OC see INT+F 3PL.S OC see INT+F 3PL.S get up AUX
 pron vt pron vt pron vi aux

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

me , *tokoma* *me* , *fawa* *nemetemoneke*
 me to- ka -ma+F me , fawa na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi pron vi aux

'In order to see it, they got up. They went in. They went underwater.'

190 *Me* *fawa* *nemetemone*
 me fawa na -hemete -mone
 3PL.S disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vi aux

'They went underwater.'

191 *Me* *fawa* *nemetemoneke* *ahi*
 me fawa na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi aux dem

'They went underwater.'

192 *Me* *kamaremetemoneni*
 me ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL.S go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron vi

'They didn't come back.'

193 *Me* *kamaraba* *me* , *fawa* *kanaba* *me*
 me ka -ma -ra -haba me , fawa ka- na -haba me
 3PL.S go/come back NEG FUT+F 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX FUT+F 3PL
 pron vi pron vi aux pron
 , *yama* *me* *awani* *yama* *me* *tonakama* *me*
 yama me awa -hani yama me to- na- ka -ma+F me
 thing 3PL.S see IP.N+F thing 3PL.S away CAUS go/come back 3PL.S
 nf pron vt nf pron vt pron

fawa *kanemetemone*
 fawa ka- na -hemete -mone
 disappear COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vi aux

'They would not come back. They would disappear. They saw it and went after it, and they disappeared, hurt.'

194 *Me* *kamaremetemoneke* *ahi*
 me ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi dem

'They didn't come back.'

195 *Me fanawi* , *me fanawi* *tokoma* , *me fanawi* *ohi*
 me fanawi , me fanawi to- ka -ma+F , me fanawi ohi
 women women away go/come back women cry
 nf nf vi nf vi

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

'The women went home. The women cried.'

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

196 *Me fanawi ohi na , me fanawi ohi ni sai , ohi*
 me fanawi ohi na+F , me fanawi ohi na.NFIN sai , ohi
 women cry AUX women cry AUX be heard cry
 nf vi aux nf vi aux vi vi
ni saiha , me ohi ni saiha me , amo
 na.NFIN sai+F , me ohi na.NFIN sai+F me , amo.LIST
 AUX be heard 3PL.S cry AUX be heard 3PL.S sleep
 aux vi pron vi aux vi pron vi
E amo nahi
 ee amo na -hi
 1IN.S sleep AUX IMP+F
 pron vi aux

"The women cried. The women's crying could be heard. They slept. "Let's sleep."

197 *Me e aawa naminabanani*
 me ee a- awa na -mina -habana -ni
 3PL.O 1IN.S DUP see AUX morning FUT+F BKG+F
 pron pron vt aux

"We take a look at them tomorrow."

198 *Me me hiwaminabone me , me fanawi amo*
 me me hi- awa -mina -habone me , me fanawi amo
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC see morning INT+F 3PL women sleep
 pron pron vt pron nf vi

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

'They were going to see them the next day, and they slept.'

199 *Kamakirawa bosa narawemetemoneke*
 ka -makI -rawa+F bosa na -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 go/come following F.PL get up early AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi vi aux

'They came again. They got up early.'

200 *Bosa narawa kobo narawa , Te*
 bosa na -rawa+F kobo na -rawa+F , tee
 get up early AUX F.PL arrive AUX F.PL 2PL.S
 vi aux vi aux pron

kamakihi te nafi
 ka -makI -hi , tee nafi
 go/come following IMP+F 2PL.POSS all
 vi pron pn

'They got up early. They arrived. "You come, all of you."

201 *Me e totowamake nahi*
 me ee to- to- awa -makI na -hi
 3PL.O 1IN.S DUP away see following AUX IMP+F
 pron pron vt aux

"Let's go see them."

202 *Me winarini ?*
 me wina -ra -ni
 3PL.S live NEG BKG+F
 pron vi

"Are they living there?"

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

203 *Me* , *me* *wina* *me* *awineni* .
 me , me wina+F me awine -ni
 3PL 3PL.S live 3PL.S seem+F BKG+F
 pron pron vi pron sec

"I guess they are living there."

204 *Me* *wina* *me* *awineke* , *fa* *boti* *ya* *me* *ati*
 me wina+F me awine -ke , faha boti ya me ati
 3PL.S live 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F stream inside ADJU 3PL.S say
 pron vi pron sec nf pn prt pron vt

nemetemone

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

"I guess they are living at the bottom of the stream," they said.'

205 *Me* *ati* *na* *me* , *Hima* .
 me ati na+F me , hima
 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.S let's go
 pron vt aux pron interj

"Come on."

206 *Ee* , *hima* , *me* *e* *towamakibeya* .
 ee , hima , me ee to- awa -makI -be -ya
 yes let's go 3PL.O 1IN.S away see following IMMED+F now
 interj interj pron pron vt

"Yes, come on, let's go see them."

207 *Me* *me* *towamakebone* *me fanawi* *yana*
 me me to- awa -makI -habone me fanawi yana
 3PL.O 3PL.S away see following INT+F women start
 pron pron vt nf vi

tonemetemoneke

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

'The women were ready to go see them.'

208 *Me fanawi* , *me fanawi* *yana* *tona* , *me*
 me fanawi , me fanawi yana to- na+F , me
 women women start CH AUX 3PL.S
 nf nf vi aux pron

bokehemetemoneke

boka -hemete -mone -ke *ahi* *oooo* *oooo*
 enter water FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then (sound of water) (sound of water)
 vi dem sound sound

oooo

oooo
 (sound of water)
 sound

'The women were ready. They went under water, splash, splash.'

209 *Me* *tokomaketemone*
 me to- ka -makI -hemete -mone
 3PL.S away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vi

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

'They went after them.'

210 *Me fanawi tokomake* , *me fanawi*
 me fanawi to- ka -makI me fanawi
 women away go/come following women
 nf vi nf

kamaremetemone amake
 ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone ama -ke
 go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 vi sec

'The women went after them. The women didn't come back.'

211 *Me fanawi kamaraba*
 me fanawi ka -ma -ra -haba
 women go/come back NEG FUT+F
 nf vi

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

'The women went after them, not to come back.'

212 *Fara me ka yibote me fawa ni ya me*
 fara me ka yibote me fawa na.NOM+F ya me
 same+F 3PL POSS husband 3PL.S disappear AUX ADJU 3PL.S
 dem pron prt nm pron vi aux prt pron

fawa ni tabemetemoneke
 fawa na.NFIN taba -hemete -mone -ke
 disappear AUX be together FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux vi

'They disappeared, just like their husbands.'

213 *Me fawa na me* , *me fanawi fawa na*
 me fawa na+F me me fanawi fawa na+F
 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.S women disappear AUX
 pron vi aux pron nf vi aux

kamara me ka mate ohiri tonemetemone
 ka -ma -ra+F me ka matehe ohi -ri to- na -hemete -mone
 go/come back NEG 3PL POSS children cry DISTR CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vi pron prt nf vi aux

mate naoharo
 matehe naho -haaro
 children sit IP.E+F
 nf vi

'They disappeared. The women disappeared. They didn't come back. Their children sat on the ground crying.'

214 *Mate ohi nemetemoneke*
 matehe ohi na -hemete -mone -ke
 children cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi aux

'The children cried.'

215 *Haha sana kabisa biti*
 haaha sana ka- na -bisa+F biti
 this+F carry strapped on shoulder COMIT AUX also 3SG.POSS.son
 dem vt aux nm

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

sana , **na** , **tobokamakia**
 sana na+F , to- boka -makI+F ,
 carry strapped on shoulder AUX away enter water following
 vt aux vi

biti , **kihi** **fawa** **kanemetemoneke**
 biti , kihi fawa ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
 3SG.POSS.son along with disappear COMMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm prt vi aux

faro
 faaro
 that+F
 dem

'One of them had been carrying a child in a sling. She went underwater after them, carrying her son. She disappeared, child and all.'

216 **Faya me** , **me fanawi** **kamara** **me fanawi**
 faya me , me fanawi ka -ma -ra+F me fanawi
 so 3PL women go/come back NEG women
 conj pron nf vi nf

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

'The women didn't come back.'

217 **Me fanawi** **kamaremetemone** **winineke**
 me fanawi ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone wina -ne -ke ,
 women go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F live CONT+F DECL+F
 nf vi vi

Yiwa Me Fawa Kani **karo**
 Yiwa Me Fawa Kani karo
 (place name) LOC
 npropf prt

'The women didn't come back, they stayed living at Yiwa Me Fawa Kani.'

218 **Faya me fanawi** **kamaremetemoneke**
 faya me fanawi ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 so women go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj nf vi

'The women didn't come back.'

219 **Mate ohi** **nemetemoneke**
 matehe ohi na -hemete -mone -ke
 children cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi aux

'The children cried.'

220 **Me yetene** **toha** **me** , **naoha** **me** , **Abiii** , **abiii**
 me yetene to- ha+F me , naho+F me , abiii , abiii
 3PL teenage boy CH be 3PL.S sit 3PL.S Father Father
 pron adj vc pron vi pron voc voc

, **yama** **soki** **ya** **me** **ha** **nemetemoneke** , **Ami**
 yama soki.NOM ya me ha na -hemete -mone -ke , ami
 thing be dark ADJU 3PL.S call AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F mother
 nf vi prt pron vi aux nf

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

<i>ami</i>	<i>amiii</i>	,	<i>me</i>	<i>tase</i>	,	<i>me</i>	<i>tase</i>
ami	amiii		me	tase		me	tase
mother	Mother		3PL.POSS	companion+F		3PL.POSS	companion+F
nf	voc		pron	pn		pron	pn

<i>watara</i>	<i>mati</i>
wata -ra+F	mati
exist NEG	3PL.POSS
vi	pron

'The adolescent boys sat, calling "Father, Father, Mother, Mother," because there was no one to be with them.'

221	<i>Me</i>	<i>tase</i>	<i>watara</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>me</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>me</i>
	me	tase	wata -ra+F	me		me	haa	na+F	me
	3PL.POSS	companion+F	exist NEG	3PL.POSS		3PL.S	call	AUX	3PL.S
	pron	pn	vi	pron		pron	vi	aux	pron

<i>Okobi</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>kakamara</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>himata</i>			
o-	ka	abi	me	ka-	ka	-ma -ra+F	me	,	himata
1SG.POSS	POSS	father	3PL.S	COMIT	go/come	back NEG	3PL.S		what?
nm			pron	vi			pron		interrog

<i>ihi</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>fawa</i>	<i>nineri</i>		?
ihi	me	fawa	na -ne	-ri	
because of+F	3PL.S	disappear	AUX CONT+F	CQ+F	
post	pron	vi	aux		

'There was no one with them. They called out. "My father and the others didn't come back. Why did they disappear?'"

222	<i>Aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>wati</i>	<i>nofa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>fawa</i>
	aba	me	me	wata	nofa+F	me	fawa
	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	catch	recently	3PL.S	disappear
	nm	pron	pron	vt	prt	pron	vi

<i>nawahineke</i>
na -waha -ne -ke
AUX change CONT+F DECL+F
aux

""They were always catching fish, and now they disappeared.""

223	<i>Me</i>	<i>yetene</i>	<i>toaha</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>me</i>	<i>isisi</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ya</i>	
	me	yetene	to- ha+F	me		me	isi	-si	na+F	ya
	3PL	teenage boy	CH be	3PL.S		3PL.S	be small	DUP	AUX	ADJU
	pron	adj	vc	pron		pron	vi		aux	prt

<i>me</i>	<i>taba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>amo</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>fimi</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>amo</i>
me	taba+F	me	amo	na+F	me		fimi	me	amo
3PL.S	be together	3PL.S	sleep	AUX	3PL.S		hunger	3PL.S	sleep
pron	vi	pron	vi	aux	pron		nf	pron	vi

<i>kana</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>fimi</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>amo</i>	<i>kanemetemone</i>
ka-	na+F		fimi	me	amo	ka- na -hemete -mone
COMIT	AUX		hunger	3PL.S	sleep	COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F
aux	pron		nf	pron	vi	aux

'The adolescents and the small children slept. They slept hungry.'

224	<i>Fimi</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>amo</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>yama</i>	<i>we</i>
	fimi	me	amo	ka-	na+F		yama	wehe
	hunger	3PL.S	sleep	COMIT	AUX		thing	light+F
	nf	pron	vi	aux	pron		nf	pn

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

229 *Me* , *Okomi* , *okomi* *wina*
 me o- ka ami , o- ka ami wina+F
 3PL 1SG.POSS POSS mother 1SG.POSS POSS mother live
 pron nf nf vi

awineke *ahi*
 awine -ke ahi
 seem+F DECL+F there
 sec dem

"I think my mother is living here."

230 *Okomi* *wina* *awine* *ahi*
 o- ka ami wina+F awine ahi
 1SG.POSS POSS mother live seem+F there
 nf vi sec dem

"I think my mother is living here."

231 *Hiya* , *asima* , *hima* , *tiwa* *weye*
 hiya asima hima tiwa weye
 come on younger sister let's go 2SG.O carry
 interj nf interj pron vt

obe
 o- na -be
 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 aux

"Here, little sister, come on, I will carry you."

232 *Hiwa* *wati* *kane* *rama* *ahi*
 hiwa wati ka- na+M rama ahi
 3SG.REFL.M plan against COMIT AUX unusual then
 pron vt aux prt dem

'He was brave.'

233 *Hinakasima* , *hinakasima* *weye*
 hinaka asima hinaka asima weye
 3SG.POSS younger sister 3SG.POSS younger sister carry
 nf nf vt

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

'He hoisted his sister onto his back.'

234 *Hinakasima* *weye* *namise* , *Okomi*
 hinaka asima weye na -misa+M , o- ka ami
 3SG.POSS younger sister carry AUX up 1SG.POSS POSS mother
 nf vt aux nf

e *towamake* *namata*
 ee to- to- awa -makI na -mata
 1IN.S DUP away see following AUX short time
 pron vt aux

'He hoisted his sister onto his back. "Let's go take a look at my mother."

235 *Te* *kamakini*
 tee ka -makI -ni
 2PL.S go/come following BKG+F
 pron vi

"Come."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

236 *Te kamakihi*
 tee ka -makI -hi
 2PL.S go/come following IMP+F
 pron vi

"Come."

237 *E nafi tokomakibeya*
 ee nafi to- ka -makI -be -ya
 1IN.POSS all away go/come following IMMED+F now
 pron pn vi

"Let's all go after them."

238 *Faya me tokomaketemoneni*
 faya me to- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ni
 so 3PL.S away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 conj pron vi

'They went after them.'

239 *Me nafi kamakia me*
 me nafi ka -makI+F me
 3PL.POSS all go/come following 3PL.S
 pron pn vi pron

Okomakewaha
 o- to- ka -makI -waha , *fa boti ihi*
 1SG.S away go/come following change water inside victim of+F
 vi nf pn pn

ohibe
 o- to- ha -be , *owa ati nematamona*
 1SG.S CH be IMMED+F one+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vc adj vt aux

'All of them came after them. "I'm going after them. I'm going to die in the water," one of them said.'

240 *Fa boti koma awineke*
 faha boti koma+F awine -ke
 water inside hurt seem+F DECL+F
 nf pn vi sec

"I think the deep water does harm."

241 *Siba raba awineke*
 siba na -ra -haba awine -ke
 be all right AUX NEG FUT+F seem+F DECL+F
 vi aux sec

"I think it will be all right."

242 *Okobi me okobi me wina me*
 o- ka abi me , o- ka abi me wina+F me
 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.S live 3PL.S
 nm pron nm pron vi pron

awineke
 awine -ke
 seem+F DECL+F
 sec

"I think my father and the others are living there."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

tohawaineke

to- ha -waha -ne -ke
 CH be change CONT+F DECL+F
 vc

'Now it is Buchão, because the Brazilians gave it this name.'

254 *Faya me fawa na me , fawa*
 faya me fawa na+F me , fawa
 so 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.S disappear
 conj pron vi aux pron vi

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

'They disappeared.'

255 *Me fawa na me , me amo ni ya yama*
 me fawa na+F me , me amo ni na.NFIN ya yama
 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX ADJU thing
 pron vi aux pron vi aux prt nf

honarihi
 hona -rihi
 have something NEG.LIST
 vi

'They disappeared. There was no one left where they had slept.'

256 *Hahi , hinakasima tafe kabi*
 haahi , hinaka asima tafe kaba
 this one+M 3SG.POSS younger female parallel cousin food+F eat
 dem nf pn vt

nofe , hinakasima tafe kabi nofe
 nofa+M , hinaka asima tafe kaba nofa+M
 recently 3SG.POSS younger female parallel cousin food+F eat recently
 prt nf pn vt prt

asima hinaharo
 asima hi- na -haaro
 call younger sister OC AUX IP.E+F
 vt aux

'There was one who always ate his cousin's food, and called her cousin.'

257 *Asima , asima hina tafe hikabaki*
 asima , asima hi- na+F tafe hi- kaba -kI
 younger sister call younger sister OC AUX food+F OC eat coming
 nf vt aux pn vt

hinofa , awehibona kakematamona
 hi- nofa+F , awa -hibona ka -kI -himata -mona
 OC recently see INT+M go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M
 prt vt vi

'His cousin always fed him when he came, and he came to see her.'

258 *Kake , See , yama fawafawa*
 ka -kI , see , yama fawa- fawa
 go/come coming oh no thing DUP disappear
 vi interj nf vi

'He came. "Yikes, everything is quiet."'

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

259 *Yama fawafawa nemetemoneke*
 yama fawa- fawa na -hemete -mone -ke
 thing DUP disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi aux

'Everything was quiet.'

260 *Yama fawafawa na , Himata me ebe na me*
 yama fawa- fawa na+F , himata me ebe na+F me
 thing DUP disappear AUX what? 3PL.S purpose AUX 3PL.POSS
 nf vi aux interrog pron vt aux pron

ati fawa nineri me ateate raba
 ati fawa na -ne -ri me ate- ate na -raba
 voice stop AUX CONT+F CQ+F 3PL.S DUP make noise AUX a bit
 pn vi aux pron vi aux

nofara mati ?
 na nofa -ra+F mati
 AUX recently NEG 3PL.S
 aux pron

'Everything was quiet. "They were always making lots of noise, why aren't they saying anything?"'

261 *Hiba me tabori aawa omate*
 hiba me tabori a- awa o- na -mate
 wait 3PL.POSS place+F DUP see 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F
 interj pron pn vt aux

"Here, let me take a look at their village."

262 *Me tabori owamate*
 me tabori o- awa -mate
 3PL.POSS place+F 1SG.S see short time.IMP+F
 pron pn vt

"Let me look at their village a little."

263 *Kakematamonaka*
 ka -kI -himata -mona -ka
 go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He came.'

264 *Kake , kake yama kakatomi*
 ka -kI , ka -kI yama ka- katoma.NFIN
 go/come coming go/come coming thing COMMIT look at
 vi vi nf vt

wakimatamonaka
 waa -kI -himata -mona -ka
 stand coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He came. He stood looking around.'

265 *Ahi , oho , me ka yobe honakara*
 ahi , oho , me ka yobe hona -ka -ra
 there look! 3PL POSS house have something DECL+M NEG+M
 dem interj pron prt nm vi

hari
 haari
 that one+M
 dem

"There, look, their house is empty."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

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

"What are they doing?"

267 *Yobe honakara hari*
 yobe hona -ka -ra haari
 house have something DECL+M NEG+M that one+M
 nm vi dem

"Their house is empty."

268 *Me tohariya* ?
 me to- ha -ri -ya
 3PL.S CH be CQ+F now
 pron vc

"Where are they?"²⁸

269 *Hiba fa owamakemate*
 hiba faha o- to- awa -makI -mate
 wait stream 1SG.S away see following short time.IMP+F
 interj nf vt

"Just a minute, let me look at the stream."

270 *Faya kamaki faha awebona kamaki tana*
 faya ka -makI+M faha awa -hibona ka -makI+M tana
 so go/come following stream see INT+M go/come following grill
 conj vi nf vt vi nf
wemetemoneke aba me tatabasi
 waa -hemete -mone -ke aba me ta- tabasi
 stand FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F fish 3PL.POSS DUP roast on grill
 vi nm pron pn

'He came. He came to look at the stream. There was the rack for roasting fish.'

271 *Me ka tana wabasaro haro*
 me ka tana waa -basa -haaro haaro
 3PL POSS grill stand edge look+F that one+F
 pron prt nf vi dem

"Look, there is their rack for roasting fish."

272 *Faya kamaki ha nematamonaka*
 faya ka -makI+M haa na -himata -mona -ka
 so go/come following call AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi vi aux

'He came. He called.'

273 *Hee hibaka te tohariya* ?
 hee hibaka tee to- ha -ri -ya
 hey where 2PL.S CH be CQ+F now
 interj interrog pron vc

"Yoohoo, where are you?"

28 *Hibaka* 'where' is missing at the beginning of the sentence.

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

274 *Hibaka te toha te fawa nineriya* ?
 hibaka tee to- ha+F tee fawa na -ne -ri -ya
 where 2PL.S CH be 2PL.S disappear AUX CONT+F CQ+F now
 interrog pron vc pron vi aux

"Where have you disappeared to?"

275 *Faya me fawa na me , inamati , inamati , inamati* ,
 faya me fawa na+F me , inamati , inamati , inamati ,
 so 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.S spirit spirit spirit
 conj pron vi aux pron nm nm nm

inamatimatamonaka

inamati -mata -mona -ka
 spirit FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm

'They disappeared. He was a spirit.'

276 *Inamati , inamati me fawa ni awehinoho tasi*
 inamati , inamati me fawa na.NFIN awa -hino -ho tasi
 spirit spirit 3PL.S disappear AUX see IP.N+M DUP emerge
 nm nm pron vi aux vt vi

nakehimatamonane

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

'The spirit had seen them disappear, and he appeared.'

277 *Oof*
 oof
 hoo
 interj

"Whew."

278 *Inamati tasi nake , Afa ha tine ti*
 inamati tasi na -kI , afa haa ti- na -ne ti-
 spirit emerge AUX coming this+F call 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S
 nm vi aux dem vi aux prt

'The spirit appeared. "Is that you calling?"

279 *Me ha one oke*
 me haa o- na -ne o- ke
 3PL.O call 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron vt aux prt

"I'm calling them."

280 *Me fawa na me ha one oke*
 me fawa na+F me haa o- na -ne o- ke
 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.O call 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron vi aux pron vt aux prt

"I'm calling the ones who disappeared."

281 *Me fawa na me ha tina , me*
 me fawa na+F me haa ti- na+F , me
 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.O call 2SG.S AUX 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron vt aux pron

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

287 *Tikamabisahi*

ti- to- ka -ma -bisa -hi
2SG.S away go/come back also IMP+F
vi

"Go back home."

288 *Me kamateraba me*

me ka -ma -tee -ra -haba me
3PL.S go/come back HAB NEG FUT+F 3PL.S
pron vi pron

winibanatini

wina.NOM+F -bana -tee.NOM -ni fa boti ya
live FUT HAB BKG+F water inside ADJU
vi nf pn prt

"They aren't going to come back, they are living underwater."

289 *Fa boti ya me winatibanake*

faha boti ya me wina -tee.NOM -bana -ke
water inside ADJU 3PL.S live HAB FUT DECL+F
nf pn prt pron vi

"They are living underwater."

290 *Yati me bari hikanamone me winineni*

yati me bari hi- ka- na -hamone me wina -ne -ni
stone 3PL.O impede OC COMIT AUX REP+F 3PL.S live CONT+F BKG+F
nf pron vt aux pron vi

inamati ati nematamonaka

inamati ati na -himata -mona -ka
spirit say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nm vt aux

"The rock fell on them, and they are living there," the spirit said.'

291 *Inamati inamati hiyara kamine Tikamahi*

inamati inamati hiyara kamina+M ti- to- ka -ma -hi
spirit spirit story tell 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
nm nm nf vt vi

"The spirit told the story. "Go home."

292 *Tikamahi*

ti- to- ka -ma -hi
2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
vi

"Go home."

293 *Okomabisibeya*

o- to- ka -ma -bisa -be -ya
1SG.S away go/come back also IMMED+F now
vi

"I'm going, too."

294 *Ee keye amarini ?*

ee keye ama -ra -ni
(pause) lie be NEG BKG+F
interj nf vc

"Really?"

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

295 **Keye amakere**
 keye ama -ke -re
 lie be DECL+F NEG+F
 nf vc

"Really."

296 **Tinarabo nima ona owati amake**
 ti- narabo nima o- na+F o- ati ama -ke
 2SG.POSS ear communicate to 1SG.S AUX 1SG.POSS voice be DECL+F
 pn vt aux pn vc

"I'm warning you."

297 **Tikamahi**
 ti- to- ka -ma -hi
 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
 vi

"Go home."

298 **Me tiwamaki ya tikamara tiwa**
 me ti- to- awa -makI.NOM ya ti- ka -ma -ra+F tiwa
 3PL.O 2SG.S away see following ADJU 2SG.S go/come back NEG 2SG.S
 pron vt prt vi pron

awine tini
 awine ti- ni
 seem+F 2SG.S BKG+F
 sec prt

"If you go see them, you won't come back."

299 **Tikamara tiwa awine tike**
 ti- ka -ma -ra+F tiwa awine ti- ke
 2SG.S go/come back NEG 2SG.S seem+F 2SG.S DECL+F
 vi pron sec prt

"You won't come back."

300 **Tikamahi tika yibote ni ya**
 ti- to- ka -ma -hi ti- ka yibote ni ya
 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F 2SG.POSS POSS wife to ADJU
 vi prt nf prt prt

"Go back to your wife."

301 **Tika yibote ni ya tikamahi**
 ti- ka yibote ni ya ti- to- ka -ma -hi
 2SG.POSS POSS wife to ADJU 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
 prt nf prt prt vi

"Go back to your wife."

302 **Okasima tafe okobate**
 o- ka asima tafe o- kaba -tee
 1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin food+F 1SG.S eat HAB
 nf pn vt

okasima
 o- ka asima
 1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin
 nf

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

- okasima**
o- ka asima
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin
nf
- okasima**
o- ka asima
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin
nf
- ama ninihi**
ama na.NOM+F -ni -hi
be AUX IP.N+F DUP
vc aux
- "My cousin, whose food I always ate, is now living underwater."
- 303 **Ha** , **kasiroke**
haa kasiro -ke
DEM persist DECL+F
dem vi
- "That thing doesn't give up."
- 304 **Yama** , **kasiroke**
yama kasiro -ke
thing persist DECL+F
nf vi
- "It doesn't give up."
- 305 **Faya yama kasiroke**
faya yama kasiro -ke
so thing persist DECL+F
conj nf vi
- "It doesn't give up."
- 306 **Yama kasiroke** , **ati nematamonaka**
yama kasiro -ke , ati na -himata -mona -ka
thing persist DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nf vi vt aux
- "It doesn't give up," he said.'
- 307 **Oof** , **okasima** **tafe**
oof o- ka asima tafe
hoo 1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin food+F
interj nf pn
- okobate** **okasima** **fawa**
o- kaba -tee o- ka asima fawa
1SG.S eat HAB 1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin disappear
vt nf vi
- nawahi** , **tafe kawita** ,
na -waha.NFIN , tafe ka- ita+F ,
AUX change crops+F COMMIT be located
aux pn vi
- okasima** **ka** ,
o- ka asima ka ,
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin POSS
nf prt

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

fara me one ni ya ahi , ahi ahi .
 fara me one ni ya ahi , ahi ahi .
 same+F 3PL other+F to ADJU there there there
 dem pron adj prt prt dem dem dem
 'He went. He went back to his own people.'

314 *Tokatimamatamona* *amake ahi , ha ya*
 to- ka -tima.NOM+M -mata -mona ama -ke ahi , haa ya
 away go/come upstream FP.N+M REP+M be DECL+F there DEM ADJU
 vi vc dem dem prt
ahi
 ahi
 there
 dem
 'He went walking upstream over there.'

315 *Tokatimame* *faya me tokominame , faya*
 to- ka -tima -ma+M , faya me to- kamina -ma+M , faya
 away go/come upstream back so 3PL.O away tell back so
 vi conj pron vt conj
me tokominame , Hoo , me fawa
 me to- kamina -ma+M , hoo , me fawa
 3PL.O away tell back whew 3PL.S disappear
 pron vt interj pron vi
kananike
 ka- na -hani -ke
 COMIT AUX IP.N+F DECL+F
 aux
 'He went back upstream. He went back and told about them. "Whew, they disappeared."

316 *Me fawa kana me winimone ahi boti*
 me fawa ka- na+F me wina.NOM+F -mone ahi boti
 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX 3PL.S live REP+F there way down
 pron vi aux pron vi dem nf
ya
 ya
 ADJU
 prt
 "'They disappeared, and they are said to be living underwater.'"

317 *Inamati hiyara faya me ka , me tabori*
 inamati hiyara.LIST faya me ka , me tabori
 spirit speak so 3PL POSS 3PL.POSS place+F
 nm vi conj pron prt pron pn
toarake
 to- ha -hara -ke
 CH be IP.E+F DECL+F
 vc
 "'A spirit spoke. It is their village.'"

318 *Me tabori , me tabori , me tabori*
 me tabori me tabori me tabori
 3PL.POSS place+F 3PL.POSS place+F 3PL.POSS place+F
 pron pn pron pn pron pn

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

toarani

to- ha -hara -ni
CH be IP.E+F BKG+F
vc

"This is their village."

319 *Me ka awa me koro hinofani me ka*
me ka awa me koro hi- na nofa -hani me ka
3PL POSS garden 3PL.S plant OC AUX recently IP.N+F 3PL POSS
pron prt nf pron vt aux pron prt

fowa yanareka ahi
fowa yana -hare -ka ahi
manioc grow IP.E+M DECL+M there
nm vi dem

"Their manioc is growing in their gardens which they planted."

320 *Sami , sami , ee , nakafira , haso , yama*
sami , sami , ee , nakafira , haso , yama
pineapple pineapple (pause) taro sp taro sp thing
nf nf interj nf nm nf

tamakanikimarani wataharo me koro
tama -kanikima -hara -ni wata -haaro me koro
be many scattered IP.E+F BKG+F grow IP.E+F 3PL.S throw
vi vi pron vt

hinofanihi
hi- na nofa -hani -hi
OC AUX recently IP.N+F DUP
aux

"There are many things growing which they planted: pineapple, *nakafira* taro, *haso* taro."

321 *Oko yama okobabone*
o- ka yama o- kaba -habone
1SG.POSS POSS thing 1SG.S eat INT+F
prt nf vt

okasima
o- ka asima
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin
nf

okasima tafe
o- ka asima tafe
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin crops+F
nf pn

okasima tafe okobabone
o- ka asima tafe o- kaba -habone
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin crops+F 1SG.S eat INT+F
nf pn vt

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

"I'm going to eat my cousin's crops," he said.'

322 *Okasima*
o- ka asima
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin
nf

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

okasima

o- ka asima
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin
nf

oke

o- ke
1SG.S DECL+F
prt

"I came back."

okomine

o- ka -ma -ne
1SG.S go/come back CONT+F
vi

323 **Ohi onabone ona** ,
ohi o- na -habone ati o- na+F
cry 1SG.S AUX INT+F say 1SG.S AUX
vi aux vt

okasima
o- ka asima
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin
nf

ona **oko** **ohi ni**
ati o- na+F o- ka ohi ni
say 1SG.S AUX 1SG.POSS POSS cry AUX
vt prt vi aux

okomine **oni**
o- ka -ma -ne o- ni
1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
vi prt

"I thought I was going to cry, grieving for my cousin. I held in my grief as I came."

tabiyo ohi onabone
tabiyo ohi o- na -habone
absence cry 1SG.S AUX INT+F
pn vi aux

okayawa
o- ka- yawa+F
1SG.S COMIT be upset
vt

324 **Yama kamoniharake**
yama kamoni -hara -ke
thing be sad IP.E+F DECL+F
nf vi

"It's sad."

325 **Okasima**
o- ka asima
1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin
nf

yama kamoniharake
yama kamoni -hara -ke
thing be sad IP.E+F DECL+F
nf vi

"I used to eat my cousin's food, and it's sad."

tafe okobate ,
tafe o- kaba -tee
food+F 1SG.S eat HAB
pn vt

326 **Faya okoma okoma kobaya**
faya o- ka -ma+F o- ka -ma+F kobaya
so 1SG.S go/come back 1SG.S go/come back collared peccary
conj vi vi nm

owa e nihahareka kobaya wehinoho
owa ee niha- na -hare -ka kobaya waa -hino -ho
1SG.O yell CAUS AUX IP.E+M DECL+M collared peccary stand IP.N+M DUP
pron vi aux nm vi

"I came. A peccary startled me, it was there and I didn't see it."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

327 *Kobaya* *hee* *hee*
 kobaya hee hee
 collared peccary (yell of collared peccary) (yell of collared peccary)
 nm sound sound

hee , *kobaya* , *kobaya*
 hee kobaya kobaya
 (yell of collared peccary) collared peccary collared peccary
 sound nm nm

tisa *ona* *okomine* *o* ,
 tisa o- na+F o- ka -ma -ne o- ,
 shoot with arrow 1SG.S AUX 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S
 vt aux vi prt

oyawa *owa*
 o- yawa+F owa
 1SG.S be upset 1SG.S
 vi pron

"The peccary went, 'Hee, hee, hee.' I didn't shoot an arrow at the peccary, but came on, because I was sad."

328 *Kobaya* *tokomareka*
 kobaya to- ka -ma -hare -ka
 collared peccary away go/come back IP.E+M DECL+M
 nm vi

"The peccary went away."

329 *Kobaya* *tokomareka*
 kobaya to- ka -ma -hare -ka
 collared peccary away go/come back IP.E+M DECL+M
 nm vi

"The peccary went away."

330 *Kobaya* *sa* *okana* *okere*
 kobaya saa o- ka- na o- ke -re
 collared peccary shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F
 nm vt aux prt

"I didn't shoot the peccary with an arrow."

331 *Oyawa* *yawa* *owakama*
 o- yawa+F yawa o- ka- ka -ma+F ,
 1SG.S be upset anger 1SG.S COMIT go/come back
 vi nf vt

ota owa *ka* *karaboa* , *ota owa* *ka*
 ota owa ka karaboha , ota owa ka
 1SG.POSS.affinal relative POSS blowgun 1SG.POSS.affinal relative POSS
 nm prt nf nm prt

karaboa *tiwa* *okana* , *kahomara* *ahi*
 karaboha tiwa o- ka- na+F , ka- homa -hara ahi
 blowgun carry 1SG.S COMIT AUX COMIT lie on ground IP.E+F there
 nf vt aux vi dem

"I was grieving. I was grieving as I came. The blowgun which I was carrying, which belonged to our affinal relative, is lying there."

332 *Onakaminabanake*
 o- to- na- ka -mina -habana -ke
 1SG.S away CAUS go/come morning FUT+F DECL+F
 vt

"I will get it tomorrow."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

338 *Me kobo na me , Hibaka ya , hibaka ya hawi*
 me kobo na+F me , hibaka ya , hibaka ya hawi
 3PL.S arrive AUX 3PL.S where ADJU where ADJU trail
 pron vi aux pron interrog prt interrog prt nf

tohari ?

to- ha -ri
 CH be CQ+F
 vc

"They arrived. "Where is the trail?"

339 *Me hawi ama ha*
 me hawi ama haa
 3PL.POSS trail+F be DEM
 pron pn vc dem

""This is their trail.""

340 *Aba sa okomateya*
 aba saa o- ka- na -mate -ya
 fish shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time.IMP+F now
 nm vt aux

""I'm going to shoot a fish with an arrow.""

341 *Aba me me hiwati hinofani me faya*
 aba me me hi- wata hi- nofa -hani me faya
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S OC catch OC recently IP.N+F 3PL.O so
 nm pron pron vt prt pron conj

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

'They always caught fish with their hands. So he went.'

342 *Aba sa kanebona tokomake*
 aba saa ka- na -hibona to- ka -makI
 fish shoot with arrow COMIT AUX INT+M away go/come following
 nm vt aux vi

tokomake , aba , aba me me , me , aba me
 to- ka -makI , aba , aba me me , me , aba me
 away go/come following fish fish 3PL 3PL 3PL fish 3PL.O
 vi nm nm pron pron pron nm pron

me afi hinofani me aii aba me
 me afi hi- na nofa -hani me aii aba me
 3PL.S bathe with OC AUX recently IP.N+F 3PL.O wow! fish 3PL.S
 pron vt aux pron interj nm pron

itehemetemoneni
 ita -hemete -mone -ni
 exist FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi

'He went to shoot a fish with an arrow. He went. They always got fish with their hands. Wow, there were a lot of fish all together.'

343 *Faya aba sa kane , aba sa*
 faya aba saa ka- na+M , aba saa
 so fish shoot with arrow COMIT AUX fish shoot with arrow
 conj nm vt aux nm vt

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

kanematamonaka

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

'He shot a fish with an arrow.'

344 **Aba tati ba nare** , **tokisawiti** **aba**
aba tati baa na -rI to- ka -risa -witI+M aba
fish head hit AUX raised surface away go/come down out fish
nm pn vt aux vi nm

me one towasiwiti aba sa katase
me one to- wasi -witI+M aba saa ka- na -tasa+M
3PL other+F away find out fish shoot with arrow COMIT AUX again
pron adj vt nm vt aux

aba me sasa kawe
aba me sa- saa ka- na -waha+M
fish 3PL.O DUP shoot with arrow COMIT AUX change
nm pron vt aux

katimamematamonaka

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

'He hit the fish on the head with a stick. He went further downstream. He found some more fish. He shot another fish with an arrow. He shot a few more fish with arrows. He came back upstream.'

345 **Katimame** , **Faya me amani**
ka -tima -ma+M faya me ama -ni
go/come upstream back enough 3PL.S be BKG+F
vi adj pron vc

'He came back upstream. "That's enough."

346 **Me kabaminabanake**
me kaba -mina -habana -ke
3PL.S eat morning FUT+F DECL+F
pron result

""They will be eaten tomorrow.""

347 Kamematamonaka

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

'He came back.'

348 **Kame** , **kame** , **kobo namematamonaka**
ka -ma+M ka -ma+M kobo na -ma -himata -mona -ka
go/come back go/come back arrive AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi vi aux

aba mera tama kani
aba mera tama ka- na.NFIN
fish 3PL.O hold onto COMIT AUX
nm pron vt aux

'He came back. He arrived back, carrying the fish.'

349 **Yama me hikabi hinofarawani tiwi toe**
yama me hi- kaba hi- nofa -rawa -hani ti- awa to- ha
thing 3PL.S OC eat OC recently F.PL IP.N+F 2SG.S see CH AUX
nf pron vt prt vt aux

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

355 *Yati me bari hikana me awine , yati*
 yati me bari hi- ka- na+F me awine , yati
 stone 3PL.O impede OC COMIT AUX 3PL.O seem+F stone
 nf pron vt aux pron sec nf

"It seems a rock fell on them."

356 *Yati me bari hikimonehe owati*
 yati me bari hi- ka- na.NOM+F -mone -he o- ati
 stone 3PL.O impede OC COMIT AUX REP+F DUP 1SG.POSS voice
 nf pron vt aux pn

boti ati nara oke , aba sa
 boti ati na -hara o- ke , aba saa
 inside say AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F fish shoot with arrow
 pn vt aux prt nm vt

okana owa
 o- ka- na+F owa
 1SG.S COMIT AUX 1SG.S
 aux pron

"A rock fell on them,' I thought, as I shot the fish."

357 *Faya aba , faya aba me me , tabasi na aba*
 faya aba , faya aba me me , tabasi na+F aba
 so fish so fish 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX fish
 conj nm conj nm pron pron vt aux nm

me me kabehemetemone
 me me kaba -hemete -mone
 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F
 pron pron vt

'So they roasted the fish on a rack. They ate the fish.'

358 *Faya me tafemetemoneke*
 faya me tafa -hemete -mone -ke
 so 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj pron vi

'They ate.'

359 *Me tafa me , iyawa me sira me iyawa*
 me tafa+F me , iyawa me sira+F me iyawa
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S manioc mash 3PL.S toast 3PL.S manioc mash
 pron vi pron nf pron vt pron nf

me kaba me , aba me me kabemetemoneke
 me kaba+F me , aba me me kaba -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vt pron nm pron pron vt

'They ate. They toasted manioc mash. They ate the manioc mash. They ate the fish.'

360 *Aba me me kaba me , Hoo aba me kabi*
 aba me me kaba+F me , hoo aba me kaba.NFIN
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S whew fish 3PL.S eat
 nm pron pron vt pron interj nm pron result

eeto raba ra me me kabi nofani
 e- eheto na -raba na -ra+F me me kaba nofa -hani
 DUP be good AUX a bit AUX NEG 3PL.O 3PL.S eat recently IP.N+F
 vi aux aux aux pron pron vt prt

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

me , *fawa* *namone* , *me* *tabiyo* *afi* *ona* ,
 me , fawa na -hamone , me tabiyo afi o- na+F ,
 3PL.S disappear AUX REP+F 3PL.POSS absence bathe 1SG.S AUX
 pron vi aux pron pn vi aux

afi *onene* *oke* .
 afi o- na -hene o- ke
 bathe 1SG.S AUX IRR+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi aux prt

'They ate the fish. "I could go in the water after the people who always ate the good-tasting fish and disappeared, but I'm not going to.'

361 *Hine na oke aba okobabisaba owa* ,
 hine na.LIST o- na -ke aba o- kaba -bisa -haba owa ,
 only AUX 1SG.S AUX DECL+F fish 1SG.S eat also FUT+F 1SG.S
 pron vi aux nm vt pron

aba okobabone owa .
 aba o- kaba -habone owa
 fish 1SG.S eat INT+F 1SG.S
 nm vt pron

"I will just eat fish."

362 *Aba sa okanamibana ama o aba*
 aba saa o- ka- na -mina+F -bana ama o- aba
 fish shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX morning FUT SEC 1SG.S fish
 nm vt v sec prt nm

okobabone owa .
 o- kaba -habone owa
 1SG.S eat INT+F 1SG.O
 vt pron

"I'm going to shoot a fish tomorrow, so I can eat fish."

363 *Aba me e nimakoni aba me aba me*
 aba me ee na -makoni aba me , aba me
 fish 3PL.S be similar AUX for this reason+F fish 3PL fish 3PL.O
 nm pron vi aux nm pron nm pron

me hiyokoani me onarake .
 me hi- yoko -hani me ati o- na -hara -ke
 3PL.S OC bring misfortune on IP.N+F 3PL.O say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vt pron vt

"I think it was because there were so many fish that they caused their ruin."

364 *Aba me ihabasikimarani* .
 aba me iha -basa -kima -hara -ni
 fish 3PL.S be located edge two IP.E+F BKG+F
 nm pron vi

"The fish are right at the edge."

365 *Aba me me hikawinibanatini* .
 aba me me hi- ka- wina+F -bana -tee.NOM -ni
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT live FUT HAB BKG+F
 nm pron pron vt

"They are living with the fish."

366 *Fawa* , *Fawa* , *Fawa* , *Fawa* ,
 Fawa Fawa Fawa Fawa
 (man's name) (man's name) (man's name) (man's name)
 npropm npropm npropm npropm

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

Fawa **amare** **Fawakane**
 Fawa ama -ra+M Fawakane
 (man's name) be NEG (man's name)
 npropm vc npropm
 "Is it Fawa, Fawakane?"

367 **Ee** , **Fawakane** **amare**
 ee , Fawakane ama -ra+M
 yes (man's name) be NEG
 interj npropm vc
 "Yes, it's Fawakane."

368 **Aba** **mera** **kawinawaha** **waha** , **Mawa** **me** **fama**
 aba mera ka- wina -waha.LIST waha , Mawa me fama+F
 fish 3PL.O COMIT live change now (man's name) 3PL.S be two
 nm pron vt prt npropm pron vi

mati , **Mawa**
 mati , Mawa
 3PL.S (man's name)
 pron npropm

"He is living with the fish now, along with Mawa."

369 **Mawa** **me** **ya** , **Mawa** **ya** **Fawakane** **me**
 Mawa me ya , Mawa ya Fawakane me
 (man's name) 3PL ADJU (man's name) ADJU (man's name) 3PL.S
 npropm pron prt npropm prt npropm pron

fama **me** **me** **tafawaine** **boti** **ya**
 fama+F me me tafa -waha -ne boti ya
 be two 3PL.S 3PL.S eat change CONT+F way down ADJU
 vi pron pron vi nf prt

"Mawa is with Fawakane. They are eating underwater now."

370 **Faya** **me** , **me** **kamiba**
 faya me , me ka -ma.NOM+F -ba
 so 3PL 3PL.S go/come back FUT
 conj pron pron vi

"They are not coming back."

371 **Me** **kakaminima** **nara**
 me ka- ka -ma -nima na -hara
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back about to AUX IP.E+F
 pron vi aux

"They aren't coming back."

372 **Me** **kakaminima** **rarake**
 me ka- ka -ma -nima na -ra -hara -ke
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back about to AUX NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

"They aren't coming back."

373 **Me** , **e** **winibana** **me** **tabori** **ya** ?
 me , ee wina+F -bana me tabori ya
 3PL 1IN.S live FUT 3PL.POSS place+F ADJU
 pron pron vi pron pn prt

"Shall we live in their village?"

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

374 *Me* *tabori* *ya* *e* *wina* , *aba* *me* *e*
 me tabori ya ee wina+F , aba me ee
 3PL.POSS place+F ADJU 1IN.S live fish 3PL.O 1IN.S
 pron pn prt pron vi nm pron pron

tisa *ni* *ya* , *aba* *me* *e* *tisa*
 tisa na.NOM+F ya , aba me ee tisa
 shoot with arrow AUX ADJU fish 3PL.O 1IN.S shoot with arrow
 vt aux prt nm pron pron vt

ni *ya* *aba* *me* *e* *tabasi* *ni* *ya* *e*
 na.NOM+F ya aba me ee tabasi na.NOM+F ya ee
 AUX ADJU fish 3PL.O 1IN.S roast on grill AUX ADJU 1IN.S
 aux prt nm pron pron vt aux prt pron

tokomaba *ereke* *mata*
 to- ka -ma -haba ere -ke mata
 away go/come back FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F for now
 vi pron prt

""Let's live in their village. When we have shot some fish with arrows and roasted them, we will go home.""

375 *Yamata* *yanakere* *haro*
 yamata yana -ke -re haaro
 crops grow DECL+F NEG+F that one+F
 nf vi dem

""The crops haven't grown big yet.""

376 *Ee* , *yamata* *yanamata* *haro*
 ee , yamata yana -mata haaro
 yes crops grow short time that one+F
 interj nf vi dem

""Right, let the crops grow a while.""

377 *Okasima* *tafe* *bote* *tiwa*
 o- ka asima tafe bote ti- awa
 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister crops+F old 2SG.S see
 nf pn adj vt

""Look at my cousin's former crops.""

378 *Okasima* *yama* *kokoro* *toete* *nakafira*
 o- ka asima yama ko- koro to- ha -hete nakafira
 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister thing DUP plant CH AUX RP.N+F taro sp
 nf nf vt aux dem nf

tiwa *haro* *haso* , *ihabasikimari* *hari*
 ti- awa haaro haso , iha -basa -kima -haari hari
 2SG.S see that one+F taro sp be located edge two IP.E+M that one+M
 vt dem nm vi dem

""Look at the crops my cousin planted, *nakafira* taro, *haso* taro, on the edge of the garden.""

379 *Biha* , *sami* , *yamata* *tama* , *aba* *me*
 biha , sami , yamata tama+F , aba me
 plant sp pineapple food be many fish 3PL.S
 nm nf nf vi nm pron

kasomineke
 ka- soma -ne -ke
 COMMIT help CONT+F DECL+F
 vt

""The fish are taking the place of the yams, pineapples, and all the garden crops.""

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

380 *Me* , *me* , *tokome*
 me , me , to- ka -ma+M ,
 3PL 3PL away go/come back
 pron pron vi

hinakati *fawa* *na* *tabiyo* *awe*
 hinaka ati fawa na+F tabiyo awa+M
 3SG.POSS older female parallel cousin disappear AUX absence feel
 nf vi aux pn vt

tokomamatamona *amake* *ahi* , *Momonena* *ya*
 to- ka -ma.NOM+M -mata -mona ama -ke ahi , Momonena ya
 away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M be DECL+F there (place name) ADJU
 vi vc dem npropf prt

, *Monena* *ya* *me* *winaha* *mati* , *okobi*
 Monena ya me winaha+F mati , o- ka abi ,
 (place name) ADJU 3PL.S live 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS father
 npropf prt pron vi pron nm

okobi *bati* *meteba* *mati* , *hibati*
 o- ka abi bati me -tee -ba mati , hibati
 1SG.POSS POSS father 3SG.POSS.father 3PL HAB FUT 3PL long time ago
 nm pron nm pron nf

ka mati
 ka mati
 of 3PL
 prt pron

'He went home. He missed his cousin who was gone. He went to Momonena. They lived at Monena, my father's father's people, the people of long ago.'

381 *Okobi* *okobi* *bati*
 o- ka abi o- ka abi bati
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father 3SG.POSS.father
 nm nm nm

bati *me* *me* *winaha* *me* *ya*
 bati me me winaha+F me ya
 3SG.POSS.father 3PL 3PL.S live 3PL ADJU
 nm pron pron vi pron prt

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

'He went to where my father's father's people were living.'²⁹

382 *Tokome* *kobo* *toname* , *Me* , *me* *fawa*
 to- ka -ma+M , kobo to- na -ma+M , me , me fawa
 away go/come back arrive away AUX back 3PL 3PL.S disappear
 vi vi aux pron pron vi

kanarake
 ka- na -hara -ke
 COMIT AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 aux

'He went. He arrived. "They disappeared."'

383 *Me* *fawa* *kanarake* *fa* *me* *aafi*
 me fawa ka- na -hara -ke faha me a- afi
 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX IP.E+F DECL+F water 3PL.S DUP bathe in
 pron vi aux nf pron vt

29 *me ya* may be archaic; younger Jarawaras would say *me ni ya*.

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

mati

mati
3PL.S
pron

"The people who went in the water disappeared."

384 *Okati*

o- ka ati
1SG.POSS POSS older female parallel cousin
nf

okati

o- ka ati
1SG.POSS POSS older female parallel cousin
nf

tafe

tafe
food+F
pn

oko

o- ka
1SG.POSS POSS
prt

kakaba

ka- kaba
DUP eat
pn

fawa

fawa na -hara -ke
disappear AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
vi aux

narake

"My cousin whose food I ate disappeared."

385 *Okati*

o- ka ati
1SG.POSS POSS older female parallel cousin
nf

tafe

tafe
food+F
pn

oko

o- ka
1SG.POSS POSS
prt

kakaba

ka- kaba fawa na -hara -ni
DUP eat disappear AUX IP.E+F BKG+F
pn vi aux

fawa

narani

ati

ati
say
vt

nematamonaka

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

"My cousin whose food I ate disappeared," he said.'

386 *Ati*

ati na+M , hiyamataha me ebe na -hani
say AUX what? 3PL.S purpose AUX IP.N+F
vt aux interrog pron vt aux

'He said. "What happened to them?"'

387 *Hiyamata*

hiyamataha me ebe na -ke -re
what? 3PL.S purpose AUX DECL+F NEG+F
interrog pron vt aux

"I don't know."

388 *Me*

me awa -ra -hani
3PL.S see NEG IP.N+F
pron result

"Nobody saw."

389 *Me*

me fawa ka- na -hamone inamati ati na+M waa -hare
3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX REP+F spirit say AUX stand IP.E+M
pron vi aux nm vt aux vi

ahi

ahi
there
dem

"A spirit said they disappeared, he was standing there."

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

390 *Inamati* , *inamati* *mera* *kamine* *me* *tabiyo* *ha* *ona*
 inamati , inamati mera kamina+M me tabiyo haa o- na+F
 spirit spirit 3PL.O tell 3PL.POSS absence call 1SG.S AUX
 nm nm pron vt pron pn vi aux

oko *ha* *ni* *mitihino* *kake*
 o- ka haa na.NFIN mita -hino ka -kI ,
 1SG.POSS POSS call AUX hear IP.N+M go/come coming
 prt vi aux vt vi

wahareka
 waa -hare -ka
 stand IP.E+M DECL+M
 vi

"I was calling for them and the spirit heard me calling and he stood there and told me about them."

391 *Me* *ha* *rima* *tinahi*
 me haa na -rima ti- na -hi
 3PL.O call AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 pron vt aux aux

""Don't call for them.""

392 *Me* *fawa* *kana* *me* *ha* *tine* *tike*
 me fawa ka- na+F me haa ti- na -ne ti- ke
 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX 3PL.O call 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S DECL+F
 pron vi vi pron vt aux prt

inamati *ati* *nareka* *owa* *ni* *ya*
 inamati ati na -hare -ka owa ni ya
 spirit say AUX IP.E+M DECL+M 1SG to ADJU
 nm vt aux pron prt prt

""You are calling for people who disappeared,' the spirit said to me.""

393 *Faya* *me* *ha* *ona* *owa* *owa* *ni* *inamati* *kake*
 faya me haa o- na+F owa owa ni inamati ka -kI
 so 3PL.O call 1SG.S AUX 1SG 1SG to spirit go/come coming
 conj pron vt aux pron pron prt nm vi

"I was calling for them and the spirit came to me."

394 *Me* *fawa* *kana* *me* *ha* *tine* *tini*
 me fawa ka- na+F me haa ti- na -ne ti- ni
 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX 3PL.O call 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S BKG+F
 pron vi aux pron vt aux prt

""You are calling for people who disappeared.""

395 *Me* , *me* *winineke* *boti* *karo* , *fa* , *fa*
 me , me wina -ne -ke boti karo , faha , faha
 3PL 3PL.S live CONT+F DECL+F way down LOC water water
 pron pron vi nf prt nf nf

boti *karo* , *inamati* *ati* *nareka*
 boti karo , inamati ati na -hare -ka
 inside LOC spirit say AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 pn prt nm vt aux

""They are living underwater,' the spirit said.""

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

396 *Yamata me koro hinete kawita tiwene*
 yamata me koro hi- na -hete ka- ita+F ti- awa -hene
 crops 3PL.S plant OC AUX RP.N+F COMIT be located 2SG.S see IRR+F
 nf pron vt aux vi vt

ama , me fawa nete mati
 ama me fawa na -hete mati
 SEC 3PL.S disappear AUX RP.N+F 3PL.S
 sec pron vi aux pron

"You haven't seen the crops they planted, the people who disappeared."

397 *Yamata e kabibeya*
 yamata ee kaba -be -ya
 food 1IN.S eat IMMED+F now
 nf pron vt

"Let's eat the crops."

398 *E tokomibeya*
 ee to- ka -ma -be -ya
 1IN.S away go/come back IMMED+F now
 pron vi

"Let's go."

399 *E winawaba ereke fahi*
 ee wina -waha -haba ere -ke fahi
 1IN.S live change FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F there
 pron vi pron dem

"Let's live there."

400 *E winawaba ere fahi me tabori ya*
 ee wina -waha -haba ere fahi me tabori ya
 1IN.S live change FUT+F 1IN.S there 3PL.POSS place+F ADJU
 pron vi pron dem pron pn prt

hima
 hima
 let's go
 interj

"Let's live there in their village, come on."

401 *Okobi , bati , bati me*
 o- ka abi , bati , bati me
 1SG.POSS POSS father 3SG.POSS.father 3SG.POSS.father 3PL
 nm nm nm pron

okobi , okobi me yetene toaha
 o- ka abi , o- ka abi me yetene to- ha+F
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL teenage boy CH be
 nm nm pron adj vc

me , me ka , Bono Wiyo , Bono Wiyo , Bono Wiyo
 me me ka , Bono Wiyo , Bono Wiyo , Bono Wiyo
 3PL.S 3PL POSS (man's name) (man's name) (man's name)
 pron pron prt npropm npropm npropm

fane , fane biti memetemone
 fana+M , fana+M biti me -mete -mone
 be married be married 3SG.POSS.son 3PL FP.N+F REP+F
 vi vi nm pron

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

408 *Me fawa kimone inamati ati ne ama ahi*
 me fawa ka- na.NOM+F -mone inamati ati na+M ama ahi
 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX REP+F spirit say AUX SEC there
 pron vi aux nm vt aux sec dem

"The spirit said they disappeared."

409 *Aii aba me homabasemetemone me me*
 aii aba me homa -basa -hemete -mone me me
 wow! fish 3PL.S be horizontal edge FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.O 3PL.S
 interj nm pron vi pron pron

wawata hia mati
 wa- wata hi- to- ha+F mati
 DUP catch OC CH AUX 3PL.O
 vt aux pron

'Wow, the fish which they used to catch with their hands were there at the edge.'

410 *Me me yokohani me amake haro*
 me me yoko -hani me ama -ke haaro
 3PL.O 3PL.S bring misfortune on IP.N+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F that one+F
 pron pron vt pron sec dem

"They caused their ruin."

411 *Me tiwa ha*
 me ti- awa haa
 3PL.O 2SG.S see DEM
 pron vt dem

"Look at them."

412 *Wati me kiemetemoneke faro*
 wati me kiha -hemete -mone -ke faaro
 arrow 3PL.S have FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F
 nm pron vt dem

'They had arrows.'

413 *Wati me kia me waha wati me kia aba me*
 wati me kiha+F me waha wati me kiha+F aba me
 arrow 3PL.S have 3PL.S now arrow 3PL.S have fish 3PL.O
 nm pron vt pron prt nm pron vt nm pron

me tisa nemetemoneke faro
 me tisa na -hemete -mone -ke faaro
 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F
 pron vt aux dem

'Now they had arrows. They had arrows. They shot fish with arrows.'

414 *Aba me me tisa na me aba me me*
 aba me me tisa na+F me aba me me
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt aux pron nm pron pron

tisa na aba me me kabemetemone fahi me
 tisa na+F aba me me kaba -hemete -mone fahi me
 shoot with arrow AUX fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F then 3PL.S
 vt aux nm pron pron vt dem pron

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

kobo na mati
 kobo na+F mati
 arrive AUX 3PL.S
 vi aux pron

'They shot fish with arrows. They ate fish after they arrived.'

415 **Me kobo na aba me me kaba me , me kobo**
 me kobo na+F aba me me kaba+F me , me kobo
 3PL.S arrive AUX fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive
 pron vi aux nm pron pron vt pron pron vi

na aba me me kakaba toa me wiwina toa
 na+F aba me me ka- kaba to- ha+F me wi- wina to- ha+F
 AUX fish 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX
 aux nm pron pron vt aux pron vi aux

me , me wiwina toemetemoneke , me , me
 me me wi- wina to- ha -hemete -mone -ke , me , me
 3PL.S 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL 3PL.S
 pron pron vi aux pron pron

tafa mati
 tafa+F mati
 eat 3PL.S
 vi pron

'They arrived. They ate fish. They arrived. They ate fish. They lived there. They lived there and ate.'

416 **Me tafa me wiwina toa me , Awa , awa**
 me tafa+F me wi- wina to- ha+F me , awa , awa
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX 3PL.S garden garden
 pron vi pron vi aux pron nf nf

e bore nibana
 ee bore na+F -bana
 1IN.S clear AUX FUT
 pron vt aux

'They ate. They lived there. "Shall we make a new garden?"'

417 **Awa e bore nahi**
 awa ee bore na -hi
 garden 1IN.S pull out AUX IMP+F
 nf pron vt aux

'''Let's make a garden.'''

418 **E ka fowa isoba amaka hari**
 ee ka fowa iso -ba ama -ka haari
 1IN POSS manioc stalk+M FUT be DECL+M that one+M
 pron prt nm pn vc dem

'''There are our manioc cuttings.'''

419 **E ka fowa isoba ama hari**
 ee ka fowa iso -ba ama haari
 1IN POSS manioc stalk+M FUT be that one+M
 pron prt nm pn vc dem

'''There are our manioc cuttings.'''

420 **Fowa iso abarayaho**
 fowa iso ahaba -ra -yaho
 manioc stalk+M end NEG DIST.IMP+M
 nm pn vi

'''We can't let manioc cuttings go bad.'''

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

421 *Faya me* , *faya fowa iso me nabirabone*
 faya me , faya fowa iso me na- ahaba -ra -habone
 so 3PL so manioc stalk+M 3PL.S CAUS end NEG INT+F
 conj pron conj nm pn pron vt
fowa iso taborobona me borebore toemetemone
 fowa iso taboro -bona me bore- bore to- ha -hemete -mone
 manioc stalk+M place+M INT+M 3PL.S DUP pull out CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nm pn pn pron vt aux
fahi
 fahi
 then
 dem

'So that they wouldn't let the manioc cuttings go bad, they made a garden for them.'

422 *Me wiwinawa toemetemone okobi*
 me wi- wina -waha to- ha -hemete -mone o- ka abi ,
 3PL.S DUP live change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father
 pron vi aux nm
okobi okobi bati aati
 o- ka abi , o- ka abi bati a- ati
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father 3SG.POSS.father DUP say
 nm nm nm vt
toematamona okaki aati toimaro
 to- ha -himata -mona o- ka aki a- ati to- ha.NOM+F -maro
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.S POSS grandmother DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F
 aux nf vt aux

amake
 ama -ke
 be DECL+F
 vc

'They lived there, my father's father used to say, my grandmother used to say.'

423 *Okobi okobi okobi*
 o- ka abi , o- ka abi , o- ka abi ,
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father
 nm nm nm
hihiyara toemari amane
 hi- hiyara to- ha -himari ama -ne
 OC speak to CH AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M
 vt aux sec

'My father used to talk.'

424 *Okaki aati toamaro amake*
 o- ka aki a- ati to- ha -hamaro ama -ke
 1SG.S POSS grandmother DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F SEC DECL+F
 nf vt aux sec

'My grandmother said.'

425 *Me wiwinawa toemetemone ama ahi*
 me wi- wina -waha to- ha -hemete -mone ama ahi
 3PL.S DUP live change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC there
 pron vi aux sec dem

'They live there.'

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

426 *Me winama me tatafa toimetemone aba*
 me wina -ma+F me ta- tafa to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone aba
 3PL.S live back 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F fish
 pron vi pron vi aux nm
me me kaba mati ahi
 me me kaba+F mati ahi
 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S then
 pron pron vt pron dem
 'They lived here. They ate, they ate fish.'

427 *Me , me wina me , tatafa toa me awa me*
 me me wina+F me ta- tafa to- ha+F me awa me
 3PL 3PL.S live 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX 3PL.S tree 3PL.S
 pron pron vi pron vi aux pron nf pron
ka na me , awa me ka nemetemoneke
 kaa na+F me awa me kaa na -hemete -mone -ke
 chop AUX 3PL.S tree 3PL.S chop AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux pron nf pron vt aux
 'They lived there.They ate.They cut down trees.They cut down trees.'

428 *Awa me , awa me bore na awa me ka na me*
 awa me awa me bore na+F awa me kaa na+F me
 tree 3PL tree 3PL.S clear AUX tree 3PL.S chop AUX 3PL
 nf pron nf pron vt aux nf pron vt aux pron
ka awa ini kaha , awa me sari naba me ,
 ka awa ini kaha+F awa me sari na -haba me
 POSS tree branch+F be dried tree 3PL.S burn AUX FUT+F 3PL
 prt nf pn vi nf pron vt aux pron
awa me sari naba mati
 awa me sari na -haba mati
 tree 3PL.S burn AUX FUT+F 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux pron
 'They cleared brush. They cut down trees. When their trees are dried, they will burn the trees.'

429 *Awa me sari naba wana ati ya , wana ati*
 awa me sari na -haba wahana ati ya wahana ati
 tree 3PL.S burn AUX FUT+F cicada sp voice ADJU cicada sp voice
 nf pron vt aux nm pn prt nm pn
ya awa sari nabanake
 ya awa sari na -habana -ke
 ADJU tree burn AUX FUT+F DECL+F
 prt nf result aux
 'They will burn the trees at the sound of the *wahana* cicada. The trees will be burned at the sound of the *wahana*.'

430 *Wana ati ya awa sari nabanani*
 wahana ati ya awa sari na -habana -ni
 cicada sp voice ADJU tree burn AUX FUT+F BKG+F
 nm pn prt nf result aux
 'The trees will be burned at the sound of the *wahana* cicada.'

431 *Faya wana ati ya awa me sari nemetemoneke*
 faya wahana ati ya awa me sari na -hemete -mone -ke
 so cicada sp voice ADJU tree 3PL.S burn AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj nm pn prt nf pron vt aux

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

fahi

fahi
then
dem

'They burned the trees at the sound of the *wahana* cicada.'

432 *Yama hiwe kiti ya awa me sari na me awa me*
yama hiwe kita.NOM+F ya awa me sari na+F me awa me
dry season be strong ADJU tree 3PL.S burn AUX 3PL.S tree 3PL.S
nf vi prt nf pron vt aux pron nf pron

sari nemetemoneke , *me nafi*
sari na -hemete -mone -ke me nafi
burn AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS all
vt aux pron pn

'They burned the trees in the heat of the summer. They all burned the trees.'

433 *Awa hatia me e kanemetemoneke*
awa hatia+F me ee ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
tree burn 3PL.S sing COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
nf vi pron vi aux

'They sang at the burned trees.'

434 *Me fanawi e nemetemone*
me fanawi ee na -hemete -mone
women sing AUX FP.N+F REP+F
nf vi aux

'The women sang.'

435 *Me fanawi e na* , *awa owi ya me e ni*
me fanawi ee na+F awa owi.NOM ya me ee na.NFIN
women sing AUX tree go out ADJU 3PL.S sing AUX
nf vi aux nf vi prt pron vi aux

ahaba , *awa kai me ki na me* , *Awa*
ahaba+F awa kaha.NFIN me kii na+F me awa
end tree be toasted 3PL.S look at AUX 3PL.S tree
vi nf vi pron vt aux pron nf

hatike
hati -ke
be burnt DECL+F
vi

'The women sang. When the trees went out they stopped singing. They looked at the burned trees. "The trees are burned."'

436 *Awa hatike haro*
awa hati -ke haaro
tree be burnt DECL+F that one+F
nf vi dem

""The trees are burned.""

437 *Awa hatike*
awa hati -ke
tree be burnt DECL+F
nf vi

""The trees are burned.""

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

438 *Awa e natafaba ere* .
 awa ee na- tafa -haba ere
 garden 1IN.S CAUS eat FUT+F 1IN.S
 nf pron vt pron

"Let's plant the garden."

439 *Awa me natafabone me , Hiba*
 awa me na- tafa -habone me , hiba
 garden 3PL.S CAUS eat INT+F 3PL wait
 nf pron vt pron interj

saomatahi

sao -mata -hi
 cool off short time IMP+F
 vt

"They wanted to plant the garden. "Wait, let the trees cool off."

440 *Awa , awa saomata mata* .
 awa , awa sao -mata mata
 tree tree cool off short time for now
 nf nf vi prt

"Let the trees cool off for now."

441 *Saomata mata* .
 sao -mata mata
 cool off short time for now
 vi prt

"Let them cool off for now."

442 *Ha ya natafabanake* .
 haa ya na- tafa -habana -ke
 DEM ADJU CAUS eat FUT+F DECL+F
 dem prt result

"Later the garden will be planted."

443 *Faya me , me , me amo nemetemoneke fahi* .
 faya me , me , me amo na -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 so 3PL 3PL 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 conj pron pron pron vi aux dem

'So they slept.'

444 *Amo na , aba me e tisa namata*
 amo na+F , aba me ee tisa na -mata
 sleep AUX fish 3PL.O 1IN.S shoot with arrow AUX short time
 vi aux nm pron pron vt aux

mata

mata
 for now
 prt

"They slept. "We will shoot fish with arrows for now."³⁰

445 *Aba me me tisa nabone me toka*
 aba me me tisa na -habone me to- ka+F
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX INT+F 3PL.S away go/come
 nm pron pron vt aux pron vi

30 The subject pronominal *me* is missing before the first verb.

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

aba	me	me	tisa		na	me	,	aba	me	me
aba	me	me	tisa		na+F	me	,	aba	me	me
fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	shoot with arrow	AUX	3PL.S			fish	3PL.O	3PL.S
nm	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron			nm	pron	pron
tisa		natia		me	aba	me	,	me	me	weye
tisa		na nahatI+F		me	aba	me	,	me	me	weye
shoot with arrow		AUX daytime		3PL.S	fish	3PL		3PL.O	3PL.S	carry
vt		aux		pron	nm	pron		pron	pron	vt
nemetemoneke			ahi	wati	ehene					
na -hemete -mone -ke			ahi	wati	ehene					
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F			then	arrow	victim of+M					
aux			dem	nm	pn					

'They went out to shoot fish with arrows. They shot fish. They shot fish during the day. They carried the fish, what had been killed by the arrows.'

446	Aba	me	me	kakama		me	kobo	nama	me
	aba	me	me	ka- ka	-ma+F	me	kobo	na -ma+F	me
	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	COMIT go/come	back	3PL.S	arrive	AUX back	3PL.S
	nm	pron	pron	vt		pron	vi	aux	pron
	,	aba	me	me	tabasi		nemetemoneke		ahi
		aba	me	me	tabasi		na -hemete -mone -ke		ahi
		fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	roast on grill	AUX FP.N+F	REP+F DECL+F		then
		nm	pron	pron	vt	aux			dem

'They brought the fish back. They arrived back. They roasted the fish on a rack.'

447	Fowa	iso	te	ti		nini	?
	fowa	iso	tee	tii		na -ni	
	manioc	stalk+M	2PL.S	cut through	AUX	BKG+F	
	nm	pn	pron	vt	aux		

""Did you cut manioc cuttings?""

448	Fowa	iso	ota	ti		narene	
	fowa	iso	otaa	tii		na -hare -ne	
	manioc	stalk+M	1EX.S	cut through	AUX	IP.E+M BKG+M	
	nm	pn	pron	vt	aux		

""We cut manioc cuttings.""

449	Fowa	iso	si	nare		hari	
	fowa	iso	sii	na -rI		haari	
	manioc	stalk+M	stand	AUX raised surface		that one+M	
	nm	pn	vi	aux		dem	

""The manioc cuttings are standing there in the house.""

450	Faya	yama	wemetemone		amake	
	faya	yama	waha -hemete -mone	ama -ke		
	so	thing	dawn FP.N+F REP+F	SEC DECL+F		
	conj	nf	vi	sec		

'Morning came.'

451	Me	tafa	me	tafi		ya	,	fowa	me	,	fowa	me
	me	tafa+F	me	tafa.NOM+F		ya	,	fowa	me	,	fowa	me
	3PL.S	eat	3PL.S	eat		ADJU		manioc	3PL		manioc	3PL.S
	pron	vi	pron	vi		prt		nm	pron		nm	pron
	wati	kana	fowa	me	sero	nabone		me	,	faya	awa	
	wati	ka- na+F	fowa	me	sero	na -habone		me	,	faya	awa	
	go after	COMIT AUX	manioc	3PL.S	hoe	AUX INT+F		3PL		so	garden	
	vt	aux	nm	pron	vt	aux		pron		conj	nf	

THEY DISAPPEARED IN THE STREAM

me natafemetemoneke

me na- tafa -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S CAUS eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vt

'They ate. As they ate, they thought about the manioc. They wanted to make holes for planting manioc. So they planted the garden.'

452 **Awa me natafa me , awa me**
 awa me na- tafa+F me , awa me
 garden 3PL.S CAUS eat 3PL.S garden 3PL.S
 nf pron vt pron nf pron

natafemetemoneke

na- tafa -hemete -mone -ke
 CAUS eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'They planted the garden.'

453 **Awa me koro natia me bai fawa ne ya**
 awa me koro na nahatI+F me bai fawa na.NOM+M ya
 tree 3PL.S plant AUX daytime 3PL.S sun disappear AUX ADJU
 nf pron vt aux pron nm vi aux prt

me kama me kobo nama me , me tafaba
 me ka -ma+F me kobo na -ma+F me , me tafa -haba
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S 3PL.S eat FUT+F
 pron vi pron vi aux pron pron vi

mati

mati
 3PL.S
 pron

'They planted the garden during the day. When the sun set they came back. They arrived back, to eat.'

454 **Faya me tafaba me afi na me , bai**
 faya me tafa -haba me afi na+F me , bai
 so 3PL.S eat FUT+F 3PL.S bathe AUX 3PL.S sun
 conj pron vi pron vi aux pron nm

toke ya me tafa me , kakayomaris
 to- ka.NOM+M ya me tafa+F me , ka- kayoma -risa+F me ,
 away go/come ADJU 3PL.S eat 3PL.S COMIT darken down 3PL.S
 vi prt pron vi pron vi pron

me kakayomarisemetemoneke

me ka- kayoma -risa -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S COMIT darken down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They bathed in order to eat. When the sun set they ate. It became dark on them.'

455 **Me kakayomaris**
 me ka- kayoma -risa+F
 3PL.S COMIT darken down
 pron vi

'It got dark on them.'

SIKARI

Free Translation

The Apurinãs didn't come. The one who they had shot came, wounded, and lay in his hammock sick, Sikari. They had shot Sikari, and he came, wounded.

The Jarawaras came upon him as he was staying in his hammock, sick, at Wara Lake. They came upon Sikari.

"The Apurinã is not many. He is lying there in the forest in his hammock. Should we see him?"

"Let's see him."

They went to him. He saw them. My father, who was a teenager, was there, too, he used to say. He was not married yet. My father wasn't married. He was a teenager. My father was there with his older brother.

"Older brother, watch out for the Apurinãs who have attacked each other. One of the Apurinãs, who the Jarawaras shot with arrows long ago, is lying in his hammock."

"Let's see him, let's go. He won't be scary. He will die."

They went out. They found him lying in his hammock with a bullet wound because they had shot him.

"Whew, look at me. They shot me, and I came here wounded, and I am lying in my hammock, sick. I am lying in my hammock, sick, and I haven't taken any medicine."

His wife was sitting there, too, Kawa Moni. She was Kawa Moni. As Kawa Moni sat there, she answered them.

"My husband is bad. The Apurinãs shot my husband in the shoulder, and in the stomach."

There was the wound of a bullet in his stomach, and on the front of his thigh. The bullet which they had hit his thigh with had come out [the other side]. They had shot him, and the Jarawaras came upon him as he was in his hammock, sick.

He told about himself. "Whew, the Apurinãs are not good. Because they shot me, I am lying in my hammock, sick. Where do you live?"

"We live there. We live at Monena. We came to fish, and we came upon you."

"Right, wait, let me get better. If I get better, I will go to you there. If I get better, if I get well, I will go there," he said.

Kawa Moni made food for them, and they ate. They ate fish, peacock bass. Sikari had shot the peacock bass with bow and arrow. He had shot the peacock bass even though he was still in pain. They ate the peacock bass, and they were ready to leave. "Come on, we are going home, Sikari."

"All right, go ahead. I will just lie here in my hammock, sick. If I get well, I will go to you. If I get well, I will go."

So they left. They came back.

"They shot Sikari like a tapir and he is left there in his hammock, but he isn't an animal. He is left there in his hammock, wounded all over. They shot Sikari. An animal would not survive being shot. It's as if he wasn't even one of them. They shot him, and he is left there in his hammock."

Then they were exclaiming. When they heard about Sikari, they exclaimed.

SIKARI

"If I get well, I will go after the other Apurinās, and will speak to them, and they will come here," he said. "If they come here, when they arrive, and I am living with them, I will go to you. When I have gone there, I will speak to you, and when I come back, you will come here."

Sikari wanted to go to them. He went to them. His son was a teenager.

"Wait, my son is not grown up yet. My son is not big yet. When my son is a man, I will go there. I will go and arrive and sleep at your place. I will come back and arrive back. If they don't come here, I will go after them. I will get them, and deceive them, and bring them back here," he said, my father used to say. "Yes, I will not say anything about you. There are no Indians here," I will say. I will say, 'There are no Indians living here.' I will bring them here. When they come and I am living with them, you will come here."

"My son will soon be a man. Wait, my son is tall. He has been saying that he is going to avenge me. You will see how he tells you when to act. He will tell you when to act. When I see my son, I will go to the water. I will go and sit there, and then there will be the sound of shotguns. When there is the sound of shotguns, you will kill them. You will shoot them."

Sikari stayed living there. He came here. He came, and arrived. They visited Kawa Moni, who made food for them.

"The Apurinās were here, but they were afraid and they went away. Wait. 'There are no Indians here,' I said, but they didn't believe me, and they went away. The Apurinās were afraid. But I'm not afraid," Sikari said.

His son had grown up, and he was an adult.

"Yes, when they go after my father, after you come I will shoot them. I will shoot them with a shotgun, and then you will shoot them with arrows. You will shoot them with arrows after I shoot them with a shotgun. I will shoot the one who shot my father, you will see me," he said.

"Right, should we go there now?"

"You go there for now. My father will go there. My father will go there to you."

Many days later Sikari went back [from the Jarawara village to where he was living]. He went to the Apurinās. He arrived back. They were sleeping. Sikari spoke. His son was very mean, my father used to say, because they had shot his father. That's why he killed people. They ran away because of him, people used to say, my father used to say. He brought them, and they came, and he saw him. "He shot my father," he said. His son shot the one who had shot Sikari, in the chest, and he fell.

After he killed someone, he didn't run away. He stood by the wall. He stood there. He had shot him right in the notch of his chest.

Sikari had gone out, and he came back. "Kabirina, Kabirina."

"Yes?"

"My son has killed someone. We took the Apurinā that my son had shot, and he is in the stream on the other side, to rot. The Apurinā will rot."

Then they were peaceful. They came and arrived there, not far [from where there were Jarawara villages], at the edge of the Siraba stream. They lived over this way at the Siraba stream.

"Sikari is kind, how could they shoot him? Now his son has killed someone."

My father and the others visited, and they arrived. Kawa Moni made food. They ate fish that he had shot with bow and arrow.

"Kabirina, you eat. You and Domingos eat. Eat. You are going home. Sawa Bofe, Simanawi, Amane, and Tafa, eat. Eat. You are going home."

Kawa Moni harried her. She wanted her daughter to go fetch water, but her daughter didn't obey. Her daughter stood there. She just stood there.

"Go fetch water. Go fetch water for them to drink," she said.

SIKARI

She didn't want to go, she was lazy. Her mother hit her on the hole in her chest as she stood there. She hit her on the chest, toko, beo. She died.

Then Sikari complained. He stopped complaining, and lay in his hammock.

"Kawa Moni did a bad thing. Kawa Moni has killed my daughter. My daughter has died. Kawa Moni killed my daughter."

Kawa Moni hit her right in the chest. She died.

"Come on, we are going home. We are upset. Your daughter, who cooked food for us, was killed by her mother, and she is lying there on the ground. Eat her. You come [to visit us]. We are going home."

"All right, you go on home."

So they went home. They went.

"Kawa Moni behaved badly, she killed her daughter. The child could not catch her breath anymore. The child died."

"Let her die. It's their child. It's not my child. It's not my daughter. She killed her own daughter. I guess she won't cry because of her daughter."

They went, and arrived. "Kawa Moni made us upset. Kawa Moni killed her daughter. Why did she do that? Why didn't she obey? She hit her on the hole in her chest when she didn't obey. When she hit her on the hole in her chest, she fell down. She fell down, and her father complained. Her older brother didn't see her. They said her brother had gone fishing. Her brother had not seen her, and he criticized them when he got back. Her brother criticized them when he got back."

They talked when they got back. They could be heard talking. "Sikari said he is going to come, but Sikari's wife will stay there. He will be alone. Sikari is going to come alone. You are wanting to have a festa." They wanted to have a festa.

"Sikari has come, and has arrived. Sikari has come."

He came, and arrived.

"Whew, what are you eating?"

"White-lipped peccary. White-lipped peccaries are good to eat."

Sikari arrived to them as they were eating peccary. He sat and ate a little of the peccary.

Ketebera asked him. "Sikari."

"Huh?"

"Sikari, they say your wife killed someone, killing your daughter."

"Yes, my wife killed my daughter. I'm not upset. I'm not very mad at my wife. Let her die. 'Let her die,' I said. But when her brother came back, he criticized us. Her brother criticized us, and then stopped talking."

"I came. Are you going to have a festa?"

"Yes, we are going to have a festa. They are going to whip them."³¹

"They are going to be whipped, and my wife stayed. I don't know. I don't know if I should go back," Sikari said.

Sikari was ready to leave. "I'm going."

"All right, go ahead. Go."

So Sikari went back home. He disappeared in the forest.

"Go look at Sikari. He is going to shoot us."

"He can't shoot us, he is unarmed. He doesn't have a weapon. I will go look at him."

He went there. He came upon Sikari drinking water.

"Oh, are you going to bathe?"

"Yes, I'm going to bathe. I'm still drinking water."

31 This refers to the climax of the coming-of-age festa for pubescent girls, when they are whipped with switches.

SIKARI

They lived there at Kawa Fa stream. It was Kawa Fa. That's the water that Sikari was drinking.

"Come on, I'm going back."

"All right, you go ahead."

So Sikari went back.

"I'm going to bathe. I think I will go there. When I hear what my wife says and come back, I will find you having a festa."

"You tell her, Sikari."

"Right, I didn't speak to my wife. After I speak to my wife and come back, I will be here for part of the festa," Sikari said.

He left. He went into the forest. He bathed. He came back.

"Whew, Sikari said he is going to come, to be at a part of the festa."

He saw them being whipped, too. He said he was going to come back. He went home [to tell his wife about the festa, before coming back].

Interlinear Presentation

1	Faya	me	kamakira		me	,	efe	me	,	me	
	faya	me	ka	-makI	-ra+F	me	,	efe	me	,	me
	so	3PL.S	go/come	following	NEG	3PL.S		this+M	3PL		3PL.S
	conj	pron	vi			pron		dem	pron		pron
	tao	hineno			kaki			kakawina			
	tao	hi- na	-hino	,	ka- ka	-kI+M		ka- ka-	wina		
	shoot	OC	AUX	IP.N+M	COMIT	go/come	coming	DUP	COMIT	lie	in
	vt	aux			vi			vi		hammock	
	toematamona				amake		ahi	Sikari			
	to-	ha.NOM+M	-mata	-mona	,	ama -ke	ahi	Sikari	.		
	CH	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M		be	DECL+F	then	(man's name)		
	aux					vc	dem	npropm			

'They didn't come. The one who they had shot came, wounded, and lay in his hammock sick, Sikari.'

2	Sikari		Sikari	me	tao	nani	me
	Sikari	,	Sikari	me	tao	na -hani	me
	(man's name)		(man's name)	3PL.S	shoot	AUX	IP.N+F
	npropm		npropm	pron	vt	aux	3PL.S
	Sikari		Sikari		Sikari	kakino	
	Sikari		Sikari	,	Sikari	ka- ka	-kI
	(man's name)		(man's name)		(man's name)	COMIT	go/come
	npropm		npropm		npropm	coming	IP.N+M
	kakawina		toeno		me		
	ka- ka-	wina	to- ha	-hino	me		
	DUP	COMIT	CH	be	IP.N+M	3PL.S	
	vi		vc			pron	
	towasimimetemone				amake	Wara	ya
	to-	wasi -ma.NOM+F	-mete	-mone	ama -ke	Wara	ya
	away	find	back	FP.N+F	REP+F	be	DECL+F
	vt				vc	(name of lake)	ADJU
						npropf	prt
							dem

'They had shot Sikari, and he came, wounded. They came upon him as he was staying in his hammock, sick, at Wara Lake.'

SIKARI

3 **Wara** **ya** **Sikari** **me** **towasima** **me**
 Wara ya Sikari me to- wasi -ma+F me
 (name of lake) ADJU (man's name) 3PL.S away find back 3PL.S
 npropf prt npropm pron vt pron

Sikari **me** , **Yati** **yati** **tamare** **awaka**
 Sikari me , yati yati tama -ra+M awa -ka
 (man's name) 3PL Apurinã Apurinã be many NEG seem+M DECL+M
 npropm pron npropm npropm vi sec

"They came upon Sikari. "The Apurinã is not many."

4 **Yama kabani** **ya** **winaka** **ahi**
 yama kabani ya wina -ka ahi
 forest ADJU lie in hammock DECL+M there
 nf prt vi dem

"He is lying there in the forest in his hammock."

5 **E** **e** **awabana** ?
 ee ee awa+M -bana
 1IN 1IN.S see FUT
 pron pron vt

"Should we see him?"

6 **E** **awaho**
 ee awa -ho
 1IN.S see IMP+M
 pron vt

"Let's see him."

7 **Faya** **me** **hinake** , **me**
 faya me hi- to- na- ka+M , me
 so 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come 3PL.S
 conj pron vt pron

hinakematamonaka
 hi- to- na- ka -himata -mona -ka
 OC away CAUS go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

"They went to him."

8 **Me** **hinake** , **faya** **me** , **mera**
 me hi- to- na- ka+M , faya me , mera
 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come so 3PL 3PL.O
 pron vt conj pron pron

awematamonaka
 awa -himata -mona -ka
 see FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

"They went to him. He saw them."

9 **Mera** **awe** , **mera** **awe** , **okobiba**
 mera awa+M , mera awa+M , o- ka abi -ba
 3PL.O see 3PL.O see 1SG.POSS POSS father FUT
 pron vt pron vt nm

okobiba
 o- ka abi -ba **yetene** **toahi**
 1SG.POSS POSS father FUT teenage boy to- ha+M
 nm adj vc

SIKARI

14 *Yofinarayaho*

yofina -ra -yaho
 cause fear NEG DIST.IMP+M
 vi

"He won't be scary."

15 *Abebanaka*

ahaba -hibana -ka
 die FUT+M DECL+M
 vi

"He will die."

16 *Me tokemetemoneke*

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

'They went out.'

17 *Me toka*

me to- ka+F
 3PL.S away go/come
 pron vi

me

me
 3PL.S
 pron

Sikari

Sikari
 (man's name)
 npropm

me

me
 3PL
 pron

Sikari

Sikari
 (man's name)
 npropm

me

me
 3PL.S
 pron

tao

hineno

tao hi- na -hino
 shoot OC AUX IP.N+M
 vt aux

bara

bara
 bullet
 nf

ihi

ihi
 result of+F
 pn

kiehino

kiha -hino
 have IP.N+M
 vt

kawineno

ka- wina -hino
 COMMIT lie in hammock IP.N+M
 vi

me

me
 3PL.S
 pron

hiwasi

hi- wasi+M
 OC find
 vt

Oof

oof
 interj

owa

owa
 1SG.O
 pron

te

tee
 2PL.S
 pron

awa

awa
 see
 vt

"They went out. They found him lying in his hammock with a bullet wound because they had shot him.
 "Whew, look at me."

18 *Owa te awa*

owa tee awa
 1SG.O 2PL.S see
 pron pron vt

"Look at me."

19 *Owa me tao na owakake*

owa me tao na+F o- ka- ka -kI
 1SG.O 3PL.S shoot AUX 1SG.S COMMIT go/come coming
 pron pron vt aux vi

okowinine

o- ka- wina -ne
 1SG.S COMMIT lie in hammock CONT+F
 vi

oke

o- ke
 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt

"They shot me, and I came here wounded, and I am lying in my hammock, sick."

20 *Okowinine*

o- ka- wina -ne
 1SG.S COMMIT lie in hammock CONT+F
 vi

oni

o- ni
 1SG.S BKG+F
 prt

hemeyo

hemeyo
 medicine
 nf

toma

toma
 take
 vt

SIKARI

bari **haro**
 bari haaro
 outer surface that one+F
 pn dem

'There was the wound of a bullet in his stomach, and on the front of his thigh.'

27 **Fanako** **bari** **me** **tao** **hikaneno** **ka** **bara**
 fanako bari me tao hi- ka- na -hino ka bara
 thigh+M outer surface 3PL.S shoot OC COMMIT AUX IP.N+M which bullet
 pn pn pron vt aux prt nf

tasi **tonani** , **me** **tao** **hineno**
 tasi to- na -hani , me tao hi- na -hino
 emerge CH AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S shoot OC AUX IP.N+M
 vi aux pron vt aux

kawineno **me** **hiwasi** , **hiwa**
 ka- wina -hino me hi- wasi+M , hiwa
 COMMIT lie in hammock IP.N+M 3PL.S OC find 3SG.REFL.M
 vi pron vt pron

kaminematamonaka
 kamina -himata -mona -ka
 tell FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'The bullet which they had hit his thigh with had come out [the other side]. They had shot him, and they came upon him as he was in his hammock, sick. He told about himself.'

28 **Hiwa** **kamine** , **Oof** , **iborina** **me** **boa** **tera**
 hiwa kamina+M , oof , iborina me boa na -tee -ra+F
 3SG.REFL.M tell hoo Apurinã 3PL.S be good AUX HAB NEG
 pron vt interj npropm pron vi aux

me **amake**
 me ama -ke
 3PL.S SEC DECL+F
 pron sec

'He told about himself. "Whew, the Apurinãs are not good."'

29 **Iborina** **me** **boa** **tera** **owa** **me** **tao** **na** ,
 iborina me boa na -tee -ra+F owa me tao na+F
 Apurinã 3PL.S be good AUX HAB NEG 1SG.O 3PL.S shoot AUX
 npropm pron vi aux pron pron vt aux

me **ihi** **okowinine** **oke**
 me ihi o- ka- wina -ne o- ke
 3PL.POSS because of+F 1SG.S COMMIT lie in hammock CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron post vi prt

""The Apurinãs are not good. Because they shot me, I am lying in my hammock, sick.""

30 **Hibaka** **te** **winari** ?
 hibaka tee wina -ri
 where 2PL.S live CQ+F
 interrog pron vi

""Where do you live?""

31 **Ota** **winineke** **haro**
 otaa wina -ne -ke haaro
 1EX.S live CONT+F DECL+F that one+F
 pron vi dem

""We live there.""

SIKARI

32 **Ota** **winine** **Monena** **ya** .
 otaa wina -ne Monena ya
 1EX.S live CONT+F (place name) ADJU
 pron vi npropf prt

"We live at Monena."

33 **Fa** **ota** **ki** **nabone** **ota** **kama** **tiwa** **ota**
 faha otaa kii na -habone otaa ka -ma+F tiwa otaa
 water 1EX.S look at AUX INT+F 1EX.S go/come back 2SG.O 1EX.S
 nf pron vt aux pron vi pron pron

wasimine

wasi -ma -ne
 find back CONT+F
 vt

"We came to fish, and we came upon you."

34 **Ee** , **hiba** , **ka** **onamamate** **mata** .
 ee , hiba , kaa o- na -ma -mate mata
 yes wait get better 1SG.S AUX back short time.IMP+F for now
 interj interj vi aux prt

"Right, wait, let me get better."

35 **Ka** **onami** **ya** ,
 kaa o- na -ma.NOM+F ya ,
 get better 1SG.S AUX back ADJU
 vi aux prt

okomakebana **oke** **fahi** **te** **ni** **ya** .
 o- to- ka -makI -habana o- ke fahi tee ni ya
 1SG.S away go/come following FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F there 2PL to ADJU
 vi prt dem pron prt prt

"If I get better, I will go to you there."

36 **Okomakebana** **fahi** **te** **ni** **ya** .
 o- to- ka -makI -habana fahi tee ni ya
 1SG.S away go/come following FUT+F there 2PL to ADJU
 vi dem pron prt prt

"I will go to you there."

37 **Ka** **onami** **ya** , **bo** **onami**
 kaa o- na -ma.NOM+F ya , boo o- na -ma.NOM+F
 get better 1SG.S AUX back ADJU be good 1SG.S AUX back
 vi aux prt vi aux

ya **okomakebana** **oke** , **ati**
 ya o- to- ka -makI -habana o- ke , ati
 ADJU 1SG.S away go/come following FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F say
 prt vi prt prt vt

nematamonaka

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

"If I get better, if I get well, I will go there," he said.'

38 **Ati** **ne** , **me** **tafebone** **Kawa Moni** **hiwasia** **me**
 ati na+M , me tafe -bone Kawa Moni hi- wasi+F me
 say AUX 3PL.POSS food+F INT+F (woman's name) OC cook 3PL.S
 vt aux pron pn npropf vt pron

SIKARI

tafemetemone

tafa -hemete -mone
eat FP.N+F REP+F
vi

'Kawa Moni made food for them, and they ate.'

39 **Me tafa aba me me kabemetemone** ,
me tafa+F aba me me kaba -hemete -mone
3PL.S eat fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F
pron vi nm pron pron vt

koyofarawaha

koyofa -rawa -ha
peacock bass F.PL DUP
nf

'They ate. They ate fish, peacock bass.'

40 **Koyofa Sikari sa hirawani** ,
koyofa Sikari saa hi- na -rawa -hani
peacock bass (man's name) shoot with arrow OC AUX F.PL IP.N+F
nf npropm vt aux

komene boti koyofa sa naraweno ,
komene boti koyofa saa na -rawa -hino
pain+M inside peacock bass shoot with arrow AUX F.PL IP.N+F
pn pn nf vt aux

koyofa me kabarawa me yana tona Hima ota
koyofa me kaba -rawa+F me yana to- na+F hima otaa
peacock bass 3PL.S eat F.PL 3PL.S start CH AUX let's go 1EX.S
nf pron vt pron vi aux interj pron

tokomibone

to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone Sikari
away go/come back INT+F (man's name)
vi npropm

'Sikari had shot the peacock bass with bow and arrow. He had shot the peacock bass even though he was still in pain. They ate the peacock bass, and they were ready to leave. "Come on, we are going home, Sikari."'

41 **Ee te tokoma**
ee tee to- ka -ma
yes 2PL.S away go/come back
interj pron vi

"All right, go ahead."

42 **Hine okowini**
hine o- ka- wina.NOM+F
only 1SG.S COMIT lie in hammock
pron vi

"I will just lie here in my hammock, sick."

43 **Ka onami ya**
kaa o- na -ma.NOM+F ya
get better 1SG.S AUX back ADJU
vi aux prt

okomakebana oke te ni ya
o- to- ka -makI -habana o- ke tee ni ya
1SG.S away go/come following FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F 2PL to ADJU
vi prt pron prt prt

"If I get well, I will go to you."

SIKARI

44 *Ka* *onami* *ya* , *okahaba*
 kaa o- na -ma.NOM+F ya , o- to- ka -haba
 get better 1SG.S AUX back ADJU 1SG.S away go/come FUT+F
 vi aux prt vi

"If I get well, I will go."

45 *Faya* *me* *yana* *tonemetemone* *fahi*
 faya me yana to- na -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron vi aux dem

'So they left.'

46 *Me* *kama* *me* *Sikari* *me* *tao*
 me ka -ma+F me Sikari me tao
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S (man's name) 3PL.S shoot
 pron vi pron npropm pron vt

hinofeno , *towinakosane* *bani*
 hi- na nofa -hino , to- wina -kosa.CONT+M -ne bani
 OC AUX recently IP.N+M CH lie in hammock middle BKG+M animal
 aux vi nm

amarari *awimonaha*
 ama -ra -haari awi -mona -ha
 be NEG IP.E+M tapir REP+M DUP
 vc nm

"They came back. "They shot Sikari like a tapir and he is left there in his hammock, but he isn't an animal."

47 *Hiyahiyaya* *ne* *towinakosane*
 hiya- hiya -ya na+M to- wina -kosa.CONT+M -ne
 DUP be bad DUP AUX CH lie in hammock middle BKG+M
 vi aux vi

"He is left there in his hammock, wounded all over."

48 *Sikari* , *bani* *yama* *ihi* *kiakia*
 Sikari , bani yama ihi kiha- kiha
 (man's name) animal thing result of+F DUP have
 npropm nm nf pn vt

hitera *me* *tao* *hinofeno*
 hi- na -tee -ra+F me tao hi- na nofa -hino
 OC AUX HAB NEG 3PL.S shoot OC AUX recently IP.N+M
 aux pron vt aux

"They shot Sikari. An animal would not survive being shot."

49 *Me* *ka* *owa* *tohare* *awaka*
 me ka owa to- ha -ra+M awa -ka
 3PL POSS man CH be NEG seem+M DECL+M
 pron prt nm vc sec

"It's as if he wasn't even one of them."

50 *Me* *ka* *owa* *amaramako* *me* *tao*
 me ka owa ama -ra -mako me tao
 3PL POSS man be NEG for this reason+M 3PL.S shoot
 pron prt nm vc pron vt

hinofeno *towinakosa*
 hi- na nofa -hino to- wina -kosa.LIST
 OC AUX recently IP.N+M CH lie in hammock middle
 aux vi

"It's as if he wasn't one of them. They shot him, and he is left there in his hammock."

SIKARI

51 **Boroko mati ihi ati amake** .
 boroko mati ihi ati ama -ke
 pig 3SG.POSS.mother result of+F voice be DECL+F
 nm nf pn pn vc

'The dogs are barking because of the mother of the pig.'

52 **Faya me , hora nemetemoneke ahi** .
 faya me , hora na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 so 3PL.S exclaim AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 conj pron vi aux dem

'Then they were exclaiming.'

53 **Sikari tamine me mita me hora na me ,**
 Sikari tamine me mita+F me hora na+F me ,
 (man's name) news about 3PL.S hear 3PL.S exclaim AUX 3PL.S
 npropm pn pron vt pron vi aux pron
Bo onami ya bo onami ya me
 boo o- na -ma.NOM+F ya bo o- na -ma.NOM+F ya me
 be good 1SG.S AUX back ADJU be good 1SG.S AUX back ADJU 3PL
 vt aux prt vi aux prt pron
 , **me me onakamaharo me narabi**
 me me o- to- na- ka -ma -haaro , me narabi
 3PL 3PL.O 1SG.S away CAUS go/come back PFUT+F 3PL.POSS ear+F
 pron pron vt pron pn
nima ona me kamakiabanake ahi ,
 nima o- na+F me ka -makI -habana -ke ahi ,
 communicate to 1SG.S AUX 3PL.S go/come following FUT+F DECL+F here
 vt aux pron vi prt
ati nematamona .
 ati na -himata -mona
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vt aux

'When they heard about Sikari, they exclaimed. "If I get well, I will go after the others, and will speak to them, and they will come here," he said.'

54 **Me kamaki ya , me kobo namaki ya**
 me ka -makI.NOM ya , me kobo na -makI.NOM ya
 3PL.S go/come following ADJU 3PL.S arrive AUX following ADJU
 pron vi prt pron vi aux prt
me okowini ya , okomakebana
 me o- ka- wina.NOM+F ya , o- to- ka -makI -habana
 3PL.O 1SG.S COMIT live ADJU 1SG.S away go/come following FUT+F
 pron vt prt vi
oke te ni ya .
 o- ke tee ni ya
 1SG.S DECL+F 2PL to ADJU
 prt pron prt prt

'"If they come here, when they arrive, and I am living with them, I will go to you."'

55 **Okomakeharo te narabo nima**
 o- to- ka -makI -haaro tee narabo nima
 1SG.S away go/come following PFUT+F 2PL.POSS ear+M communicate to
 vi pron pn vt

SIKARI

onaharo , **te** **narabo** **nima** **oni** **ya**
 o- na -haaro , tee narabo nima o- na.NOM+F ya
 1SG.S AUX PFUT+F 2PL.POSS ear+M communicate to 1SG.S AUX ADJU
 aux pron pn vt aux prt

okomi **ya** **te** **kamakiaba** **teke**
 o- ka -ma.NOM+F ya tee ka -makI -haba tee -ke
 1SG.S go/come back ADJU 2PL.S go/come following FUT+F 2PL.S DECL+F
 vi prt pron vi pron

"When I have gone there, I will speak to you, and when I come back, you will come here."

56 **Me me** , **Sikari** **kamaki** **ka** , **mera** **mera**
 me me , Sikari ka -makI.NOM ka , mera mera
 3PL 3PL (man's name) go/come following because 3PL.O 3PL.O
 pron pron npropm vi prt pron pron

tonakamebona **ati** **ne** , **mera**
 to- na- ka -ma -hibona ati na+M , mera
 away CAUS go/come back INT+M say AUX 3PL.O
 vt vt aux pron

tonakamematamona
 to- na- ka -ma -himata -mona
 away CAUS go/come back FP.N+M REP+M
 vt

'Sikari wanted to go to them. He went to them.'

57 **Biti** , **yetene** **toahi** , **Hiba** **okatao**
 biti , yetene to- ha+M , hiba okatao
 3SG.POSS.son teenage boy CH be wait my son
 nm adj vc interj nm

yanakara **mata**
 yana -ka -ra mata
 grow DECL+M NEG+M for now
 vi prt

'His son was a teenager. "Wait, my son is not grown up yet."

58 **Okatao** **nafire** **mata**
 okatao nafi -ra+M mata
 my son be big NEG for now
 nm vi prt

"My son is not big yet."

59 **Okatao** **nafi** **omi** **toe** **ya** ,
 okatao nafi+M omi to- ha.NOM+M ya ,
 my son be big man CH be ADJU
 nm vi nm vc prt

okomakebana **oke** **ahi**
 o- to- ka -makI -habana o- ke ahi
 1SG.S away go/come following FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F there
 vi prt dem

"When my son is a man, I will go there."

60 **Okomakeharo** , **okomake**
 o- to- ka -makI -haaro , o- to- ka -makI
 1SG.S away go/come following PFUT+F 1SG.S away go/come following
 vi vi

SIKARI

kobo kobo arrive vi	onamakeharo o- to- na -makI -haaro 1SG.S away AUX following PFUT+F aux		okoma o- to- ka -ma+F 1SG.S away go/come back vi	,	te ni tee ni 2PL to pron prt
ya ya ADJU prt	amo amo sleep vi	onaharo o- na -haaro 1SG.S AUX PFUT+F aux	,	okomaro o- ka -ma -haaro 1SG.S go/come back IP.E+F vi	kobo kobo arrive vi
onami o- na -ma.NOM+F 1SG.S AUX aux		ya ya ADJU prt	,	me me 3PL.S pron	kamakiri ka -makI -ra.NOM+F go/come following NEG vi
					ya me ya me ADJU 3PL.O prt pron
onakama o- to- na- ka -ma.LIST 1SG.S away CAUS go/come back vt			,	me me 3PL.O pron	
onakamatasaharo o- to- na- ka -ma -tasa -haaro 1SG.S away CAUS go/come back again IP.E+F vt			,	okomaro o- to- ka -ma -haaro 1SG.S away go/come back PFUT+F vi	
me me 3PL.O pron	otima o- to- iti -ma+F 1SG.S away take out back vt			me me 3PL.O pron	okeye o- keyeha 1SG.S deceive vt
					me me 3PL.O pron
owakamabanake o- ka- ka -ma -habana -ke 1SG.S COMIT go/come back FUT+F DECL+F vt			,	ati ati say vt	nematamona na -himata -mona AUX FP.N+M REP+M aux
okobi o- ka abi 1SG.POSS POSS father nm		na ati na say AUX vt		hiemari hi- to- ha -himari OC CH AUX FP.E+M aux	

"I will go and arrive and sleep at your place. I will come back and arrive back. If they don't come here, I will go after them. I will get them, and deceive them, and bring them back here," he said, my father used to say.'

61	Ee ee yes interj	,	te tee 2PL pron	te tee 2PL pron	te tee 2PL pron	ino ino name pn	hiri hiri say vt	orabana o- na -ra -habana 1SG.S AUX NEG FUT+F aux		oke o- ke 1SG.S DECL+F prt
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"Yes, I will not say anything about you."

62	Koromi koromi Indian npropm	me me 3PL.S pron	watararake wata -ra -hara -ke exist NEG IP.E+F DECL+F vi		onabana ati o- na -habana say 1SG.S AUX FUT+F vt
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oke
o- ke
1SG.S DECL+F
prt

"There are no Indians here, I will say."

63	Koromi koromi Indian npropm	me me 3PL.S pron	wini wina live vi	nofari nofa -ra.NOM+F recently NEG prt		amake ama -ke be DECL+F vc	,	oni ati o- na.NOM+F say 1SG.S AUX vt
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SIKARI

ya me owakamaharo me kamakia
 ya me o- ka- ka -ma -haaro me ka -makI+F
 ADJU 3PL.O 1SG.S COMIT go/come back PFUT+F 3PL.S go/come following
 prt pron vt pron vi
me , okowini ya te kakeba
 me , o- ka- wina.NOM+F ya tee ka -kI -haba
 3PL.O 1SG.S COMIT live ADJU 2PL.S go/come coming FUT+F
 pron vt prt pron vi

teni
 tee -ni
 2PL.S BKG+F
 pron

"I will say, 'There are no Indians living here.' I will bring them here. When they come and I am living with them, you will come here."

64 **Te kakeba teke ahi**
 tee ka -kI -haba tee -ke ahi
 2PL.S go/come coming FUT+F 2PL.S DECL+F here
 pron vi pron dem

"You will come here."

65 **Okatao omi toakabona**
 okatao omi to- ha -ka -bona
 my son man CH be DECL+M INT+M
 nm nm vc

"My son will soon be a man."

66 **Hiba okatao nemehaka hari**
 hiba okatao nemeha -ka haari
 wait my son be high DECL+M that one+M
 interj nm vi dem

"Wait, my son is tall."

67 **Oko manakone awebona ati nofe amane**
 o- ka manakone awa -hibona ati na nofa+M ama -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS revenge avenge INT+M say AUX recently SEC BKG+M
 prt pn vt vt aux sec

"He has been saying that he is going to avenge me."

68 **Te awebanaka tera yaro kanebana**
 tee awa -hibana -ka tera yaro ka- na -hibana
 2PL.S see FUT+M DECL+M 2PL.O start COMIT AUX FUT+M
 pron vt pron vt aux

"You will see how he tells you when to act."

69 **Tera yaro kanebanaka**
 tera yaro ka- na -hibana -ka
 2PL.O start COMIT AUX FUT+M DECL+M
 pron vt aux

"He will tell you when to act."

70 **Faya okatao owi ya ,**
 faya okatao o- awa.NOM+F ya ,
 so my son 1SG.S see ADJU
 conj nm vt prt

SIKARI

okifiwamabana

o- to- ka -fI -waha -ma -habana
 1SG.S away go/come water change back FUT+F
 vi

oke

o- ke
 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

"When I see my son, I will go to the water."

71 **Okomaro**

o- to- ka -ma -haaro
 1SG.S away go/come back IP.E+F
 vi

owitamaharo

o- to- ita -ma -haaro
 1SG.S away sit back IP.E+F
 vi

taokana

taokana
 shotgun
 nf

moni

moni
 sound
 pn

yana

yana
 start
 vi

naba

na -haba
 AUX FUT+F
 aux

amake

ama -ke
 SEC DECL+F
 sec

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

"I will go and sit there, and then there will be the sound of shotguns."

72 **Taokana**

taokana
 shotgun
 nf

moni

moni
 sound
 pn

yana

yana
 start
 vi

ni

na.NOM+F
 AUX
 aux

ya

ya
 ADJU
 prt

faya

faya
 so
 conj

me

me
 3PL.O
 pron

te

tee
 2PL.S
 pron

katomabana

katoma
 kill many
 vt

fahi

-habana
 FUT+F
 then
 dem

"When there is the sound of shotguns, you will kill them."

73 **Me**

me
 3PL.O
 pron

te

tee
 2PL.S
 pron

tao

tao
 shoot
 vt

nabanake

na -habana -ke
 AUX FUT+F DECL+F
 aux

fahi

fahi
 then
 dem

"You will shoot them."

74 **Faya**

faya
 so
 conj

me

me
 3PL
 pron

Sikari

Sikari
 (man's name)
 npropm

Sikari

Sikari
 (man's name)
 npropm

wiwina

wi- wina
 DUP live
 vi

toe

to- ha+M
 CH AUX
 aux

wiwina

wi- wina
 DUP live
 vi

toe

to- ha+M
 CH AUX
 aux

kamaki

ka
 go/come following
 vi

kamakimatamonaka

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

'Sikari stayed living there. He came here.'

75 **Kamaki**

ka -makI+M
 go/come following
 vi

kobo

kobo
 arrive
 vi

namaki

na -makI+M
 AUX following
 aux

kobo

kobo
 arrive
 vi

namakimatamonaka

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

'He came, and arrived.'

SIKARI

76 *Kobo* *namaki* , *faya* , *afa* *me* *me* *ha*
 kobo na -makI+M , faya , afa me me haa
 arrive AUX following so this+F 3PL.O 3PL.S call
 vi aux conj dem pron pron vi
hikana *me* *kamine* *haro* , *boroko* *mati*
 hi- ka- na+F me ka -ma -ne haaro , boroko mati
 OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S go/come back CONT+F that one+F pig 3PL
 aux pron vi dem nm pron
 'He arrived. There come the ones they called, the pigs.'

77 *Baba* *me* *aawa* *hinofa* *me* *kamine*
 Baba me a- awa hi- nofa+F me ka -ma -ne
 (man's name) 3PL.O DUP see OC recently 3PL.S go/come back CONT+F
 npropm pron vt prt pron vi
nini *haro*
 na -ni haaro
 AUX BKG+F that one+F
 aux dem
 'The ones that Baba always sees are coming.'

78 *Kawa Moniteba* , *Kawa Moni* *me* *tafe* *wasihaba*
 Kawa Moni -tee -ba , Kawa Moni me tafe wasi -haba
 (woman's name) HAB FUT (woman's name) 3PL.POSS food+F cook FUT+F
 npropf npropf pron pn vt
me *yaka* *hina* *me* *yaka* *hinemetemoneke*
 me yaka hi- na+F me yaka hi- na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S visit OC AUX 3PL.S visit OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vt aux pron vt aux
 'They visited Kawa Moni, who made food for them.'

79 *Aya* *iborina* *me* *sawiha* *me* *iborina* *me* *meto* *na*
 aya iborina me sawi+F me iborina me meto na+F
 this Apurinã 3PL.S be present 3PL.S Apurinã 3PL.S be afraid AUX
 dem npropm pron vi pron npropm pron vi aux
me *tokomarake*
 me to- ka -ma -hara -ke
 3PL.S away go/come back IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vi
 '""The Apurinãs were here, but the Apurinãs were afraid and they went away.""'

80 *Hiba* *hibare* *mata*
 hiba hibare mata
 wait wait for now
 interj interj prt
 '""Wait.""'

81 *Iborina* *me* *tokomara* *ahi*
 iborina me to- ka -ma -hara ahi
 Apurinã 3PL.S away go/come back IP.E+F there
 npropm pron vi dem
 '""The Apurinãs went away.""'

82 *Koromi* *me* *watari* *ahi* *ona* *owati*
 koromi me wata -ra.NOM+F ahi ati o- na+F o- ati
 Indian 3PL.S exist NEG here say 1SG.S AUX 1SG.POSS voice
 npropm pron vi dem vt pn

SIKARI

me nofaraba na me tokomarake
 me nofa -raba na+F me to- ka -ma -hara -ke
 3PL.S want a bit AUX 3PL.S away go/come back IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vt aux pron vi

""There are no Indians here,' I said, but they didn't believe me, and they went away.""

83 **Iborina me meto narake**
 iborina me meto na -hara -ke
 Apurinã 3PL.S be afraid AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 npropm pron vi aux

""The Apurinãs were afraid.""

84 **Meto okare ha owa , Sikari ati**
 meto o- ka -re haa owa , Sikari ati
 be afraid 1SG.S DECL NEG+F DEM 1SG (man's name) say
 vi prt dem pron npropm vt

nematamonaka Sikari
 na -himata -mona -ka Sikari
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (man's name)
 aux npropm

""But I'm not afraid," Sikari said.'

85 **Faya biti biti yayana toeno biti**
 faya biti biti ya- yana to- ha -hino biti
 so 3SG.POSS.son 3SG.POSS.son DUP grow CH AUX IP.N+M 3SG.POSS.son
 conj nm nm vi aux nm

yayana toeno biti nafimatamonaka
 ya- yana to- ha -hino biti nafi -himata -mona -ka
 DUP grow CH AUX IP.N+M 3SG.POSS.son be big FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux nm vi

'His son had grown up, and he was an adult.'

86 **Ee , te te okobi me**
 ee , tee tee o- ka abi me
 yes 2PL 2PL 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.S
 interj pron pron nm pron

tonakamaki ya te kamaharo , me me
 to- na- ka -makI.NOM ya tee ka -ma -haaro , me me
 away CAUS go/come following ADJU 2PL.S go/come back PFUT+F 3PL 3PL.O
 vt prt pron vi pron pron

tao okanabanake ahi
 tao o- ka- na -habana -ke ahi
 shoot 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+F DECL+F then
 vt aux dem

""Yes, when they go after my father, after you come I will shoot them.""

87 **Me tao okanabanani , me te**
 me tao o- ka- na -habana -ni , me tee
 3PL.O shoot 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+F BKG+F 3PL.O 2PL.S
 pron vt aux pron pron

tisa naba mati
 tisa na -haba mati
 shoot with arrow AUX FUT+F 3PL.O
 vt aux pron

""I will shoot them with a shotgun, and then you will shoot them with arrows.""

SIKARI

88 *Me te tisa naba me tao*
 me tee tisa na -haba me tao
 3PL.O 2PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FUT+F 3PL.O shoot
 pron pron vt aux pron vt

okanabanake

o- ka- na -habana -ke
 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+F DECL+F
 aux

"You will shoot them with arrows after I shoot them with a shotgun."

89 *Okobi tao kanemari yokana tao*
 o- ka abi tao ka- na -himari yokana tao
 1SG.POSS POSS father shoot COMIT AUX FP.E+M true shoot
 nm vt aux adj vt

okanaba ama oni owa te awaba te
 o- ka- na -haba ama o- ni owa tee awa -haba tee
 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+F SEC 1SG.S BKG+F 1SG.O 2PL.S see FUT+F 2PL.S
 aux sec prt pron pron vt pron

ati nematamona biti
 ati na -himata -mona biti
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M 3SG.POSS.son
 vt aux nm

"I will shoot the one who shot my father, you will see me," he said.'

90 *Biti ati ne ee Ee ota*
 biti ati na+M ee ee otaa
 3SG.POSS.son say AUX (pause) yes 1EX.S
 nm vt aux interj interj pron

tokomibana mata ?
 to- ka -ma+F -bana mata
 away go/come back FUT for now
 vi prt

"Right, should we go there now?"

91 *Te tokomamatahi mata*
 tee to- ka -ma -mata -hi mata
 2PL.S away go/come back short time IMP+F for now
 pron vi prt

"You go there for now."

92 *Okobi tokomakebana fahi*
 o- ka abi to- ka -makI -hibana fahi
 1SG.POSS POSS father away go/come following FUT+M there
 nm vi dem

"My father will go there."

93 *Okobi tokomakebana fahi tera*
 o- ka abi to- ka -makI -hibana fahi tera
 1SG.POSS POSS father away go/come following FUT+M then 2PL.O
 nm vi dem pron

tonakamaki
 to- na- ka -makI+M
 away CAUS go/come following
 vt

"My father will go there to you."

SIKARI

94 *Faya Sikari* , *faya amo ni tatama*
 faya Sikari , faya amo na.NFIN ta- tama
 so (man's name) so sleep AUX DUP be many
 conj npropm conj vi aux vi

kawe Sikari tokomeno Sikari
 ka- na -waha+M Sikari to- ka -ma -hino , Sikari
 COMIT AUX change (man's name) away go/come back IP.N+M (man's name)
 aux npropm vi

mera tonakame tokomeno kobo
 mera to- na- ka -ma+M to- ka -ma -hino , kobo
 3PL.O away CAUS go/come back away go/come back IP.N+M arrive
 pron vt vi

nameno me amo nemetemoneke
 na -ma -hino me , amo na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX back IP.N+M 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux pron vi aux

'Many days later Sikari went back. He went to them. He arrived back. They were sleeping.'

95 *Me amo na me Sikari fare ati yana*
 me amo na+F me Sikari , fare ati yana
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S (man's name) same+M voice start
 pron vi aux pron npropm dem pn vi

tonebanoho ahi
 to- na -hiba -no -ho ahi
 CH AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP then
 aux dem

'They were sleeping. Sikari spoke.'

96 *Biti biti hahama toematamona*
 biti , biti hahama to- ha -himata -mona
 3SG.POSS.son 3SG.POSS.son DUP be mean CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm nm vi aux

okobi na hiemari amane
 o- ka abi ati na hi- to- ha -himari ama -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS father say AUX OC CH AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M
 nm vt aux sec

bati me tao hino karo
 bati me tao hi- na.NOM -no karo
 3SG.POSS.father 3PL.S shoot OC AUX IP.N+M because
 nm pron vt aux prt

'His son was very mean, my father used to say, because they had shot his father.'

97 *Makoni ene itimatamona*
 makoni , ehene iti -himata -mona
 for this reason victim of+M exist FP.N+M REP+M
 conj pn vi

'That's why he killed people.'

98 *Me ene bete nematamona me hinemari*
 me , ehene bete na -himata -mona me ati hi- na -himari
 3PL result of+M run AUX FP.N+M REP+M 3PL.S say OC AUX FP.E+M
 pron pn vi aux pron vt

me na hiematamona okobi na
 me ati na hi- to- ha -himata -mona o- ka abi ati na
 3PL.S say AUX OC CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father say AUX
 pron aux aux nm aux

SIKARI

hiemari

hi- to- ha -himari
 OC CH AUX FP.E+M
 aux

'They ran away because of him, people used to say, my father used to say.'

99 **Me** , **me** **hiwakama** **me** **kamakia**
 me , me hi- ka- ka -ma+F me ka -makI+F
 3PL 3PL.O OC COMIT go/come back 3PL.S go/come following
 pron pron vt pron vi

hiwemako

hi- awa -mako
 OC see for this reason+M
 vt

'He brought them, and they came, and he saw him.'

100 **Okobi** **tao** **kanehimari** **ama** **hari** , **ati**
 o- ka abi tao ka- na -himari ama hari , ati
 1SG.POSS POSS father shoot COMIT AUX FP.E+M SEC that one+M say
 nm vt aux sec dem vt

ne , **Sikari** **tao** **kanemata** **ra** **biti** **tao**
 na+M , Sikari tao ka- na -himata ra biti tao
 AUX (man's name) shoot COMIT AUX FP.N+M O 3SG.POSS.son shoot
 aux npropm vt aux prt nm vt

hikanematamona **bako** **ahi** **bao** **nisebana** **ahi**
 hi- ka- na -himata -mona bako ahi bao na -risa -hibana ahi
 OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M chest+M there fall AUX down FUT+M then
 aux pn dem vi aux dem

'"He shot my father," he said. His son shot the one who had shot Sikari, in the chest, and he fell.'

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

'He fell.'

102 **Bao** **nise** **ya** **ene** **itihino** **kana**
 bao na -risa.NOM+M ya ehene iti -hino kana
 fall AUX down ADJU victim of+M exist IP.N+M run
 vi aux prt pn vi vi

rematamonaka

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

'After he killed someone, he didn't run away.'

103 **Kana** **rematamonane**
 kana na -ra -himata -mona -ne
 run AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi aux

'He didn't run away.'

104 **Basioba** **kawaria** **ya**
 basioba ka- waa -rI+F ya
 palm sp COMIT stand raised surface ADJU
 nf vi prt

SIKARI

warematamonaka

waa -rI -himata -mona -ka
stand raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi

'He stood by the wall.'

105 **Ware** , **bako** **hotone** **yokana** **tao** **hikane**
waa -rI bako hotone yokana tao hi- ka- na+M
stand raised surface chest+M hole+M true shoot OC COMIT AUX
vi pn pn adj vt aux

rama **ahi**
rama ahi
unusual then
prt dem

'He stood there. He had shot him right in the notch of his chest.'

106 **Faya** **Sikari** **Sikari** **tokeno** **kame** ,
faya Sikari Sikari to- ka -hino ka -ma+M
so (man's name) (man's name) away go/come IP.N+M go/come back
conj npropm npropm vi vi

kamematamonaka

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

'Sikari had gone out, and he came back.'

107 **Kame** , **ee** **Kabirina** , **Kabirina**
ka -ma+M ee Kabirina Kabirina
go/come back (pause) (man's name) (man's name)
vi interj npropm npropm

'He came back. "Kabirina, Kabirina."'

108 **Hoo**
hoo
huh?
interj

""Yes?""

109 **Okatao** **ene** **iti** **amaka** **fari**
okatao ehene iti+M ama -ka faari
my son victim of+M exist SEC DECL+M that one+M
nm pn vi sec dem

""My son has killed someone.""

110 **Okatao** **ene** **iti** **amane**
okatao ehene iti+M ama -ne
my son victim of+M exist SEC BKG+M
nm pn vi sec

""My son has killed someone.""

111 **Iborina** , **iborina** **iborina** , **okatao** **tao** **hikane** **ota**
iborina iborina iborina okatao tao hi- ka- na+M otaa
Apurinã Apurinã Apurinã my son shoot OC COMIT AUX 1EX.S
npropm npropm npropm nm vt aux pron

SIKARI

towake **hofare** **ahi** **kowani** **ya** ,
to- ka- ka+M hofa -hare ahi kowani ya
away COMIT go/come be in water IP.E+M there other side ADJU
vt vi dem nf prt

batehibonaha
bata -hibona -ha
be rotten INT+M DUP
vi

"We took the Apurinã that my son had shot, and he is in the stream on the other side, to rot."

112 **Iborina** **batehibonaka**
iborina bata -hibona -ka
Apurinã be rotten INT+M DECL+M
npropm vi

"The Apurinã will rot."

113 **Faya** **me** **totohawa** **toha** **me** **me**
faya me to- to- ha -waha to- ha+F me me
so 3PL.S DUP CH be change CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S
conj pron vc aux pron pron

totohawa **toemete** **fahi**
to- to- ha -waha to- ha -hemete fahi
DUP CH be change CH AUX FP.N+F then
vc aux dem

'Then they were peaceful.'

114 **Me** **totohawa** **toha** **me** , **faya** **me** **kama**
me to- to- ha -waha to- ha+F me , faya me ka -ma+F
3PL.S DUP CH be change CH AUX 3PL.S so 3PL.S go/come back
pron vc aux pron conj pron vi

me , **me** **kama** **me** **kobo** **namimetemone** ,
me , me ka -ma+F me kobo na -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone ,
3PL.S 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive AUX back FP.N+F REP+F
pron pron vi pron vi aux

ama **ahi** **yama** , **yabori** **ya** , **Siraba**
ama ahi yama , yabo -ra.NOM+F ya , Siraba
be there thing be far NEG ADJU (name of stream)
vc dem nf vi prt npropf

Siraba **witi** **ya**
Siraba witi ya
(name of stream) edge ADJU
npropf pn prt

'They were peaceful. They came and arrived there, not far [from where there were Jarawara villages], at the edge of the Siraba stream.'

115 **Siraba** **witi** **ya** **faya** **me** **winama** **me** ,
Siraba witi ya faya me wina -ma+F me ,
(name of stream) edge ADJU so 3PL.S live back 3PL.S
npropf pn prt conj pron vi pron

Sikari **yahi** **nofe** **amaka**
Sikari yaha nofa+M ama -ka
(man's name) be kind recently SEC DECL+M
npropm vi prt sec

'They lived over this way at the Siraba stream. "Sikari is kind."

SIKARI

116 *Sikari* *yayaha* *raba* *re* *me* *tao*
 Sikari ya- yaha na -raba na -ra+M me tao
 (man's name) DUP be kind AUX a bit AUX NEG 3PL.S shoot
 npropm vi aux aux pron vt

hinemata *ahi*
 hi- na -himata ahi
 OC AUX FP.N+M then
 aux dem

"Sikari is kind, how could they shoot him?"

117 *Biti* *ene* *itino* *amaka* *waha*
 bititi ehene ititi -hino ama -ka waha
 3SG.POSS.son victim of+M exist IP.N+M SEC DECL+M now
 nm pn vi sec prt

"Now his son has killed someone."

118 *Bite* , *bite* , *bite* ,
 bite bite bite
 3SG.POSS.daughter 3SG.POSS.daughter 3SG.POSS.daughter
 nf nf nf

fati *Kawa Moni* , *Kawa Moni* , *okobi*
 fati Kawa Moni , Kawa Moni , o- ka abi
 3SG.POSS.wife (woman's name) (woman's name) 1SG.POSS POSS father
 nf npropf npropf nm

me *okobi* *me* *yaka* *nemetemoneke*
 me o- ka abi me yaka na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.S walk AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron nm pron vi aux

'My father and the others visited.'

119 *Okobi* *me* *yaka* *na* *me* *kobo* *na* *me*
 o- ka abi me yaka na+F me kobo na+F me
 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.S walk AUX 3PL.S arrive AUX 3PL.S
 nm pron vi aux pron vi aux pron

Kawa Moni *yamata* *wasiha* , *yamata* *wasiha* , *aba* *me* *aba* *me*
 Kawa Moni yamata wasi+F , yamata wasi+F , aba me aba me
 (woman's name) food cook food find fish 3PL fish 3PL.O
 npropf nf vt nf vt nm pron nm pron

sa *nen* *ka* *aba* *mera* *me* *kabemetemone*
 saa na -hino ka aba mera me kaba -hemete -mone
 shoot with arrow AUX IP.N+M POSS fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F
 vt aux prt nm pron pron vt

'My father and the others visited, and they arrived. Kawa Moni made food. They ate fish that he had shot with bow and arrow.'

120 *Aba* *me* *me* *kaba* , *Kabirina* *te* *tafa*
 aba me me kaba+F , Kabirina tee tafa
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat (man's name) 2PL.S eat
 nm pron pron vt npropm pron vi

"They ate the fish. "Kabirina, you eat."

121 *Te* *tafa* *Tomiko* *te* *fama* *te*
 tee tafa Tomiko tee fama+F tee
 2PL.S eat Domingos 2PL.S be two 2PL.S
 pron vi npropm pron vi pron

"You and Domingos eat."

SIKARI

122 **Te tafa**
tee tafa
2PL.S eat
pron vi
"\"Eat.\""

123 **Te tokomibe**
tee to- ka -ma -be
2PL.S away go/come back IMMED+F
pron vi
"\"You are going home.\""

124 **Ee Sawa Bofe ee Simanawi ee**
ee Sawa Bofe.LIST ee Simanawi.LIST ee
(pause) (man's name) (pause) (man's name) (pause)
interj npropm interj npropm interj
ee Amane Tafa te na te tafahi
ee Amane.LIST Tafa.LIST tee na+F tee tafahi -hi
(pause) (man's name) (man's name) 2PL.S AUX 2PL.S eat IMP+F
interj npropm npropm pron aux pron vi
"\"Sawa Bofe, Simanawi, Amane, and Tafa, eat.\""

125 **Te tafahi**
tee tafa -hi
2PL.S eat IMP+F
pron vi
"\"Eat.\""

126 **Te tokomibe**
tee to- ka -ma -be
2PL.S away go/come back IMMED+F
pron vi
"\"You are going home.\""

127 **Ee Kawa Moni Kawa Moni Kawa Moni kasiro**
ee Kawa Moni Kawa Moni Kawa Moni kasiro
(pause) (woman's name) (woman's name) (woman's name) hurry up
interj npropf npropf npropf vt

kana bite faha tonakamabone
ka- na+F bite faha to- na- ka -ma -habone
COMIT AUX 3SG.POSS.daughter water away CAUS go/come back INT+F
aux nf nf vt

bite narabi kitahamone bite
bite narabi kita -hamone bite
3SG.POSS.daughter ear+F be hard REP+F 3SG.POSS.daughter
nf pn vi nf

waremetemone
waa -rI -hemete -mone
stand raised surface FP.N+F REP+F
vi

'Kawa Moni harried her. She wanted her daughter to go fetch water, but her daughter didn't obey. Her daughter stood there.'

128 **Warehemetemoneke**
waa -rI -hemete -mone -ke
stand raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vi

SIKARI

'She just stood there.'

129 *Fa tinakamahi*
 faha ti- to- na- ka -ma -hi
 water 2SG.S away CAUS go/come back IMP+F
 nf vt

"Go fetch water."

130 *Fa me hifahaba tinakamahi ati*
 faha me hi- fawa -haba ti- to- na- ka -ma -hi ati
 water 3PL.S OC drink FUT+F 2SG.S away CAUS go/come back IMP+F say
 nf pron vt vt vt

na tokomi nofara hine kayawa
 na+F to- ka -ma.NFIN nofa -ra+F hine ka- yawa+F
 AUX away go/come back want NEG 3.REFL COMMIT be upset
 aux vi vt pron vt

baki baki hoti mati hinabowemetemone ahi
 baki baki hoti mati hi- na- aboha -hemete -mone ahi
 chest+F chest+F hole 3SG.POSS.mother OC CAUS die FP.N+F REP+F then
 pn pn nf nf vt vt dem

waharo ahi
 waa -haaro ahi
 stand IP.E+F then
 vi dem

"Go fetch water for them to drink," she said. She didn't want to go, she was lazy. Her mother hit her on the hole in her chest as she stood there.'

131 *Baki hinabowemetemoneke ahi*
 baki hi- na- aboha -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 chest+F OC CAUS die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pn vt dem

toko beo
 toko beo
 (sound of hitting with hand) (sound of hitting ground)
 sound sound

'She hit her on the chest, toko, beo.'

132 *Ahabemetemoneke*
 ahaba -hemete -mone -ke
 die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'She died.'

133 *Ahaba faya Sikari hora nematamonaka fahi*
 ahaba+F faya Sikari hora na -himata -mona -ka fahi
 die so (man's name) complain AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi conj npropm vi aux dem

'She died. Then Sikari complained.'

134 *Sikari hora ne hora ni fawa ne*
 Sikari hora na+M hora na.NFIN fawa na+M
 (man's name) complain AUX complain AUX disappear AUX
 npropm vi aux vi aux vi aux

wine Kawa Moni ihi hiyakere
 wina+M Kawa Moni ihi hiya -ke -re
 lie in hammock (woman's name) deed+F be bad DECL+F NEG+F
 vi npropf pn vi

SIKARI

'Sikari complained. He stopped complaining, and lay in his hammock. "Kawa Moni did a bad thing."

135 *Kawa Moni* *okoto* *nabowake*
 Kawa Moni okoto na- aboha -ke
 (woman's name) my daughter CAUS die DECL+F
 npropf nf vt

"Kawa Moni has killed my daughter."

136 *Okoto* *ahabake*
 okoto ahaba -ke
 my daughter die DECL+F
 nf vi

"My daughter has died."

137 *Kawa Moni* *okoto* *nabowarake*
 Kawa Moni okoto na- aboha -hara -ke
 (woman's name) my daughter CAUS die IP.E+F DECL+F
 npropf nf vt

"Kawa Moni killed my daughter."

138 *Ee* , *Kawa Moni* , *aahaba* *baki* *haha* *yokana*
 ee , Kawa Moni , a- ahaba baki haaha yokana
 (pause) (woman's name) DUP die chest+F this+F true
 interj npropf vi pn dem adj

hinabowa *rama* *aahaba* , *ahabemetemoneke*
 hi- na- aboha+F rama a- ahaba , ahaba -hemete -mone -ke
 OC CAUS die unusual DUP die die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt prt vi vi

'Kawa Moni hit her right in the chest. She died.'

139 *Ahaba* , *faya* *aaba* *na* , *Hima* *ota*
 ahaba+F , faya a- ahaba na+F , hima otaa
 die so DUP die AUX let's go 1EX.S
 vi conj vi aux interj pron

tokomake
 to- ka -ma -ke
 away go/come back DECL+F
 vi

'She died. "Come on, we are going home."

140 *Ota* *haifa* *ke*
 otaa haifa na -ke
 1EX.S be upset AUX DECL+F
 pron vi prt

"We are upset."

141 *Ota* *yawake*
 otaa yawa -ke
 1EX.S be upset DECL+F
 pron vi

"We are upset."

142 *Ee* , *okoto* , *tikoto* , *ota* *tefebone*
 ee , okoto , tikoto , otaa tefe -bone
 (pause) my daughter 2SG.POSS.daughter 1EX.POSS food INT+F
 interj nf nf pron pn

SIKARI

wasiha	mati	hinabowa	homineke		
wasi+F	mati	hi- na- aboha+F	homa	-ne	-ke
cook	3SG.POSS.mother	OC CAUS die	lie on ground	CONT+F	DECL+F
vt	nf	vt	vi		

"Your daughter, who cooked food for us, was killed by her mother, and she is lying there on the ground."

143 **Te** **kabiya**
 tee kaba -yahi
 2PL.S eat DIST.IMP+F
 pron vt

"Eat her."

144 **Te** **kamakiyahi**
 tee ka -maki -yahi
 2PL.S go/come following DIST.IMP+F
 pron vi

"You come."

145 **Ota** **tokomiba**
 otaa to- ka -ma.NOM+F -ba
 1EX.S away go/come back FUT
 pron vi

"We are going home."

146 **Ee** **te** **tokomahi**
 ee tee to- ka -ma -hi
 yes 2PL.S away go/come back IMP+F
 interj pron vi

"All right, you go on home."

147 **Faya** **me** **tokometemoneke**
 faya me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 so 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj pron vi

'So they went home.'

148 Me	tokoma		me	Kawa Moni	kakasiro
me	to- ka	-ma+F	me	Kawa Moni	ka- kasiro
3PL.S	away go/come back		3PL.S	(woman's name)	DUP be perverse
pron	vi		pron	npropf	vi

raba	ra	bite	nabowaba		
na -raba	na -ra+F	bite	na- aboha -haba		
AUX a bit	AUX NEG	3SG.POSS.daughter	CAUS die	FUT+F	
aux	aux	nf	vt		

"They went. "Kawa Moni behaved badly, she killed her daughter."

149 **Inamate** **tatafiminima** **rareka**
 inamate ta- tafi -ma -nima na -ra -hare -ka
 child DUP get well back about to AUX NEG IP.E+M DECL+M
 nm vi aux

"The child could not catch her breath anymore."

150 **Inamate** **abareka**
 inamate ahaba -hare -ka
 child die IP.E+M DECL+M
 nm vi

"The child died."

SIKARI

151 *Hiwa abaka*
 hiwa ahaba -ka
 only.M die DECL+M
 pron vi

"Let her die."

152 *Me ka inamate amaka*
 me ka inamate ama -ka
 3PL POSS child be DECL+M
 pron prt nm vc

"It's their child."

153 *Okatao amakara*
 okatao ama -ka -ra+M
 my son be DECL+M NEG
 nm vc

"It's not my child."

154 *Okoto amarini*
 okoto ama -ra -ni
 my daughter be NEG BKG+F
 nf vc

"It's not my daughter."

155 *Fara bite nabowarake*
 fara bite na- aboha -hara -ke
 same+F 3SG.POSS.daughter CAUS die IP.E+F DECL+F
 dem nf vt

"She killed her own daughter."

156 *Bite tabiyo ohi raba awineke*
 bite tabiyo ohi na -ra -haba awine -ke
 3SG.POSS.daughter absence cry AUX NEG FUT+F seem+F DECL+F
 nf pn vi aux sec

"I guess she won't cry because of her daughter."

157 *Faya me tokoma me kobo*
 faya me to- ka -ma+F me kobo
 so 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S arrive
 conj pron vi pron vi

tonamemetemone

to- na -ma -hemete -mone
 away AUX back FP.N+F REP+F
 aux

"They went, and arrived."

158 *Me kobo tonama me Kawa Moni otara*
 me kobo to- na -ma+F me Kawa Moni otara
 3PL.S arrive away AUX back 3PL.S (woman's name) 1EX.O
 pron vi aux pron npropf pron

nayawa ota kamineke
 na- yawa+F otaa ka -ma -ne -ke
 CAUS be upset 1EX.S go/come back CONT+F DECL+F
 vt pron vi

"They arrived. "Kawa Moni made us upset."

SIKARI

159 **Kawa Moni** **bite** **nabowini**
 Kawa Moni bite na- aboha -ni
 (woman's name) 3SG.POSS.daughter CAUS die BKG+F
 npropf nf vt

"Kawa Moni killed her daughter."

160 **Himata** **ebe** **nara** ?
 himata ebe na -ra
 what? purpose AUX ?+F
 interrog vt aux

"Why did she do that?"

161 **Himata** **ebe** **nara** **narabi** **kitahamonehe** ?
 himata ebe na -ra narabi kita -hamone -he
 what? purpose AUX ?+F ear+F be hard REP+F DUP
 interrog vt aux pn vi

"Why didn't she obey?"

162 **Narabi** **kitamone** **baki** **hoti** **hinabowarake**
 narabi kita -hamone baki hoti hi- na- aboha -hara -ke
 ear+F be hard REP+F chest+F hole+F OC CAUS die IP.E+F DECL+F
 pn vi pn pn vt

"She hit her on the hole in her chest when she didn't obey."

163 **Baki** **hoti** **hinabowa** **bao** **nisarani**
 baki hoti hi- na- aboha+F bao na -risa -hara -ni
 chest+F hole+F OC CAUS die fall AUX down IP.E+F BKG+F
 pn pn vt vi aux

"When she hit her on the hole in her chest, she fell down."

164 **Bao** **nisa** , **bati** **hora** **ne** **bati**
 bao na -risa+F , bati hora na+M bati
 fall AUX down 3SG.POSS.father complain AUX 3SG.POSS.father
 vi aux nm vi aux nm

hora **ne** , **anoti** **hiwararake**
 hora na+M , anoti hi- awa -ra -hara -ke
 complain AUX 3SG.POSS older brother OC see NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
 vi aux nm vt

"She fell down, and her father complained. Her older brother didn't see her."

165 **Anoti** **fa** **ki** **nebona**
 anoti faha kii na -hibona
 3SG.POSS older brother water look at AUX INT+M
 nm nf vt aux

tokehimonaka
 to- ka -himona -ka
 away go/come REP+M DECL+M
 vi

"They said her brother had gone fishing."

166 **Anoti** **hiwara** **me** **abe** **katomama**
 anoti hi- awa -ra+F me abe katoma -ma+F
 3SG.POSS older brother OC see NEG 3PL.POSS RECIP attack back
 nm vt pron pn vt

SIKARI

me **awineke**
 me awine -ke
 3PL.POSS seem+F DECL+F
 pron sec

"Her brother had not seen her, and he criticized them when he got back."

167 **Anoti** **mera** **katomame** **awane**
 anoti mera katoma -ma+M awa -ne
 3SG.POSS older brother 3PL.O attack back seem+M BKG+M
 nm pron vt sec

"Her brother criticized them when he got back."

168 **Faya** , **me** **hiyarama** **me** **hiyari** **saia** **me** ,
 faya me hiyara -ma+F me hiyara.NFIN sai+F me
 so 3PL.S speak back 3PL.S speak be heard 3PL.POSS
 conj pron vi pron vi vi pron

Sikari **kamakibona** **ati** **ne** , **Sikari**
 Sikari ka -makI -hibona ati na+M Sikari
 (man's name) go/come following INT+M say AUX (man's name)
 npropm vi vt aux npropm

Sikari **fati** **winaboneke**
 Sikari fati wina -habone -ke
 (man's name) 3SG.POSS.wife live INT+F DECL+F
 npropm nf vi

"They talked when they got back. They could be heard talking. "Sikari said he is going to come, but Sikari's wife will stay there."

169 **Oharibonane**
 ohari -hibona -ne
 be alone INT+M BKG+M
 vi

"He will be alone."

170 **Sikari** **Sikari** **ohari** **kamakibonane**
 Sikari Sikari ohari+M ka -makI -hibona -ne
 (man's name) (man's name) be alone go/come following INT+M BKG+M
 npropm npropm vi vi

"Sikari is going to come alone."

171 **Ayaka** **te** **wati** **kineke**
 ayaka tee wati ka- na -ne -ke
 festa 2PL.S think about COMMIT AUX CONT+F DECL+F
 nf pron vt aux

"You are wanting to have a festa."

172 **Faya** **ayaka** **me** **wati** **kana** **Sikari** ,
 faya ayaka me wati ka- na+F Sikari
 so festa 3PL.S think about COMMIT AUX (man's name)
 conj nf pron vt aux npropm

kamaki **kobo** **namaki** **amake**
 ka -makI+M kobo na -makI.NOM ama -ke
 go/come following arrive AUX following be DECL+F
 vi vi aux vc

"They wanted to have a festa. "Sikari has come, and has arrived."

SIKARI

173 **Sikari** **kamakika**
 Sikari ka -makI -ka
 (man's name) go/come following DECL+M
 npropm vi

"Sikari has come."

174 **Kamakimatamonaka**
 ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He came.'

175 **Kamaki** **kobo** **namaki** , **Hom**
 ka -makI+M kobo na -makI+M , hom
 go/come following arrive AUX following (expression of discomfort)
 vi vi aux sound

oof , **himata** **te** **kaba** ?
 oof , himata tee kaba
 hoo what? 2PL.S eat
 interj interrog pron vt

'He came, and arrived. "Whew, what are you eating?"

176 **Aa** **hiyama**
 aa hiyama
 (pause) white-lipped peccary
 interj nm

"White-lipped peccary."

177 **Aa** , **hiyama** **me** **kabi** **amosate**
 aa , hiyama me kaba.NFIN amosa -tee
 (pause) white-lipped peccary 3PL.S eat be good HAB
 interj nm pron result vi

me **amake**
 me ama -ke
 3PL.POSS SEC DECL+F
 pron sec

"White-lipped peccaries are good to eat."

178 **Hiyama** **me** **me** **kaba** **me** **ni** **ya** **Sikari**
 hiyama me me kaba+F me ni ya Sikari
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL to ADJU (man's name)
 nm pron pron vt pron prt prt npropm

kobo **tonamake** , **hiyama** **isi ni** **kabe**
 kobo to- na -makI , hiyama isi ni kaba+M
 arrive away AUX following white-lipped peccary little bit eat
 vi aux nm pn vt

itari , **ee** , **Ketebera** **Ketebera**
 ita -rI+M , ee , Ketebera Ketebera
 sit raised surface (pause) (woman's name) (woman's name)
 vi interj npropf npropf

Ketebera **aate** **hinematamonaka**
 Ketebera a- ate hi- na -himata -mona -ka
 (woman's name) DUP ask OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 npropf vt aux

'Sikari arrived to them as they were eating peccary. He sat and ate a little of the peccary. Ketebera asked him.'

SIKARI

179 **Ketebera** **aate** **hine** **Sikari**
 Ketebera a- ate hi- na+M Sikari
 (woman's name) DUP ask OC AUX (man's name)
 npropf vt aux npropm

'Ketebera asked him. "Sikari."

180 **Ee** ?
 ee
 yes
 interj

"Huh?"

181 **Sikari** **tika** **yibote** **ihi** **itihamoneke**
 Sikari ti- ka yibote ihi iti -hamone -ke
 (man's name) 2SG.POSS POSS wife victim of+F exist REP+F DECL+F
 npropm prt nf pn vi

tikoto **nabowaharo**
 tikoto na- aboha -haaro
 2SG.POSS.daughter CAUS die IP.E+F
 nf vt

"Sikari, they say your wife killed someone, killing your daughter."

182 **Ee** **oko** **yibote** **okoto** **nabowarake**
 ee o- ka yibote okoto na- aboha -hara -ke
 yes 1SG.POSS POSS wife my daughter CAUS die IP.E+F DECL+F
 interj prt nf nf vt

"Yes, my wife killed my daughter."

183 **Haifa** **orara** **oke**
 haifa o- na -ra -hara o- ke
 be upset 1SG.S AUX NEG IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi aux prt

"I'm not upset."

184 **Oko** **yibote** **katomi** **onofarara** **oke**
 o- ka yibote katoma.NFIN o- nofa -ra -hara o- ke
 1SG.POSS POSS wife attack 1SG.S want NEG IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt nf vt vt prt

ati **nematamona**
 ati na -himata -mona
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vt aux

"I'm not very mad at my wife."

185 **Oko** **yibote** **katomi** **onofarara** **oke**
 o- ka yibote katoma.NFIN o- nofa -ra -hara o- ke
 1SG.POSS POSS wife attack 1SG.S want NEG IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt nf vt vt prt

"I'm not very mad at my wife."

186 **Hine** **abake**
 hine ahaba -ke
 only die DECL+F
 pron vi

"Let her die."

SIKARI

187 *Hine* *ahabi* *na* *onara* *oke*
 hine ahaba.NOM+F na ati o- na -hara o- ke
 only die AUX say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron vi aux vt prt

""Let her die,' I said.""

188 *Ee* *anoti* *ta* *kame* *otara* *hora*
 ee anoti taa ka -ma+M otara hora
 (pause) 3SG.POSS older brother contrast go/come back 1EX.O scold
 interj nm prt vi pron vt

namareka

na -ma -hare -ka
 AUX back IP.E+M DECL+M
 aux

""But when her brother came back, he criticized us.""

189 *Anoti* *otara* *hora* *ne* *anoti*
 anoti otara hora na+M anoti
 3SG.POSS older brother 1EX.O scold AUX 3SG.POSS older brother
 nm pron vt aux nm

otara *hora* *ne* *ati* *fawa* *nareka*
 otara hora na+M ati fawa na -hare -ka
 1EX.O scold AUX voice disappear AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 pron vt aux pn vi aux

""Her brother criticized us, and then stopped talking.""

190 *Okomake* *te* *te* *mari* *nibana* ?
 o- ka -makI tee tee mari na+F -bana
 1SG.S go/come following 2PL 2PL.S feast AUX FUT
 vi pron pron vi aux

""I came. Are you going to have a festa?""

191 *Ee* *ota* *mari* *nabone* *otake*
 ee otaa mari na -habone otaa -ke
 yes 1EX.S feast AUX INT+F 1EX.S DECL+F
 interj pron vi aux pron

""Yes, we are going to have a festa.""

192 *Me* *me* *me* *me* *kosi* *naboneke*
 me me me me kosi na -habone -ke
 3PL 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S flail AUX INT+F DECL+F
 pron pron pron pron vt aux

""They are going to whip them.""

193 *Ee* *me* *kosi* *niba* *ya* *oko* *yibote*
 ee me kosi na.NOM+F -ba ya o- ka yibote
 (pause) 3PL.S flail AUX FUT ADJU 1SG.POSS POSS wife
 interj pron result aux prt prt nf

wina

wina.LIST
 live
 vi

""They are going to be whipped, and my wife stayed.""

SIKARI

201 *Era tao naba*
 era tao na -ba
 1IN.O shoot AUX IMMED+M
 pron vt aux

"He is going to shoot us."

202 *Era tao naba ye hone*
 era tao na -ba yehe hone
 1IN.O shoot AUX IMMED+M hand weapon+F
 pron vt aux pn pn

"He can't shoot us, he is unarmed."

203 *Ye honakara*
 yehe hona -ka -ra
 hand have something DECL+M NEG+M
 pn vi

"He doesn't have a weapon."

204 *Owamakemataba*
 o- to- awa -makI -mata -ba
 1SG.S away see following short time IMMED+M
 vt

"I will go look at him."

205 *Tokomake Sikari fa faweno*
 to- ka -makI Sikari faha fawa -hino
 away go/come following (man's name) water drink IP.N+M
 vi npropm nf vt

towasimaki Haa afi tibana ti ?
 to- wasi -makI+M haa afi ti- na -bana ti-
 away find following oh bathe 2SG.S AUX FUT 2SG.S
 vt interj vi aux prt

'He went there. He came upon Sikari drinking water. "Oh, are you going to bathe?'"

206 *Ee afi onabone o*
 ee afi o- na -habone o-
 yes bathe 1SG.S AUX INT+F 1SG.S
 interj vi aux prt

"Yes, I'm going to bathe."

207 *Fa ofasa o*
 faha o- fawa -saa o-
 water 1SG.S drink still 1SG.S
 nf vt prt

"I'm still drinking water."

208 *Fa me winimetemoneke Kawa Fa*
 faha me wina.NOM+F -mete -mone -ke Kawa Fa
 stream 3PL.S live FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F (name of stream)
 nf pron vi npropm

'They lived there at Kawa Fa stream.'

209 *Kawa Fa amake Kawa Fa*
 Kawa Fa ama -ke Kawa Fa
 (name of stream) be DECL+F (name of stream)
 npropm vc npropm

SIKARI

216 *Ee* , *oko* *yibote* *narabi* *nima*
 ee o- ka yibote narabi nima
 yes 1SG.POSS POSS wife ear+F communicate to
 interj prt nf pn vt

orarake

o- na -ra -hara -ke
 1SG.S AUX NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
 aux

"Right, I didn't speak to my wife."

217 *Oko* *yibote* *narabi* *nima* *oni* *ya*
 o- ka yibote narabi nima o- na.NOM+F ya
 1SG.POSS POSS wife ear+F communicate to 1SG.S AUX ADJU
 prt nf pn vt prt prt

okoma *ayaka* *isi ni* *ohamabana*
 o- ka -ma+F , ayaka isi ni o- iha -ma -habana
 1SG.S go/come back festa little bit 1SG.S have back FUT+F
 vi nf pn vt

oke *Sikari* *ati* *nematamona*
 o- ke , Sikari ati na -himata -mona
 1SG.S DECL+F (man's name) say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 prt npropm vt aux

"After I speak to my wife and come back, I will be here for part of the festa," Sikari said.'

218 *Tokome* *fawa* *tosame* *faya* *afi* *ne*
 to- ka -ma+M fawa to- na -kosa -ma+M faya afi na+M
 away go/come back disappear CH AUX middle back so bathe AUX
 vi vi aux conj vi aux

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

'He left. He went into the forest. He bathed.'

219 *Afi* *ne* , *kamematamonaka*
 afi na+M , ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 bathe AUX go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux vi

'He bathed. He came back.'

220 *Oof* *Sikari* *kamebona* *ati* *nahare* , *ayaka*
 oof Sikari ka -ma -hibona ati na -hare , ayaka
 hoo (man's name) go/come back INT+M say AUX IP.E+M festa
 interj npropm vi vt aux nf

isi ni *ihebonaha*
 isi ni iha -hibona -ha
 little bit have INT+M DUP
 pn vt

"Whew, Sikari said he is going to come, to be at a part of the festa."

221 *Me* *kosi* *ni* *awa* , *kamebona* *ati* *ne* ,
 me kosi na.NFIN awa.LIST , ka -ma -hibona ati na+M ,
 3PL.S flail AUX see go/come back INT+M say AUX
 pron result aux vt vi vt aux

SIKARI

tokomareka

to- ka -ma -hare -ka
away go/come back IP.E+M DECL+M
vi

'He saw them being whipped, too. He said he was going to come back. He went home.'

222 *Hiya* *abake* *haro*
hiya ahaba -ke haaro
come on end DECL+F that one+F
interj vi dem

'Come on, that one is over.'

TENE EREBO

Free Translation

The Brazilian, Tene Erebo, those people, the Banawás. They were Banawás.

"It was my cousin, whose food I used to eat. They shot them, you haven't seen it," he said, the Banawá. "They shot my cousin, don't you know? I'm going to get revenge for my cousin," he said. He came, and arrived. He arrived, and slept. "The Brazilians shot my cousin and the others," he said.

"Yes, your cousin and the others died. They said your cousin and the others died."

"We don't like them. They are all going to die," he said. "We will not have pity on them. We don't like mean people." He said this as he was going to leave.

"Come on, let's see them."

The Brazilians were tapping latex. All of them were tapping latex. Their boss went away. My father was not big. My father was small. He was with his older sister. She was there, and was going to see them fighting the Brazilians. My grandmother was there with her grandson.

They arrived. They waited for them. They came. They were going to pour out the latex. They went after them, and killed one of them. My uncle was there, too, with a shotgun. The Brazilian came back, and went up into the house. As he was standing talking to them, my uncle shot him, Firisa. Firisa shot him, and he fell. Then they killed the Brazilians with pieces of wood. They died.

There was a Brazilian in the house eating, and he heard something and came, and he pulled out a knife. He pulled out a knife, and scared them away. He scared them away, and they scattered. They came into the house after him, and when he saw them coming, he jumped out. My father used to say that he jumped out.

My father was not big, he was this big. My father was not big. He was with his older sister. He saw the Brazilian coming toward him. The Brazilian jumped out in his direction, and landed on the ground. The Brazilian was waving the knife back and forth. As he was waving the knife, Komasa hit him with an arrow on his back. When Komasa hit him with the arrow, he went off wounded. When they followed him, he gave the knife he was holding, because he was feeling the effect of the *iha* poison. He gave the knife.

My father started to run away, but there was a bent over guava tree. My father was concentrating on the Brazilian, and when he went to duck, his forehead hit on the tree, wakai, beo. My father lay on the ground, unconscious. He got up, and sat there looking around, like a brown capuchin sitting on the ground, he used to say, a capuchin whose head had been bashed. My father's forehead stuck out, he used to say, because it was swollen. He used to say it stuck out because it was swollen. He was small. His older sister laughed at him.

Then they caught the Brazilian women, to be their wives. They caught them to be their wives. "She is going to be my wife."

"Why do you want her?" The older brother of one of them attacked. His older brother killed the woman who he wanted to be his wife.

"You killed my wife, and I will kill you, too," he said. "I'm going to kill you, too," he said.

After the Banawás killed people, they came back.

She had died [i.e. the cousin mentioned at the beginning].

TENE EREBO

They took away manioc meal. They carried the manioc meal and came back. He was Tene Erebo. They fought against Tene Erebo. They fought against him.

He went to the Purus and did not come back. They waited for him, but he didn't come back. He came back during the night. He came back, and arrived. He was upset, and he shot off a gun during the night. They waited for him. They stayed several days at the edge of the river waiting for him, but he didn't come. He shot off a gun. They got up early because of him. He went away. After he went away, they looked at his place. They called him, but he didn't call.

They came back, and arrived back. There was fighting on two occasions.

Interlinear Presentation

- 1 **Yara** , **Tene Erebo** , **ee** **ha ha mati haro**
 yara Tene Erebo ee haa haa mati haaro
 Brazilian (man's name) (pause) DEM DEM 3PL that one+F
 npropm npropm interj dem dem pron dem
bato yafi mati
 bato yafi mati
 Banawá 3PL
 npropm pron
 'The Brazilian, Tene Erebo, those people, the Banawás.'
- 2 **Bato yafi memetemoneke**
 bato yafi me -mete -mone -ke
 Banawá 3PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 npropm pron
 'They were Banawás.'
- 3 **Ee** , **okasima** ,
 ee o- ka asima
 (pause) 1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin
 interj nf
okasima
 o- ka asima
 1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin
 nf
okasima **tafe** **okobate** ,
 o- ka asima tafe o- kaba -tee
 1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin food+F 1SG.S eat HAB
 nf pn vt
okasima **tafe** **okobate** **me me tao**
 o- ka asima tafe o- kaba -tee me me tao
 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister food+F 1SG.S eat HAB 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot
 nf pn vt pron pron vt
nani **awaraharo** **ati** **nematamonaka** , **ee**
 na -hani awa -ra -haaro ati na -himata -mona -ka ee
 AUX IP.N+F see NEG IP.E+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (pause)
 aux result vt aux interj
bato yafi
 bato yafi
 Banawá
 npropm
 "'It was my cousin, whose food I used to eat. They shot them, you haven't seen it," he said, the Banawá.'

TENE EREBO

4 **Okasima** **me** **tao** **nini**
 o- ka asima me tao na -ni
 1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin 3PL.S shoot AUX BKG+F
 nf pron vt aux

awararo

awa -ra -haaro
 see NEG IP.E+F
 result

"They shot my cousin, don't you know?"

5 **Okasima** **manakone** **owaba**
 o- ka asima manakone o- awa -haba
 1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin revenge 1SG.S avenge FUT+F
 nf pn vt

ama o , ati nematamonaka

ama o- ati na -himata -mona -ka
 SEC 1SG.S say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 sec prt vt aux

"I'm going to get revenge for my cousin," he said.'

6 **Faya , kamaki , kamaki kobo namaki**
 faya ka -makI+M ka -makI+M kobo na -makI+M
 so go/come following go/come following arrive AUX following
 conj vi vi vi aux

kobo namakimatamonaka

kobo na -makI -himata -mona -ka
 arrive AUX following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'He came, and arrived.'

7 **Kobo namaki , kobo namakimatamonaka**
 kobo na -makI+M kobo na -makI -himata -mona -ka
 arrive AUX following arrive AUX following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux vi aux

'He came, and arrived.'

8 **Kobo namaki amo ne**
 kobo na -makI+M amo na+M
 arrive AUX following sleep AUX
 vi aux vi aux

Okasima

o- ka asima
 1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin
 nf

okasima yara me me tao
 o- ka asima yara me me tao
 1SG.POSS POSS younger female parallel cousin Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot
 nf npropm pron pron vt

namoneke , ati nematamonane

na -hamone -ke ati na -himata -mona -ne
 AUX REP+F DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 aux vt aux

'He arrived, and slept. "The Brazilians shot my cousin and the others," he said.'

TENE EREBO

9 *Ee asima*
 ee asima
 yes 2SG.POSS.younger female parallel cousin
 interj nf

<i>asima</i>	<i>abamoneke</i>	<i>ahi</i>
asima	ahaba -hamone -ke	ahi
2SG.POSS.younger female parallel cousin	die REP+F DECL+F	then
nf	vi	dem

"Yes, your cousin and the others died."

10 <i>Asima</i>	<i>abamone</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ati</i>
asima	ahaba -hamone	me	ati
2SG.POSS.younger female parallel cousin	die REP+F	3PL.S	say
nf	vi	pron	vt

narake
 na -hara -ke
 AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 aux

"They said your cousin and the others died."

11 *Yama nofarawaro*
 yama nofa -rawa -haaro
 thing like F.PL IP.E+F
 nf result

"We don't like them."

12 <i>Yama abarawaba</i>	<i>awaraware</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>nematamona</i>
yama ahaba -rawa -haba	awa -rawa -ra+M	ati na -himata -mona	
thing die F.PL FUT+F	see F.PL NEG	say AUX FP.N+M REP+M	
nf vi	vt	vt aux	

"They are all going to die," he said.'

13 *Me tinofahi*
 me ti- nofa -hi
 3PL.O 2SG.S like IMP+F
 pron vt

"We will not have pity on them."

14 <i>E hama nofate ama</i>
ee hama+F nofa -tee ama
1IN.S be mean like HAB SEC
pron vi result sec

"We don't like mean people."

15 <i>E hama nofatera aware aware</i>
ee hama+F nofa -tee -ra+F awa -ra+M awa -ra+M
1IN.S be mean like HAB NEG see NEG see NEG
pron vi result vt vt

"We don't like mean people."

16 <i>Faya yana toneba atimatamonaka ahi</i>
faya yana to- na -hiba ati -mata -mona -ka ahi
so start CH AUX FUT+M voice short time REP+M DECL+M then
conj vi aux pn dem

'He said this as he was going to leave.'

TENE EREBO

17 *Hima* , *me e aawa namata*
 hima , me ee a- awa na -mata
 let's go 3PL.O 1IN.S DUP see AUX short time
 interj pron pron vt aux

"Come on, let's see them."

18 *Yara sirika me siri nemetemone*
 yara sirika me siri na -hemete -mone
 Brazilian rubber tree sp 3PL.S scrape AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 npropm nm pron vt aux

'The Brazilians were tapping latex.'

19 *Sirika me siri na me me nafi me nafi*
 sirika me siri na+F me me nafi me nafi
 rubber tree sp 3PL.S scrape AUX 3PL.S 3PL.POSS all 3PL.POSS all
 nm pron vt aux pron pron pn pron pn

sirika siri nani , me ka me ka me ka
 sirika siri na -hani , me ka me ka me ka
 rubber tree sp scrape AUX IP.N+F 3PL POSS 3PL POSS 3PL POSS
 nm vt aux pron prt pron prt pron prt

bataro tokomenoho
 bataro to- ka -ma -hino -ho
 boss away go/come back IP.N+M DUP
 nm vi

'All of them were tapping latex. Their boss went away.'

20 *Me ka bataro tokomematamonane*
 me ka bataro to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ne
 3PL POSS boss away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 pron prt nm vi

'Their boss went away.'

21 *Okobiteba nafirematamona*
 o- ka abi -tee -ba nafi -ra -himata -mona
 1SG.POSS POSS father HAB FUT be big NEG FP.N+M REP+M
 nm vi

'My father was not big.'

22 *Okobi iisi ne , hinakati ya*
 o- ka abi i- isi na+M , hinaka ati ya
 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP be small AUX 3SG.POSS older sister ADJU
 nm vi aux nf prt

fama me me me yara me me mowa hinabone
 fama.LIST , me me me yara me me mowa hi- na -habone
 be with 3PL 3PL 3PL Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S fight OC AUX INT+F
 vi pron pron pron npropm pron pron vt aux

mera awabone sawiha , okaki sawiha
 mera awa -habone sawi+F , o- ka aki sawi+F
 3PL.O see INT+F be present 1SG.S POSS grandmother be present
 pron vt vi nf vi

hinakanoti fama , famemetemone
 hinaka noti fama+F , fama -hemete -mone
 3SG.POSS grandson be with be with FP.N+F REP+F
 nm vi vi

'My father was small. He was with his older sister. She was there, and was going to see them fighting the Brazilians. My grandmother was there with her grandson.'

TENE EREBO

23 *Faya me me , me kobo nemetemone fahi*
 faya me me , me kobo na -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3PL 3PL 3PL.S arrive AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron pron pron vi aux dem
 'They arrived.'

24 *Me kobo na me me noki hina me*
 me kobo na+F me me noki hi- na+F me
 3PL.S arrive AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S wait for OC AUX 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron pron vt aux pron
kama me , sirika fehene me so
 ka -ma+F me , sirika fehene me soo
 go/come back 3PL.S rubber tree sp latex+M 3PL.S pour out
 vi pron nm pn pron vi
nabone me , me me hinakamakia me
 na -habone me , me me hi- to- na- ka -makI+F me
 AUX INT+F 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following 3PL.O
 aux pron pron pron vt pron
owa owa me hinabowe , owa me
 owa owa me hi- na- aboha+M , owa me
 one+M one+M 3PL.S OC CAUS die one+M 3PL.S
 adj adj pron vt adj pron

hinabowematamona

hi- na- aboha -himata -mona
 OC CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M
 vt

'They arrived. They waited for them. They came. They were going to pour out the latex. They went after them, and killed one of them.'

25 *Yama hahi okobisebisa sawihi*
 yama haahi o- ka abise -bisa sawi+M
 thing this one+M 1SG.POSS POSS uncle also be present
 nf dem nm vi
okobise okobisebisa sawihari
 o- ka abise o- ka abise -bisa sawi -haari
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle 1SG.POSS POSS uncle also be present IP.E+M
 nm nm vi

'My uncle was also there.'

26 *Okobisebisa , sawihi taokana tama kanahi*
 o- ka abise -bisa , sawi+M taokana tama ka- na+M
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle also be present shotgun hold onto COMMIT AUX
 nm vi nf vt aux
 , *yara kamematamonaka*
 yara ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 Brazilian go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 npropm vi

'My uncle was there, too, with a shotgun. The Brazilian came back.'

27 *Yara kame tokomisame me hiyare*
 yara ka -ma+M to- ka -misa -ma+M me hiyara+M
 Brazilian go/come back away go/come up back 3PL.O speak to
 npropm vi vi pron vt
ware ra okobise tao
 waa -rI ra o- ka abise tao
 stand raised surface O 1SG.POSS POSS uncle shoot
 vi prt nm vt

TENE EREBO

hikanematamonaka

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

Firisa

Firisa
 (man's name)
 npropm

Firisa

Firisa
 (man's name)
 npropm

toahari

to- ha -haari
 CH be IP.E+M
 vc

'The Brazilian came back, and went up into the house. As he was standing talking to them, my uncle shot him, Firisa.'

28 **Firisa** **tao** **hikane** **sone** , **faya** **yara** **me**
 Firisa tao hi- ka- na+M sone+M , faya yara me
 (man's name) shoot OC COMIT AUX fall so Brazilian 3PL
 npropm vt aux vi conj npropm pron

me **me** **waka** **nemetemone** **fahi** **awa** **ya**
 me me waka na -hemete -mone fahi awa ya
 3PL.O 3PL.S kill AUX FP.N+F REP+F then wood ADJU
 pron pron vt aux dem nf prt

'Firisa shot him, and he fell. Then they killed the Brazilians with pieces of wood.'

29 **Awa** **ya** **me** **me** **waka** **hina** **me** **aba** **me**
 awa ya me me waka hi- na+F me ahaba+F me
 wood ADJU 3PL.O 3PL.S kill OC AUX 3PL.S die 3PL.S
 nf prt pron pron vt aux pron vi pron

yara , **warebise** **tafabise** **narabo** **hawino**
 yara , waa -rI -bisa+M tafa -bisa+M narabo hawi -hino
 Brazilian stand raised surface also eat also ear+M work IP.N+M
 npropm vi vi pn vi

kamaki **yimawa** **soba** **towitimatamonaka**
 ka -makI+M yimawa soba to- na -witI -himata -mona -ka
 go/come following knife pull out away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi nf vt aux

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

'They killed them with pieces of wood. They died. There was a Brazilian in the house eating, and he heard something and came, and he pulled out a knife.'

30 **Yimawa** **soba** **towiti** **mera** **e**
 yimawa soba to- na -witI+M mera ee
 knife pull out away AUX out 3PL.O yell
 nf vt aux pron vi

nimatamonaka

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

'He pulled out a knife, and scared them away.'

31 **Mera** **e** **ni** **me** **tokarikosa** **me** ,
 mera ee niha- na+M me to- ka -ri -kosa+F me
 3PL.O yell CAUS AUX 3PL.S away go/come DISTR middle 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron vi pron

TENE EREBO

me hinakimisamaki , **me kamaki** **awe**
 me hi- na- ka -misa -makI+M me ka -makI.NFIN awa+M
 3PL.S OC CAUS go/come up following 3PL.S go/come following see
 pron vt pron vi vt

, **yora towitimatamonaka**
 yora to- na -witI -himata -mona -ka
 jump away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'He scared them away, and they scattered. They came into the house after him, and when he saw them coming, he jumped out.'

32 **Yora towitimatamona** **okobi** **aati**
 yora to- na -witI -himata -mona o- ka abi a- ati
 jump away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say
 vi aux nm vt

'My father used to say that he jumped out.'

33 **Okobi** **okobi** **nafire**
 o- ka abi o- ka abi nafi -ra+M
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father be big NEG
 nm nm vi

okobi **e** **na toemata** **awaka** **ahi**
 o- ka abi ee na to- ha -himata awa -ka ahi
 1SG.POSS POSS father be similar AUX CH AUX FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M this
 nm vi aux aux sec dem

'My father was not big, he was this big.'

34 **Okobi** **okobi** **nafire**
 o- ka abi o- ka abi nafi -ra+M
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father be big NEG
 nm nm vi

hinakati **fame** , **yara kaki** **awe**
 hinaka ati fama+M yara ka -kI.NFIN awa+M
 3SG.POSS older sister be with Brazilian go/come coming see
 nf vi npropm vi vt

yara yora nake **bao** **nakematamonaka**
 yara yora na -kI bao na -kI -himata -mona -ka
 Brazilian jump AUX coming come down AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 npropm vi aux vi aux

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'My father was not big. He was with his older sister. He saw the Brazilian coming toward him. The Brazilian jumped out in his direction, and landed on the ground.'

35 **Yara yimawa feo tonikimematamona** **ahi**
 yara yimawa feo to- niha- na -kima -himata -mona ahi
 Brazilian knife move CH CAUS AUX two FP.N+M REP+M then
 npropm nf vi aux dem

'The Brazilian was waving the knife back and forth.'

36 **Yimawa feo tonikime** , **Komasa** , **Komasa**
 yimawa feo to- niha- na -kima+M Komasa Komasa
 knife move CH CAUS AUX two (man's name) (man's name)
 nf vi aux npropm npropm

TENE EREBO

sa *hikanematamonaka* *ahi* *bari*
 saa hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi bari
 shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then back
 vt aux dem pn

'As he was waving the knife, Komasa hit him with an arrow on his back.'

37 *Komasa* *sa* *hikane* *towake* *me*
 Komasa saa hi- ka- na+M to- ka- ka+M me
 (man's name) shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX away COMIT go/come 3PL.S
 npropm vt aux vi pron

hekiyo *fara* *yimawa* *tama* *hinaha* *ta*
 hi- ka- kiyom+M , fara yimawa tama hi- na+F taa
 OC COMIT chase same+F knife hold onto OC AUX give
 vt dem nf vt aux vt

nematamona *iha* *komene* *awahari*
 na -himata -mona , iha komene awa -haari
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M plant sp pain+M feel IP.E+M
 aux nm pn vt

'When Komasa hit him with the arrow, he went off wounded. When they followed him, he gave the knife he was holding, because he was feeling the effect of the iha poison.'

38 *Faya* *yimawa* *ta* *ne* , *okobi* , *okobi*
 faya yimawa taa na+M , o- ka abi , o- ka abi
 so knife give AUX 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father
 conj nf vt aux nm nm

kana *ni* *toke* , *okobi* *kana* *ni*
 kana na.NFIN to- ka+M , o- ka abi kana na.NFIN
 run AUX away go/come 1SG.POSS POSS father run AUX
 vi aux vi nm vi aux

tokebona *kaira* , *kaira* *kaya* *namatamona* *ama*
 to- ka -hibona , kaira , kaira kaya na.NOM+M -mata -mona ama
 away go/come INT+M guava guava lie AUX FP.N+M REP+M be
 vi nm nm vi aux vc

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He gave the knife. My father started to run away, but there was a bent over guava tree.'

39 *Kaira* *kaya* *ne* *okobi* , *yara* *noko*
 kaira kaya na+M o- ka abi , yara noko
 guava lie AUX 1SG.POSS POSS father Brazilian attraction
 nm vi aux nm npropm pn

tonihe *e* *kabote* *nebona* *habi* *kabote*
 to- niha- ha+M ee na -kabote na -hibona habi na -kabote
 CH CAUS be turn back AUX quickly AUX INT+M pass under AUX quickly
 vt vi aux aux vi aux

nebona *noko* *yoari* *karimemetemone* *amake* *ahi* ,
 na -hibona noko yowahari karima -hemete -mone ama -ke ahi
 AUX INT+M face+M eyebrow hit FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F then
 aux pn pn vi sec dem

wakai *beo*
 wakai beo
 (sound of hitting) (sound of hitting ground)
 sound sound

'There was a bent over guava tree. My father was concentrating on the Brazilian, and when he went to duck, his forehead hit on the tree, wakai, beo.'

TENE EREBO

44 *Faya me , yara fana me , yara fana me*
 faya me , yara fana me , yara fana me
 so 3PL Brazilian female 3PL Brazilian female 3PL.S
 conj pron npropm nf pron npropm nf pron

watehemetemoneke fahi , yara fana me ka
 wata -hemete -mone -ke fahi , yara fana me ka
 catch FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then Brazilian female 3PL POSS
 vt dem npropm nf pron prt

yibotbonehe
 yibote -bone -he
 wife INT+F DUP
 nf

'Then they caught the Brazilian women, to be their wives.'

45 *Me ka yibotbone me watehemetemoneni*
 me ka yibote -bone me wata -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL POSS wife INT+F 3PL.S catch FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron prt nf pron vi

'They caught them to be their wives.'

46 *Oko yibote oko yibotbana amani*
 o- ka yibote o- ka yibote -bana ama -ni
 1SG.POSS POSS wife 1SG.POSS POSS wife FUT be BKG+F
 prt nf prt nf vc

'''She is going to be my wife.'''

47 *Oko yibotbana amani*
 o- ka yibote -bana ama -ni
 1SG.POSS POSS wife FUT be BKG+F
 prt nf vc

'''She is going to be my wife.'''

48 *Oko yibotbana amani*
 o- ka yibote -bana ama -ni
 1SG.POSS POSS wife FUT be BKG+F
 prt nf vc

'''She is going to be my wife.'''

49 *Hinofine hirani*
 hi- nofa -ne hi- rani
 OC like CONT+F OC ?
 vt prt

'''Why do you want her?'''³²

50 *Owa anoti fito tonamake*
 owa anoti fito to- na -makI
 one+M 3SG.POSS older brother rush away AUX following
 adj nm vi aux

fatibone anoti hinabowa
 fati -bone anoti hi- na- aboha+F
 3SG.POSS.wife INT+F 3SG.POSS older brother OC CAUS die
 nf nm vt

32 The form *hirani* appears to have feminine agreement, since the masculine would be *hira*, but beyond this I cannot offer a morphological analysis.

TENE EREBO

Oko		yibote	oko		yibote	tinabowa		tiwa
o-	ka	yibote	o-	ka	yibote	ti- na-	aboha+F	tiwa
1SG.POSS	POSS	wife	1SG.POSS	POSS	wife	2SG.S CAUS	die	2SG.O
prt		nf	prt		nf	vt		pron

onabowabisi		toe	ori		ati
o- na-	aboha -bisa	to- ha	o- na	-ra.NOM+F	ati
1SG.S CAUS	die also	CH AUX	1SG.S AUX	NEG	say
vt		aux	aux		vt

nematamonaka

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

'The older brother of one of them attacked. His older brother killed the woman who he wanted to be his wife. "You killed my wife, and I will kill you, too," he said.'

51	Ati	ne		Tiwa	onabowabisi		toe	ori
	ati	na+M	,	tiwa	o- na-	aboha -bisa	to- ha	o- na
	say	AUX		2SG.O	1SG.S CAUS	die also	CH AUX	1SG.S AUX
	vt	aux		pron	vt		aux	aux

ati	ne		faya		bato yafi	me	bato yafi	me	ihi
ati	na+M	,	faya	,	bato yafi	me	bato yafi	me	ihi
say	AUX		so		Banawá	3PL	Banawá	3PL.POSS	victim of+F
vt	aux		conj		npropm	pron	npropm	pron	pn

itiha	me	kama		me		abemetemoneke
iti+F	me	ka	-ma+F	me	,	ahaba -hemete -mone -ke
exist	3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S		die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vi	pron	vi		pron		vi

'"I'm going to kill you, too," he said. After the Banawás killed people, they came back. She had died.'

52 **Abemetemoneni**

ahaba -hemete -mone -ni
 die FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi

'She died.'

53	Aba		faya	farina	me	yaba	farina	me
	ahaba+F	,	faya	farina	me	yaba+F	farina	me
	die		so	manioc meal	3PL.S	pick up	manioc meal	3PL.S
	vi		conj	nf	pron	vt	nf	pron

tiwari		na	me	kama		me
tiwa	-ri	na+F	me	ka	-ma+F	me
carry	DISTR	AUX	3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S
vt		aux	pron	vi		pron

Tene Erebotatamonaka

Tene Erebo -mata -mona -ka
 (man's name) FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 npropm

Tene Erebo

Tene Erebo
 (man's name)
 npropm

'She died. They took away manioc meal. They carried the manioc meal and came back. He was Tene Erebo.'

54	Tene Erebo		Tene Erebo	ra	me	mowa	nemetemoneni
	Tene Erebo	,	Tene Erebo	ra	me	mowa	na -hemete -mone -ni
	(man's name)		(man's name)	O	3PL.S	fight	AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
	npropm		npropm	prt	pron	vt	aux

'They fought against Tene Erebo.'

TENE EREBO

55 Me	mowa	hine	tokomeno	Foro	ya	
me	mowa	hi- na+M	to- ka -ma -hino	Foro	ya	
3PL.S	fight	OC AUX	away go/come back IP.N+M	Purus	ADJU	
pron	vt	aux	vi	npropf	prt	
tokomeno			kamare	me	noki	hine
to- ka -ma -hino			ka -ma -ra+M	me	noki	hi- na+M
away go/come back IP.N+M			go/come back NEG	3PL.S	wait for	OC AUX
vi			vi	pron	vt	aux
kamare			kama	nabematamonaka	yama	
ka -ma -ra+M			ka -ma	nahaba -himata -mona -ka	yama	
go/come back NEG			go/come back	at night FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	thing	
vi			vi	aux	nf	
soki	ya					
soki.NOM	ya					
be dark	ADJU					
vi	prt					

'They fought against him. He went to the Purus and did not come back. They waited for him, but he didn't come back. He came back during the night.'

56 Kame	kobo	name	faya	yawe	yama	yama
ka -ma+M	kobo	na -ma+M	faya	yawa+M	yama	yama
go/come back	arrive	AUX back	so	be upset	thing	thing
vi	vi	aux	conj	vi	nf	nf
tao	nabe	yama	tao	nabematamona	fahi	
tao	na nahaba+M	yama	tao	na nahaba -himata -mona	fahi	
shoot	AUX at night	thing	shoot	AUX at night FP.N+M REP+M	then	
vt	aux	nf	vt	aux	dem	

'He came back, and arrived. He was upset, and he shot off a gun during the night.'

57 Me	noki	hine	me	winabasa	me	noki
me	noki	hi- na+M	me	wina -basa+F	me	noki
3PL.S	wait for	OC AUX	3PL.S	live edge	3PL.S	wait for
pron	vt	aux	pron	vi	pron	vt
hine	kamakiramako					
hi- na+M	ka -makI -ra -mako					
OC AUX	go/come following NEG for this reason+M					
aux	vi					
kamakirematamonaka						
ka -makI -ra -himata -mona -ka						
go/come following NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M						
vi						

'They waited for him. They stayed several days at the edge of the river waiting for him, but he didn't come.'

58 Kamakire	yama	tao	ne	me	me	bosa
ka -makI -ra+M	yama	tao	na+M	me	me	bosa
go/come following NEG	thing	shoot	AUX	3PL	3PL.S	get up early
vi	nf	vt	aux	pron	pron	vi
hikane	tokomematamonane					
hi- ka- na+M	to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ne					
OC COMIT AUX	away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M					
aux	vi					

'He didn't come. He shot off a gun. They got up early because of him. He went away.'

59 Me	bosa	hikane	tokomeno	taboro
me	bosa	hi- ka- na+M	to- ka -ma -hino	taboro
3PL.S	get up early	OC COMIT AUX	away go/come back IP.N+M	place+M
pron	vi	aux	vi	pn

TENE EREBO

me	ki	hiname		me	ha	hine	ha
me	kii	hi- to- na	-ma+M	me	haa	hi- na+M	haa
3PL.S	look at	OC away	AUX back	3PL.S	call	OC AUX	call
pron	vt	aux		pron	vt	aux	vi

rematamona

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

'They got up early because of him. After he went away, they looked at his place. They called him, but he didn't call.'

60	Me	kama		me	me	kama		me	me
	me	ka	-ma+F	me	me	ka	-ma+F	me	me
	3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S	3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S	3PL.S
	pron	vi		pron	pron	vi		pron	pron

kamemetemoneke

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

'They came back.'

61	Me	kama		me	me	kobo	nama	me	faya
	me	ka	-ma+F	me	me	kobo	na -ma+F	me	faya
	3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S	3PL.S	arrive	AUX back	3PL.S	so
	pron	vi		pron	pron	vi	aux	pron	conj
	, bato yafi	me	,	yama	yama	mowa	ni		
	bato yafi	me	,	yama	yama	mowa	na.NFIN		
	Banawá	3PL		thing	thing	fight	AUX		
	npropm	pron		nf	nf	result	aux		

famemetemoneke

fama -hemete -mone -ke , ama ahi
 be two FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F SEC then
 vi sec dem

'They came back, and arrived back. There was fighting on two occasions.'

ATI ITI

Free Translation

My uncle and his companion went out to hunt. They were going along, and they didn't see any game. They came to where Martino lived.

"Martino."

"Huh?"

"Are you going to tap latex tomorrow?"

"Yes, I'm going to tap latex tomorrow."

"I'm going out and I'm going to kill monkeys."

"Okay, if you kill monkeys and bring them, I will eat some of them," he said.

"Right, I will leave a monkey, and you will eat it."

They went out. They were looking around, as they stood there. They were standing there.

"Let's go back. Let's go the other direction. Let's see Martino on the way home. Martino is not going to come back now. He will have gone after latex," my uncle said.

They went on, and the sound of something came to them. "Mmm eeeeyi oooo ooo." The howler monkeys were howling. "Yio yio yio ioioio ooooo." The howlers were howling.

"Let's shoot them with our blowguns."

"Yes, let's shoot them, let's go."

They went. They went up a hill. They went on. They stood there. The howlers were in branches of low trees. They were going back and forth and howling. "Yioyio."

My uncle pulled out a dart, and twirled the dart in his mouth. They were twirling darts in their mouths. As he stood twirling darts in his mouth, one of the howlers was standing behind his back. As he was twirling darts in his mouth, there was a noise. They were howling. They were holding on to howl. They were walking around on the branches. They were howling. They were planning against them.

He was going to do a bad thing. They were going to kill people, and they were howling. As they stood there, something hit against his back. There was the sound of something hitting, toko.

Iii, he fell down.

My uncle was afraid. Because my uncle's nephew fell down he was afraid. As he lay there, he was stamping his feet.

As soon as he fell, he picked him up right away and put him on his shoulders. He brought him back and sucked on him to cure him. He was unconscious, and he revived him.

Then he fought against him. He fought against him. He was fighting against him. He wanted to break his bones, but he kept him from doing it. As he fought against him, he was coming along the path with him. He was fighting against him as they came along. He was fighting against him as they went along. He brought him along. It was late in the day.

It was late in the day. Martino's place was not far. He was bringing him along.

Martino was coming back with latex. As Martino came back carrying latex, he came upon him.

"What's the matter with the Indian?"

"We wanted to shoot howler monkeys with our blowguns, but they weren't howlers, they were monsters. We went after them as they were howling, and the Indian fell down. I brought him,

ATI ITI

and he fought with me along the way. He has tired me out."

"I see. Are you going to take him home?"

"I'm not going to take him home. He will stay at your place for the time being. You tie the Indian fast. When you have tied him fast, tie his wrists together, and tie his legs together, too. Tie his feet together, too."

"Right, I am going to smoke latex right now. When I have smoked the latex..." He was planning what to do with him.

My uncle went away. He went running away. He arrived, and told the news.

"Ati Iti went crazy, and he is with Martino. I think we should go after him early tomorrow. I told him to tie him up. I brought him back, and he fought against me along the way. I left him with the Brazilian. He should be gone after tomorrow. You carry a hammock. He will be carried in a hammock."

"Did he tie him fast?"

"I told him to tie him fast. 'Tie him fast with a cord,' I said."

They brought him. They slept. They woke up. They got up early because of him. They went after him. Martino had stayed with him and had given him food, but he hadn't wanted to eat the food. They came upon him there.

"Well, did the Indian eat?"

"The Indian didn't eat. I gave him food, but he wouldn't eat. He kept me occupied all night, and I didn't sleep. I am really sleepy. Sleepiness is attacking my eyes. I'm really sleepy. As I watched over the Indian, we were together all night."

They restrained him, and tied him into the hammock. They carried him on a pole. They took him away, and arrived there with him. It was the old Mucuiim village, at the Base Kabi stream. They arrived there with him. Then they sucked on him to cure him. They cured him, and he lived there a long time.

My father married. My father's brother-in-law ordered him, and he married. When he married, then he ordered his younger sister, and Kanawa married her, too. They ordered each other, and they married. My father and Kanawa married. They ordered each other, and they married.

He went crazy, and remained crazy. They sucked on him, and they sucked on him again, the then he stopped being crazy. He got well. He lived there a long time. When we were small, he stopped being crazy. They had blown the shaman's stone into him and had cured him, and he was well when we were growing up. They blew snuff into him, and he got better. He was well again. They blew snuff into him and he was well. This one who is standing here didn't want to be happy. Ati Iti was happy all the time. So they got him married.

Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Ee</i>	<i>okobi</i>			<i>okobise</i>			<i>okobise</i>		
	ee	o-	ka	abi	o-	ka	abise	o-	ka	abise
	yes	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	1SG.POSS	POSS	uncle	1SG.POSS	POSS	uncle
	interj	nm			nm			nm		
	<i>yama</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>yete</i>	<i>naba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>towakemetemone</i>				
	yama	me	yete	na -haba	me	to- ka- ka		-hemete	-mone	
	thing	3PL.S	hunt	AUX FUT+F	3PL.S	away COMIT	go/come	FP.N+F	REP+F	
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	vi				

'My uncle and his companion went out to hunt.'

ATI ITI

2 *Me towaka me me noki honara*
 me to- ka- ka+F me me noki hona -ra+F
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S 3PL.POSS eye+F have something NEG
 pron vi pron pron pn vi

me Martino Martino winahi winahi ni ya
 me Martino Martino wina+M wina+M ni ya .
 3PL.POSS Martino Martino live live to ADJU
 pron npropm npropm vi vi prt prt

'They were going along, and they didn't see any game. [They came] to where Martino lived.'

3 *Matino*
 Martino
 Martino
 npropm
 "'Martino.'"

4 *Haa*
 haa
 huh?
 interj
 "'Huh?'"

5 *Amanhã teu cortar ?*
 "'Are you going to tap latex tomorrow?'"

6 *Ee , amanhã meu cortar*
 ee
 yes
 interj
 "'Yes, I'm going to tap latex tomorrow.'"

7 *Ee meu cortar amanhã*
 ee
 yes
 interj
 "'Yes, I'm going to tap latex tomorrow.'"

8 *Meu foi , meu foi aí , aí meu matar macaco*
 "'I'm going out and I'm going to kill monkeys.'"

9 *Ee teu matar macaco aí tu trazer , aí outro meu comer , ati*
 ee ati
 yes say
 interj vt

nematamonaka
 na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux
 "'Okay, if you kill monkeys and bring them, I will eat some of them,' he said.'

10 *Ati ne Ee , macaco tesa oni ya*
 ati na+M ee , tesa o- na.NOM+F ya ,
 say AUX yes leave 1SG.S AUX ADJU
 vt aux interj vt aux prt

ATI ITI

tikababana **tike** **bisa**
 ti- kaba -habana ti- ke bisa
 2SG.S eat FUT+F 2SG.S DECL+F also
 vt prt prt

"Right, I will leave a monkey, and you will eat it."

11 **Me me towaka me me**
 me me to- ka- ka+F me me
 3PL 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron pron vi pron pron

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

'They went out.'

12 **Me towaka me me towaka me**
 me to- ka- ka+F me me to- ka- ka+F me
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

yama me kkatoma me yoro na me ni ya me
 yama me ka- katoma+F me yoro na+F me ni ya me
 thing 3PL.S COMIT look at 3PL.S stand AUX 3PL to ADJU 3PL.S
 nf pron vt pron vi aux pron prt prt pron

yoro nemetemoneke
 yoro na -hemete -mone -ke
 stand AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux

'They went out. They were looking around, as they stood there.'

13 **Me yoro na me E towakamaba**
 me yoro na+F me ee to- ka- ka -ma -haba
 3PL.S stand AUX 3PL.S 1IN.S away COMIT go/come back FUT+F
 pron vi aux pron pron vi

ereke
 ere -ke
 1IN.S DECL+F
 pron

'They were standing there. "Let's go back."

14 **E towakamibe ha ya ahi**
 ee to- ka- ka -ma -be haa ya ahi
 1IN.S away COMIT go/come back IMMED+F DEM ADJU there
 pron vi dem prt dem

"Let's go the other direction."

15 **Matino e towakosamibeya**
 Matino ee to- awa -kosa -ma -be -ya
 Martino 1IN.S away see middle back IMMED+F now
 npropm pron vt

"Let's see Martino on the way home."

16 **Matino kamareba amaka mata**
 Matino ka -ma -ra -hiba ama -ka mata
 Martino go/come back NEG FUT+M SEC DECL+M for now
 npropm vi sec prt

"Martino is not going to come back now."

ATI ITI

17 *Sirika* *fene* *tonakama* *neba* *amaka*
 sirika fehene to- na- ka -ma na -hiba ama -ka
 rubber tree sp latex+M away CAUS go/come back AUX FUT+M SEC DECL+M
 nm pn vt aux sec

mata , *okobise* *ati* *nematamona*
 mata , o- ka abise ati na -himata -mona
 for now 1SG.POSS POSS uncle say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 prt nm vt aux

"He will have gone after latex," my uncle said.'

18 *Ee* *me* *towaka* *me* *ni* *ya* , *yama* *ati* *yana*
 ee me to- ka- ka+F me ni ya , yama ati yana
 (pause) 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL to ADJU thing voice start
 interj pron vi pron prt prt nf pn vi

tonemetemone *amani* , *Mmm eeeeyi oooo ooo*
 to- na -hemete -mone ama -ni oooo ooo
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F sound sound
 aux sec

"They went on, and the sound of something came to them. "Mmm eeeeyi oooo ooo."

19 *Yiko* *me* , *yiko* *me* *ayaketemoneke*
 yiko me , yiko me ayaka -hemete -mone -ke
 howler monkey 3PL howler monkey 3PL.S sing FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron nm pron vi

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'The howler monkeys were howling.'

20 *Me* *ayaketemoneke* *ahi* , *Yio yio yio* , *ioioio*
 me ayaka -hemete -mone -ke ahi , Yio yio yio , ioioio
 3PL.S sing FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then sound sound sound sound
 pron vi dem

ooooo
 ooooo
 sound

"They were howling. "Yio yio yio ioioio ooooo."

21 *Yiko* *me* *ayaketemone* *ahi*
 yiko me ayaka -hemete -mone ahi
 howler monkey 3PL.S sing FP.N+F REP+F then
 nm pron vi dem

'The howlers were howling.'

22 *Ayaka* *me* *Me* *e* *fora* *nahi*
 ayaka+F me me ee fora na -hi
 sing 3PL.S 3PL.O 1IN.S shoot with blowgun AUX IMP+F
 vi pron pron pron vt aux

"They were howling. "Let's shoot them with our blowguns."

23 *Ee* *me* *e* *fora* *nibe* , *hima*
 ee me ee fora na -be , hima
 yes 3PL.O 1IN.S shoot with blowgun AUX IMMED+F let's go
 interj pron pron vt aux interj

"Yes, let's shoot them, let's go."

ATI ITI

24 *Me towakemetemoneke*
 me to- ka- ka -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They went.'

25 *Me towaka me towakimisawitia*
 me to- ka- ka+F me to- ka- ka -misa -witI+F
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S away COMIT go/come up out
 pron vi pron vi

me towakimisawitia me me
 me to- ka- ka -misa -witI+F me me
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come up out 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron

towakimisawitia me towaka me yoro
 to- ka- ka -misa -witI+F me to- ka- ka+F me yoro
 away COMIT go/come up out 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S stand
 vi pron vi pron vi

towitia me me kawehemetemone ahi awa
 to- na -witI+F me me ka- waa -hemete -mone ahi awa
 away AUX out 3PL.S 3PL.S COMIT stand FP.N+F REP+F there tree
 aux pron pron vi dem nf

aya wawa na ini ya ahi
 aya wa- waa na+F ini ya ahi
 this DUP stand AUX branch+F ADJU then
 dem vi aux pn prt dem

'They went. They went up a hill. They went on. They stood there. They were in branches of low trees.'

26 *Me yobiyobiri tokana me*
 me yobi- yobi -ri to- ka- na+F me
 3PL.S DUP go back and forth DISTR CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron

ayaketemone ahi Yioyio
 ayaka -hemete -mone ahi yioyio
 sing FP.N+F REP+F then
 vi dem

'They were going back and forth and howling. "Yioyio."'

27 *Sare sare okobise soba nake*
 sarehe sarehe o- ka abise soba na -kI
 blowgun dart blowgun dart 1SG.POSS POSS uncle pull out AUX coming
 nf nf nm vt aux

sare soba nake sare rofi
 sarehe soba na -kI sarehe rofi
 blowgun dart pull out AUX coming blowgun dart twirl in mouth
 nf vt aux nf vt

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

'My uncle pulled out a dart, and twirled the dart in his mouth.'

28 *Sare rofi kane sare me*
 sarehe rofi ka- na+M sarehe me
 blowgun dart twirl in mouth COMIT AUX blowgun dart 3PL.S
 nf vt aux nf pron

ATI ITI

rofi **nemetemone** .
 rofi na -hemete -mone
 twirl in mouth AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vt aux
 'He twirled a dart in his mouth. They were twirling darts in their mouths.'

29 **Sare** **me** **rofi** **na** , **sare** **me**
 sarehe me rofi na+F , sarehe me
 blowgun dart 3PL.S twirl in mouth AUX blowgun dart 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux nf pron

rofi **nemetemoneni** .
 rofi na -hemete -mone -ni
 twirl in mouth AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vt aux
 'They were twirling darts in their mouths.'

30 **Sare** **me** **rofi** **na** , **sare** **me**
 sarehe me rofi na+F , sarehe me
 blowgun dart 3PL.S twirl in mouth AUX blowgun dart 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux nf pron

rofi **nemetemone** .
 rofi na -hemete -mone
 twirl in mouth AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vt aux
 'They were twirling darts in their mouths.'

31 **Sare** **me** **rofi** **na** **me** , **sare**
 sarehe me rofi na+F me , sarehe
 blowgun dart 3PL.S twirl in mouth AUX 3PL.S blowgun dart
 nf pron vt aux pron nf

rofi **ne** **we** **bari** **ya** **bari** **ya** **owa**
 rofi na+M waa+M bari ya bari ya owa
 twirl in mouth AUX stand back ADJU back ADJU one+M
 vt aux vi pn prt pn prt adj

wematamonaka **ahi** **bari** **ya** **ahi** .
 waa -himata -mona -ka ahi bari ya ahi
 stand FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then back ADJU then
 vi dem pn prt dem

'They were twirling darts in their mouths. As he stood twirling darts in his mouth, one of them was standing behind his back.'

32 **Sare** **me** **sare** **rofi** **nematamonaka**
 sarehe me sarehe rofi na -himata -mona -ka
 blowgun dart 3PL blowgun dart twirl in mouth AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf pron nf vt aux

'He was twirling darts in his mouth.'

33 **Sare** **rofi** **ne** **moni** **yana** **tonematamona** .
 sarehe rofi na+M moni yana to- na -himata -mona
 blowgun dart twirl in mouth AUX sound start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nf vt aux pn vi aux

'As he was twirling darts in his mouth, there was a noise.'

ATI ITI

'Iii, he fell down.'

41 **Bao nise okobise kori**
 bao na -risa+M o- ka abise kori
 fall AUX down 1SG.POSS POSS uncle be afraid
 vi aux nm vi

kasematamonaka

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

'He fell down. My uncle was afraid.'

42 **Okobise kori kase okobise**
 o- ka abise kori ka- na -kosa+M o- ka abise
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle be afraid COMIT AUX middle 1SG.POSS POSS uncle
 nm vi aux nm

kori kase hinaka bitimi bao nise
 kori ka- na -kosa+M hinaka bitimi bao na -risa+M
 be afraid COMIT AUX middle 3SG.POSS nephew fall AUX down
 vi aux pron nm vi aux

hinaka bitimi bao nise ene kori
 hinaka bitimi bao na -risa+M ehene kori
 3SG.POSS nephew fall AUX down because of+M be afraid
 pron nm vi aux pn vi

kase faya home yama tai
 ka- na -kosa+M faya homa+M yama tai
 COMIT AUX middle so lie on ground thing step on
 aux conj vi nf vt

nematamonaka

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

'My uncle was afraid. Because my uncle's nephew fell down he was afraid. As he lay there, he was stamping his feet.'

43 **Yama tai nematamonaka**
 yama tai na -himata -mona -ka
 thing step on AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf vt aux

'He was stamping his feet.'

44 **Yama tai ne hiba sosona ne ya** , ()
 yama tai na+M hiba so- sona na.NOM+M ya
 thing step on AUX soon after DUP fall AUX ADJU
 nf vt aux conj vi aux prt

amake faya me hitikosematamona fahi
 ama -ke faya me hi- to- iti -kosa -himata -mona fahi
 SEC DECL+F so 3PL OC CH take out middle FP.N+M REP+M then
 sec conj pron vt dem

'He was stamping his feet. As soon as he fell, he picked him up right away and put him on his shoulders.'

45 **Hitikose hiwakame**
 hi- to- iti -kosa+M hi- ka- ka -ma+M
 OC away take out middle OC COMIT go/come back
 vt vt

ATI ITI

hiwakame , **faya toma hiname** , **toma hiname**
 hi- ka- ka -ma+M , faya toma hi- na -ma+M , toma hi- na -ma+M
 OC COMIT go/come back so suck OC AUX back suck OC AUX back
 vt conj vt aux vt aux

, **toma hinematamonaka**
 toma hi- na -himata -mona -ka
 suck OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux

'He picked him up. He brought him back and sucked on him to cure him.'

46 **Toma hine ahabe hinakitame** , **he mono**
 toma hi- na+M ahaba+M hi- na- kita -ma+M , hee mono
 suck OC AUX die OC CAUS be strong back 3SG.O struggle with
 vt aux vi vt pron vt

nebanoho
 na -hiba -no -ho
 AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 aux

'He sucked on him. He was unconscious, and he revived him. Then he fought against him.'

47 **He mono nematamonaka**
 hee mono na -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.O struggle with AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt aux

'He fought against him.'

48 **He mono ne he he baka nakosebona**
 hee mono na+M , hee hee baka na -kosa -hibona
 3SG.O struggle with AUX 3SG.O 3SG.O break AUX middle INT+M
 pron vt aux pron pron vt aux

hikasawari he mono ne hiwakama
 hi- ka- sawari+M hee mono na+M hi- ka- ka -ma
 OC COMIT frustrate 3SG.O struggle with AUX OC COMIT go/come back
 vt pron vt aux vt

hinamaiti he mono namaite
 hi- na -ma -hitI+M , hee mono na -ma -hitI
 OC AUX back along the way 3SG.O struggle with AUX back along the way
 aux pron vt aux

, **he mono namaitematamonaka**
 hee mono na -ma -hitI -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.O struggle with AUX back along the way FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt aux

'He was fighting against him. He wanted to break his bones, but he kept him from doing it. As he fought against him, he was coming along the path with him. He was fighting against him as they came along.'

49 **He mono namaite hiwakama**
 hee mono na -ma -hitI hi- ka- ka -ma
 3SG.O struggle with AUX back along the way OC COMIT go/come back
 pron vt aux vt

hinamaiti bai tokehimatamona
 hi- na -ma -hitI+M , bahi , to- ka -himata -mona
 OC AUX back along the way sun away go/come FP.N+M REP+M
 aux nm vi

amaka
 ama -ka
 SEC DECL+M
 sec

ATI ITI

'He was fighting against him as they went along. He brought him along. It was late in the day.'

50	Bai	toke		Matino	wini	yabore		faya		
	bahi	to-	ka+M	Matino	wina.NFIN	yabo	-ra+M	faya	,	
	sun	away	go/come	Martino	live	be far	NEG	so		
	nm	vi		npropm	vi	vi		conj		
	hiwakama			hinamaiti				Matino	sirika	
	hi-	ka-	ka	-ma	hi-	na	-ma	-hitI+M	Matino	sirika
	OC	COMIT	go/come	back	OC	AUX	back	along the way	Martino	rubber tree sp
	vt				aux			npropm	nm	
	fene	kakameno				Matino	sirika		fene	
	fehene	ka-	ka	-ma	-hino	Matino	sirika	fehene		
	latex+M	COMIT	go/come	back	IP.N+M	Martino	rubber tree sp	latex+M		
	pn	vt				npropm	nm	pn		
	tama	kani		kameno		wasime		hiwasime		
	tama	ka-	na.NFIN	ka	-ma	-hino	wasi -ma+M	hi-	wasi -ma+M	
	hold onto	COMIT	AUX	go/come	back	IP.N+M	find back	OC	find back	
	vt	aux		vi		vt		vt		
	,	Himata	koromi	ebe	нено	amara			?	
		himata	koromi	ebe	na	-hino	ama -ra+F			
		what?	Indian	purpose	AUX	IP.N+M	be NEG			
		interrog	npropm	vt	aux		vc			

'It was late in the day. Martino's place was not far. He was bringing him along. Martino was coming back with latex. As Martino came back carrying latex, he came upon him. "What's the matter with the Indian?"'

51	Koromi		wariba me	ota	fora		nabone		wariba	
	koromi	,	me	otaa	fora		na -habone			,
	Indian		3PL.O	1EX.S	shoot with	blowgun	AUX INT+F			
	npropm		pron	pron	vt		aux			
	wariba me	amarani		maka	meni					
	me	ama -ra	-hani	maka	me	-ni				
	3PL.S	be	NEG	IP.N+F	monster	3PL.S	IP.N+F			
	pron	vc		nm	pron					

"We wanted to shoot howler monkeys with our blowguns, but they weren't howlers, they were monsters."

52	Me	ayakani		me	ota	tonaka		koromi		bao	
	me	ayaka	-hani	me	otaa	to-	na-	ka+F	koromi	,	bao
	3PL.S	sing	IP.N+F	3PL.O	1EX.S	away	CAUS	go/come	Indian		come down
	pron	vi		pron	pron	vt		npropm		vi	

nise	amaka
na -risa+M	ama -ka
AUX down	SEC DECL+M
aux	sec

"We went after them as they were howling, and the Indian fell down."

53	Koromi	bao		nise		owakame	
	koromi	bao		na -risa+M	o-	ka-	ka -ma+M
	Indian	come down		AUX down	1SG.S	COMIT	go/come back
	npropm	vi		aux	vt		
	owakame			owa	mono	namaite	
	o-	ka-	ka	-ma+M	owa	mono	na -ma -hitI
	1SG.S	COMIT	go/come	back	1SG.O	struggle with	AUX back along the way
	vt			pron	vt	aux	
	owa	ma		tonihaka			
	owa	maa	to-	niha-	ha	-ka	
	1SG.O	be tired	CH	CAUS	AUX	DECL+M	
	pron	vi		aux			

ATI ITI

"The Indian fell down. I brought him, and he fought with me along the way. He has tired me out."

54 *Faya me , Ee , tiwakameba ama ike*
 faya me , ee , ti- to- ka- ka -ma -hiba ama ike
 so 3PL yes 2SG.S away COMIT go/come back FUT+M SEC far
 conj pron interj vt sec nf

ya ?

ya
 ADJU
 prt

"I see. Are you going to take him home?"

55 *Owakamareba*
 o- to- ka- ka -ma -ra -hiba ,
 1SG.S away COMIT go/come back NEG FUT+M
 vt

sawimatebanaka titaboro ya
 sawi -mata -hibana -ka ti- taboro ya
 be present short time FUT+M DECL+M 2SG.POSS place ADJU
 vi pn prt

"I'm not going to take him home. He will stay at your place for the time being."

56 *Koromi timatoyahi ahi*
 koromi ti- mato -yahi ahi
 Indian 2SG.S tie DIST.IMP+F there
 npropm vt dem

"You tie the Indian fast."

57 *Aya timato , ye tabo soki*
 aya ti- mato.LIST , yehe tabo soki
 when 2SG.S tie hand wrist+M tie up
 dem vt pn pn vt

tikasa haha soki tikasa
 ti- ka- na -kosa.LIST , haaha soki ti- ka- na -kosa.LIST
 2SG.S COMIT AUX middle this+F tie up 2SG.S COMIT AUX middle
 aux dem vt aux

tiya haro
 ti- na -yahi , haaro
 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F that one+F
 aux dem

"When you have tied him fast, tie his wrists together, and tie his legs together, too."

58 *Teme soki tikasa , tiyahi*
 teme soki ti- ka- na -kosa.LIST , ti- na -yahi
 foot+M tie up 2SG.S COMIT AUX middle 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F
 pn vt aux aux

"Tie his feet together, too."

59 *Ee , sirika he omatabana oke*
 ee , sirika hee o- na -mata -habana o- ke
 yes rubber tree sp heat 1SG.S AUX short time FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 interj nm vt aux prt

"Right, I am going to smoke latex right now."

ATI ITI

60 *Sirika* *he* *oni* *ya*
 sirika hee o- na.NOM+F ya
 rubber tree sp heat 1SG.S AUX ADJU
 nm vt aux prt

"When I have smoked the latex..."

61 *Faya* *me* , *wati* *hikane* , *okobise*
 faya me , wati hi- ka- na+M , o- ka abise
 so 3PL plan against OC COMMIT AUX 1SG.POSS POSS uncle
 conj pron vt aux nm

okobise *tokomematamonaka* *ahi*
 o- ka abise to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm vi dem

'He was planning what to do with him. My uncle went away.'

62 *Okobise* *tokome* , *okobise*
 o- ka abise to- ka -ma+M , o- ka abise
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle away go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS uncle
 nm vi nm

tokome *kana* *ni* *tokome* *kobo*
 to- ka -ma+M kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma+M kobo
 away go/come back run AUX away go/come back arrive
 vi vi aux vi vi

toname , *faya* *hiyara* *kamine* , *Ati Iti*
 to- na -ma+M , faya hiyara kamina+M , Ati Iti
 away AUX back so story tell (man's name)
 aux conj nf vt npropm

rabikareka
 rabika -hare -ka
 be crazy IP.E+M DECL+M
 vi

'My uncle left. He went running away. He arrived, and told the news. "Ati Iti went crazy."'

63 *Ati Iti* *rabikareka*
 Ati Iti rabika -hare -ka
 (man's name) be crazy IP.E+M DECL+M
 npropm vi

"Ati Iti went crazy."

64 *Ati Iti* *rabike* , *wai* *ahi* *Matino* *ni* *ya*
 Ati Iti rabika+M , waa.NOM ahi Martino ni ya
 (man's name) be crazy stand there Martino to ADJU
 npropm vi vi dem npropm prt prt

"Ati Iti went crazy, and he is with Martino."

65 *Matino* *ni* , *Matino* *ni* *ya* *sawihareka*
 Martino ni , Martino ni ya sawi -hare -ka
 Martino to Martino to ADJU be present IP.E+M DECL+M
 npropm prt npropm prt prt vi

"He is with Martino."

66 *Bosa* *kanebona* *onareka*
 bosa ka- na -hibona ati o- na -hare -ka
 get up early COMMIT AUX INT+M say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 vi aux vt

"I think we should go after him early tomorrow."

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79 *Koromi tafarareka*

koromi tafa -ra -hare -ka
 Indian eat NEG IP.E+M DECL+M
 npropm vi

"The Indian didn't eat."

80 *Koromi onatafa okana ati rareka*

koromi o- na- tafa o- ka -na ati na -ra -hare -ka
 Indian 1SG.S CAUS eat 1SG.S DECL+M IRR+M say AUX NEG IP.E+M DECL+M
 npropm vt aux vt aux

"I gave the Indian food, but he wouldn't eat."

81 *Koromi owa nawaha tokani nabe amo*

koromi owa nawaha to- ka- niha- na nahaba+M amo
 Indian 1SG.O take a long time CH COMIT CAUS AUX at night sleep
 npropm pron vi aux prt vi

ora soni ohine o
 o- na -ra+F soni o- to- ha -ne o-
 1SG.S AUX NEG 1SG.S CH be CONT+F 1SG.S
 aux vc prt

"The Indian kept me occupied all night, and I didn't sleep. I am really sleepy."³³

82 *Nokobisa onoko katomake haro*

nokobisa o- noko katoma -ke haaro
 sleepiness 1SG.POSS eye attack DECL+F that one+F
 nf pn vt dem

"Sleepiness is attacking my eyes."

83 *Sono muito*

"I'm really sleepy."

84 *Ee koromi owakatome ota fama*

ee koromi o- ka- katoma+M otaa fama
 (pause) Indian 1SG.S COMIT look at 1EX.S be two
 interj npropm vt pron vi

nabineke

nahaba -ne -ke
 at night CONT+F DECL+F
 prt

"As I watched over the Indian, we were together all night."

85 *Faya me hiwate me hiwate me yifo ya me*

faya me hi- wata+M me hi- wata+M me yifo ya me
 so 3PL.S OC catch 3PL.S OC catch 3PL hammock ADJU 3PL.S
 conj pron vt pron vt pron nm prt pron

wete hine me tiwa hikanematamona
 wete hi- na+M me tiwa hi- ka- na -himata -mona
 tie OC AUX 3PL.S carry OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vt aux pron vt aux

'They restrained him, and tied him into the hammock. They carried him on a pole.'

86 *Me tiwa hikane me hiwakame me*

me tiwa hi- ka- na+M me hi- ka- ka -ma+M me
 3PL.S carry OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 pron vt aux pron vt pron

33 Siko apparently said *soni* instead of the Portuguese word *sono* 'sleepiness'.

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kobo hikanamematamona ama
 kobo hi- ka- na -ma -himata -mona ama
 arrive OC COMIT AUX back FP.N+M REP+M SEC
 vi aux sec
 'They carried him. They took him away, and arrived there with him.'

87 **Mokowi bote amake ahi , Base Kabi ya**
 Mokowi bote ama -ke ahi , Base Kabi ya
 Mucuim old be DECL+F there (name of stream) ADJU
 npropf adj vc dem npropf prt
 'It was the old Mucuim village, at the Base Kabi stream.'

88 **Faya me kobo hikaname , me kobo**
 faya me kobo hi- to- ka- na -ma+M , me kobo
 so 3PL.S arrive OC away COMIT AUX back 3PL.S arrive
 conj pron vi aux pron vi

hikanamematamonane
 hi- to- ka- na -ma -himata -mona -ne
 OC away COMIT AUX back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 aux
 'They arrived there with him.'

89 **Me kobo hikaname , faya me me toma**
 me kobo hi- to- ka- na -ma+M , faya me me toma
 3PL.S arrive OC away COMIT AUX back so 3PL 3PL.S suck
 pron vi aux conj pron pron vt

hine me toma hinematamonaka
 hi- na+M me toma hi- na -himata -mona -ka
 OC AUX 3PL.S suck OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux pron vt aux
 'They arrived with him. Then they sucked on him to cure him.'

90 **Me toma hine , me toma hine me , me**
 me toma hi- na+M , me toma hi- na+M me , me
 3PL.S suck OC AUX 3PL.S suck OC AUX 3PL 3PL.S
 pron vt aux pron vt aux pron pron

hinakitamematamonaka fahi
 hi- na- kita -ma -himata -mona -ka fahi
 OC CAUS be strong back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt dem
 'They sucked on him. They cured him.'

91 **Faya me hinakitame sasawi toeno**
 faya me hi- na- kita -ma+M sa- sawi to- ha -hino ,
 so 3PL.S OC CAUS be strong back DUP be present CH AUX IP.N+M
 conj pron vt vi aux

okobi , okobiteba fane
 o- ka abi , o- ka abi -tee -ba fana+M ,
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father HAB FUT be married
 nm nm vi

okobi wabori hikahabane fane
 o- ka abi wabori hi- ka- habana+M fana+M
 1SG.POSS POSS father 3SG.POSS brother-in-law OC COMIT order be married
 nm nm vt vi

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, *fane* *ya* , *manakobisa* *hinakasima* *kahabane*
 fana.NOM+M ya manakobisa hinaka asima ka- habana+M
 be married ADJU then 3SG.POSS younger sister COMIT order
 vi prt conj nf vt

hinakasima , *Kanawa* *hiti* , *faya* *me*
 hinaka asima Kanawa hi- iti.LIST faya me
 3SG.POSS younger sister (man's name) OC marry so 3PL.POSS
 nf npropm vt conj pron

abe *kahabanikima* *me* *fanani* *me* ,
 abe ka- habana -kima+F me fana -hani me ,
 RECIP COMIT order two 3PL.S be married IP.N+F 3PL.S
 pn vt pron vi pron

fanemetemone *fahi* .
 fana -hemete -mone fahi .
 be married FP.N+F REP+F then
 vi dem

'They cured him, and he lived there a long time. My father married. My father's brother-in-law ordered him, and he married. When he married, then he ordered his younger sister, and Kanawa married her, too. They ordered each other, and they married.'

92 *Okobi* *me* *fana* *me* , *Haa* *mata*
 o- ka abi me fana+F me , haa mata
 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.S be married 3PL.S oh
 nm pron vi pron interj

kobaya
 kobaya
 collared peccary
 nm

'My father and Kanawa married. Oh, they killed a collared peccary.'

93 *Me* *faya* *me* , *me* *abe* , *kahabanikima* *me*
 me faya me , me abe , ka- habana -kima+F me
 3PL so 3PL 3PL.POSS RECIP COMIT order two 3PL.S
 pron conj pron pron pn vt pron

fanemetemone *fahi* .
 fana -hemete -mone fahi .
 be married FP.N+F REP+F then
 vi dem

'They ordered each other, and they married.'

94 *Me* *fana* *me* , *faya* *me* , *rabike* *rabiki*
 me fana+F me , faya me , rabika+M rabika.NFIN
 3PL.S be married 3PL.S so 3PL be crazy be crazy
 pron vi pron conj pron vi vi

fawa *re* *me* *toma* *hine* *me* *toma*
 fawa na -ra+M me toma hi- na+M me toma
 disappear AUX NEG 3PL.S suck OC AUX 3PL.S suck
 vi aux pron vt aux pron vt

hinamatase *faya* *rabiki* *fawa* *ne* , *rabiki*
 hi- na -ma -tasa+M faya rabika.NFIN fawa na+M , rabika.NFIN
 OC AUX back again so be crazy disappear AUX be crazy
 aux conj vi vi aux vi

fawa *nematamona* *fahi* .
 fawa na -himata -mona fahi .
 disappear AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi aux dem

'They got married. He went crazy, and remained crazy. They sucked on him, and they sucked on him again,

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the then he stopped being crazy.'

95	Rabiki	fawa	ne	,	tatafima		toematamona
	rabika.NFIN	fawa	na+M		ta- tafi	-ma	to- ha -himata -mona
	be crazy	disappear	AUX		DUP get well back	CH AUX FP.N+M	REP+M
	vi	vi	aux		vi	aux	

'He stopped being crazy. He got well.'

96	Sasawiwa		toemata
	sa- sawi	-waha	to- ha -himata
	DUP be present	change	CH AUX FP.N+M
	vi		aux

'He lived there a long time.'

97	Ota	,	ota	fotari		ya	,	rabiki	fawa
	otaa		otaa	fota	-ra.NOM+F	ya		rabika.NFIN	fawa
	1EX		1EX.S	be big	NEG	ADJU		be crazy	disappear
	pron		pron	vi		prt		vi	vi
	nen		me	afo		hinehi		me	afo
	na -hino		me	afo		hi- na+M		me	afo
	AUX IP.N+M		3PL.S	blow snuff into		OC AUX		3PL.S	blow snuff into
	aux		pron	vt		aux		pron	vt
	hine		me	hinatafimen				wawa	toeno
	hi- na+M		me	hi- na- tafi	-ma -hino			wa- waa	to- ha -hino
	OC AUX		3PL.S	OC CAUS get well back	IP.N+M			DUP stand	CH AUX IP.N+M
	aux		pron	vt				vi	aux
	ni	ya	ota	yayana	toemete		ota	awineke	
	ni ya	otaa	ya- yana	to- ha -hemete	otaa	awine -ke			
	to ADJU	1EX.S	DUP grow	CH AUX FP.N+F	1EX.S	seem+F DECL+F			
	prt prt	pron	vi	aux	pron	sec			

'When we were small, he stopped being crazy. They had blown the shaman's stone into him and had cured him, and he was well when we were growing up.'

98	Me	afo		hine	kikitama
	me	afo		hi- na+M	ki- kita -ma
	3PL.S	blow snuff into		OC AUX	DUP be strong back
	pron	vt		aux	vi

toematamona	ama
to- ha -himata -mona	ama
CH AUX FP.N+M	REP+M SEC
aux	sec

'They blew snuff into him, and he got better.'

99	Faya	kikitama		toeno		me	afo	
	faya	ki- kita	-ma	to- ha -hino		me	afo	
	so	DUP be strong back	CH AUX	IP.N+M		3PL.S	blow snuff into	
	conj	vi		aux		pron	vt	
	hineno		wawama	toeno	,	efe	ha	ni
	hi- na -hino		wa- waa -ma	to- ha -hino		efe	haa	na.NFIN
	OC AUX IP.N+M		DUP stand back	CH AUX IP.N+M		this+M	laugh	AUX
	aux		vi	aux		dem	vi	aux
	nofare		ware	ha	,	haha	ni	fawafawa
	nofa -ra+M		waa -rI.CONT+M	haa		haahaa	na.NFIN	fawa- fawa
	want NEG		stand raised surface	DEM		laugh	AUX	DUP disappear
	vt		vi	dem		vi	aux	vi

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na toaremarahi

na to- ha -ra -himari -hi
 AUX CH AUX NEG FP.E+M DUP
 aux aux

'He was well again. They blew snuff into him and he was well. This one who is standing here didn't want to be happy. He was happy all the time.'

100 **Haha ni fawafawa na toaremarahi**

haahaa na.NFIN fawa- fawa na to- ha -ra -himari
 laugh AUX DUP disappear AUX CH AUX NEG FP.E+M
 vi aux vi aux aux

'He was happy all the time.'

101 **Yama fara haha ni totoa toamaro**

yama fara haahaa na.NFIN to- to- ha to- ha -hamaro
 thing same+F laugh AUX DUP CH be CH AUX FP.E+F
 nf dem vi aux vc aux

'He was happy all the time.'

102 **Makoni me hinafanematane**

makoni me hi- na- fana -himata -ne
 for this reason 3PL.S OC CAUS be married FP.N+M BKG+M
 conj pron vt

'So they got him married.'

103 **Aha , faya amake**

aha , faya ama -ke
 interj enough be DECL+F
 adj vc

'That's all.'

TOWISAWA ROWI

Free Translation

Towisawa Rowi went out into the forest. He was going to hunt, and he put on a *kamata* belt, which is like a modern belt.³⁴ He put on the belt, and he wrapped one end of the belt over the other.

The spider monkeys saw something, and they were calling. Towisawa was wearing the belt. He put on the belt. He tightened the belt. He pulled out some darts, and twirled the darts in his mouth. The monkeys could be heard, sio, sio, sio. A male monkey was excited. "Aa, aa, aa," it said. It was calling because of a jaguar.

He went. "The monkeys are going to be shot," he said.

The monkeys came toward where Towisawa was standing, excited. They were looking behind them. It didn't look around [toward Towisawa].

He shot a monkey. The monkey cried out. He took out some more darts. The monkey was excited, and put itself in danger. He shot it, and it cried out. We used to say that he wasn't looking around. The jaguar had seen Towisawa, and it was hunting him.

A monkey that he had shot fell to the ground. He took the young monkey off from its mother. The jaguar was standing there [hidden], watching him. It was standing there. The monkey fell. "Aha, my young spider monkey," he said.

He took off the young monkey from its mother. The young monkey cried. "Owee, owee, owee," the young monkey said.

A sound started up, kisiririri. The jaguar came running.

"Feee," he said. He hit it in the face with the young monkey. The jaguar didn't want the young monkey, and it fell to the side and lay there. It kept on after Towisawa. Towisawa threw it from back to front when it attacked him as he ran, and it fell in front of him. He pushed it away with his arms. It kept after him. After it fell, it came at him again. It clawed him where the belt was on his midsection, and almost bit the back of his neck.

There was a log lying across. He passed under the log with the jaguar. It fell off, because its face hit the log.

He ran. He went with it. He went with it to where his arrows were against a tree. It kept after him. The belt was on the ground. He took the belt off as he was running. The belt fell off when the jaguar was holding onto it.

He went running, he used to say. "I was running with the jaguar holding onto me. I am blowing snuff into you. Be careful," he said. "I encounter many jaguars in the forest."

He ran away with it. He took it to where the arrows were against a log. He picked up the arrows. It grabbed him along with the arrows. He pushed it away while holding the arrows. He moved over and stood in a different place. He quickly took out an arrow. It charged him again, and he pushed it away with the bow. It jumped away. He quickly put an arrow in the bow, and shot it, really close, saki. It cried out.

Towisawa was a good jaguar killer. Towisawa was big, but not as big as when he was a teenager. The pilot goes around here in the plane, he was big like Towisawa used to be.

The jaguar went, wounded. "Haa, haa," it said as it went. It fell over. He had shot it in its

34 The belt was made of bark of the *kamata* tree, and its function was to help the hunter to blow harder into the blowgun.

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side, near its front leg.

"Whew, it almost hurt me, but I hit it with an arrow. You should have been like me. I'm not like you. I saved myself. I didn't stay lying on the ground, I saved myself, I'm not an old man," he said. "If a jaguar grabs you, you won't be able to push it away," he used to say. "I ran with the jaguar, and it fell off. It went after me again, and I pushed it away, and it fell. I ran with it again. I went with it to where my arrows were against a log. I picked up the bunch of arrows, and it grabbed me with the arrows, Bato."

"Look at Towisawa." As he talked, we listened to him talking.

"If it gets you, you won't be able to kill it. I picked up the bunch of arrows. It grabbed me with the arrows, as I held the arrows hard. I pushed it away while holding onto the arrows. It fell. When it was about to attack again, I shot it with an arrow, up close. I had held onto the arrows. Because it was so close, the arrow point went way in. I had hit its lungs with the arrow."

"Haa, haa," it said, he said. It feels the effect right away. It sat down, and keeled over.

"Yee." He yelled out. The young spider monkey of the spider monkey that he had shot with his blowgun, the young monkey which he had thrown, had gone up into a tree, the one he had wanted to raise. "Humph, I'm going to go and get my monkey." He came back and got the monkey. "The male that I shot fell over there. I don't know, wait. The monkey came this way. There is a tree over there. I didn't hear the sound of the monkey falling. The monkey came this way. It must be lying over there."

Towisawa went, looking as he went. He looked. The monkey lay there. "There it is, it was lying there."

Its young was crying, sitting up high, at the place where he had thrown it. "You raise it," [he said to the other monkeys].

"I wanted to raise it, but I threw it because of the jaguar. It wouldn't die [in the village]. Now my monkey will be there in the tree." He went and picked up the monkey.

"If you aren't smart, and if you are not aware, the jaguar will kill you. You will not kill it," he used to say, "if you don't push it away quickly." Towisawa was talking as he blew snuff into me.

Another jaguar stood on its hind feet with me. I told about it. That one wasn't told about yet.

He came back. He came back carrying the monkeys on his back. He arrived back. "Whew." The middle of his belt was torn because of its claws, which were curved. His belt was torn. "My belt is ruined. Let it be ruined."

Towisawa used to say he saved himself. I guess the little monkey went up in a tree. Didn't you hear me? It sat up in the tree. "If I go up into the tree after the monkey, won't the jaguar come up the tree after me?" he thought, and he didn't go up into the tree after the monkey, he used to say. He said that because he was on the ground he could watch out.

Towisawa didn't marry a Jarawara woman. Towisawa married a Banawá. For this reason his children talked funny.

"I am coming home after being almost killed by a jaguar," he said.

I am remembering Towisawa, who used to tell about himself. "It gripped me tightly. I was wearing a belt. Its claws were curved. I ran with it. I ran. I am blowing snuff in you. Be careful. People shouldn't blow snuff into each other, but I am blowing snuff into you." This is why I met up with many jaguars. "I ran with the jaguar. I pushed the jaguar away, and it fell headlong. But I didn't fall headlong."

Towisawa was a big man. He said it fell headlong. He ran away, and went and picked up the bunch of arrows, he used to say. It came running, too, he used to say, and it grabbed at the arrows. He pushed it away while holding the arrows, and it fell. "My arms were strong, as I pushed the jaguar away. If you don't push the jaguar away, it will kill you. I pushed it away. I inserted an arrow

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that I had in the bow. It wanted to come at me again, and I shot it with the arrow in the side, behind its front leg. It cried out. I yelled, Bato."

"Look at Towisawa. If you hadn't had an arrow, would the jaguar have killed you?"

"It would not have killed me if I didn't have an arrow. You shouldn't talk about me being killed. I was careful, and I pushed it away. It died."

Then he came back, he used to say. "I hit the jaguar in the head with my little monkey. I am coming home after a jaguar grabbed me. The jaguar grasped me along with the belt I wear."

"Wabao, Kamiro, you won't be like me," his father used to say about his son.

Towisawa was Makowi. "The jaguar grasped me again. You didn't see it. I ran with it. There was the sound of the belt ripping as I went. The belt came apart as I went along. Because it was holding onto the belt, I ran as fast as I could. It came off. I came running back to where my bunch of arrows was against a log," he said. "I quickly picked up the arrows. It grabbed me again, and I pushed it away again, Bato."

"Towisawa, blow snuff into us. We want to shoot jaguars with arrows."

"I will blow snuff in you. I was careful. Don't say the name of the jaguar that got me. The jaguar's name shouldn't be said, Bato."

"I am going to say its name, but I will also be careful, Towisawa. I will shoot it in the face with an arrow." "If we see it well, it will be good."

"If we see it and it doesn't see us, it is good. It is shot with an arrow," he said. "It is good if we see it and it doesn't know we are there, when it comes toward us we shoot it with an arrow," he said.

"I shot it with an arrow, Bato. Listen to what I am saying. I went out into the forest. I hunted. I went hunting. I went, and I saw something. A jaguar was eating a tapir."

It was eating a tapir. It came, and he used to say he saw it as it came down to drink water. Its tapir was lying there. It had killed a tapir, and was eating the tapir. It came to drink water. Kisiririri. He looked around. It came. It was looking down, with its stomach full. It came. He took out an arrow, and he put the arrow quietly on the ground. It came as he waited for it. It was after the pond. When it was going to come down to the water, he shot it with an arrow, he used to say. It jumped. "Yee," he said. Its stomach was full. It went off slowly. It went off slowly, and fell.

"Shoot the jaguar with an arrow. The jaguar will not run away," he said. "It will feel the effect of the arrow right away."

"It fell. I shot it with an arrow behind its front leg. Because the point of the arrow was deep inside it, it staggered around," he said. "It fell. 'Should I skin it? Let it rot,' I thought. I left it there."

"When I went out another time, one was coming with a tapir." A voice could be heard coming. "Oooo ooo oo oo," the sound went, Towisawa said. He thought it was people playing. The voice could be heard coming. There were also sounds. The sounds came, Towisawa used to say. Kobo foti foti foti foti foti.³⁵ The tapir could be heard coming, "Fiya, fiya, fiya." The jaguar was holding on, Towisawa used to say, behind the tapir's front leg. It was gnawing at the tapir's neck, he used to say. He didn't want to shoot the tapir, he used to say. The tapir escaped, because the jaguar was on the same side that he was on. He shot the jaguar with an arrow. It died.

He went. The tapir was tired out, and he went. "Wait, the tapir is tired out, and it went to bathe," Towisawa used to say he thought. "I'm going to go take a look at it. I don't think the tapir left so quickly." Towisawa went there. As he was going, the sound came to him, kisi, tefei, tefei, tefei.³⁶ "That must be the sound of it." He thought it was the sound of it sprawling and stamping,

35 These are the sounds of the tapir trying to jump away from the jaguar, kobo being steps on wood and foti steps on the ground.

36 These are the sounds of the tapir in the water, starting to move and then wading

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because the jaguar had bit its neck, he used to say.

He went after the tapir. He went, and saw it going up the bank. It went up. It had finished bathing and went up. It stopped and stood there. He went after it. He circled around. "The tapir was here," Towisawa said.

"Fii," Towisawa whistled.

"Fii."

"Fii," he whistled. "There it is."

It came, Towisawa used to say. The jaguar had tired it out, and it had bathed, and when it came he shot it with an arrow.

"The jaguar didn't eat it, but I ate it after it came."

It came. Its neck was all gashed from the jaguar. The jaguar had gnawed on its neck. It had jaguar claw wounds all over it, he used to say.

"I finally shot it with an arrow. We ate it instead of the jaguar eating it. I shot the tapir with an arrow, and it died. I came back after the others. We cut up the tapir. The jaguar killed this tapir. Its jaguar is lying on the ground over there."

"What about it?"

"Let it lie there. The tapir's jaguar is lying there, I shot it with an arrow. Let it die."

Then Towisawa came back, he used to say. He came back and got the others, and took them out there. It was late afternoon when they cut up the tapir. They cut up the whole animal.

"Hoo, my older brother shot a tapir with an arrow late in the day."

He cut up the tapir, and distributed the pieces. He distributed the pieces of the tapir, and they put them in their baskets. They put the pieces of the tapir in their baskets, and they came running back. They came running back, and they arrived back.

"I saved the tapir that the jaguar was going to kill, and then I shot it with an arrow, too. We will eat it," he used to say he said. "I saved it. I shot the jaguar that was attacking alongside of it, Bato."

"Towisawa is really something."

"I was really something, Bato. It was attacking, holding onto the tapir's sides, and I shot it with an arrow." He said the tapir kept turning its head away, as it was clawing its neck. He used to say its claw wounds were big, where it held onto the tapir. "It almost killed it, and I saved it. Then we ate it." They were ready, and they ate it. "I am telling about the fat tapir that I shot with an arrow, and we ate," he said. He told about it when we were not adults yet. I am telling about the one he told about when we were not yet adults.

Has anyone told about the cougar that grabbed my father?

Interlinear Presentation

1	Towisawabisa		,	Towisawabisamatamona		Wabao
	Towisawa	-bisa		Towisawa	-bisa -mata -mona	Wabao
	(man's name)	also		(man's name)	also FP.N+M REP+M	(man's name)
	npropm			npropm		npropm

bati

bati

3SG.POSS.father

nm

"Towisawa, Wabao's father."

TOWISAWA ROWI

'He put on the belt. He tightened the belt.'

8	Kamata	soki	nake		sare	soba	kanaki
	kamata	soki	na -kI	,	sarehe	soba	ka- na -kI+M
	belt	tie up	AUX coming		blowgun dart	pull out	COMIT AUX coming
	nm	vt	aux		nf	vt	aux

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

'He tightened the belt. He pulled out some darts, and twirled the darts in his mouth.'

9	Sare	rofi	ne		biyo	ati
	sarehe	rofi	na+M	,	biyo	ati
	blowgun dart	twirl in mouth	AUX		spider monkey	voice
	nf	vt	aux		nf	pn

sairawemetemoneke					ahi	sio
sai	-rawa	-hemete	-mone -ke		ahi	sio
be heard	F.PL	FP.N+F	REP+F DECL+F		then	(call of spider monkey)
vi					dem	sound

sio		sio		sio
sio		sio		sio
(call of spider monkey)		(call of spider monkey)		(call of spider monkey)
sound		sound		sound

sio		sio		sio
sio		sio		sio
(call of spider monkey)		(call of spider monkey)		(call of spider monkey)
sound		sound		sound

sio	
sio	.
(call of spider monkey)	
sound	

'He twirled the darts in his mouth. The monkeys could be heard, sio, sio, sio.'

10	Biyo	maki	kayawematamonaka	
	biyo	maki	ka- yawa	-himata -mona -ka
	spider monkey	male	COMIT be excited	FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	nf	nm	vi	

'A male monkey was excited.'

11	Aa		aa		aa
	aa		aa		aa
	(call of spider monkey)		(call of spider monkey)		(call of spider monkey)
	sound		sound		sound

aa		aa		aa
aa		aa		aa
(call of spider monkey)		(call of spider monkey)		(call of spider monkey)
sound		sound		sound

aa		ati	nematamonaka		yome
aa		ati	na -himata -mona -ka	,	yomee
(call of spider monkey)		say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M		jaguar
sound		vt	aux		nm

ene	atinoho		yomahi	
ehene	ati -no	-ho	yomahi	.
result of+M	voice IP.N+M	DUP	jaguar	
pn	pn		nm	

'"Aa, aa, aa," it said. It was calling because of a jaguar.'

TOWISAWA ROWI

12 Tokematamonaka

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

'He went.'

13 Toke

	Biyo	karaboibana		amani	ati
to- ka+M	biyo	karaboha.NOM+F	-bana	ama -ni	ati
away go/come	spider monkey	shoot with blowgun	FUT	SEC BKG+F	say
vi	nf	vt		sec	vt

nematamonaka

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

'He went. "The monkeys are going to be shot," he said.'

14 Biyo

	kayawi	kakiemetemoneke			
biyo	ka- yawa.NFIN	ka- ka	-kI	-hemete	-mone -ke
spider monkey	COMIT be excited	COMIT go/come	coming	FP.N+F	REP+F DECL+F
nf	vi	vt			

ahi	Towisawa	wai	ya	ahi
ahi	Towisawa	waa.NOM	ya	ahi
then	(man's name)	stand	ADJU	there
dem	npropm	vi	prt	dem

'The monkeys came toward where Towisawa was standing, excited.'

15 Me

	tokanokowama		yama	kiki
me to- ka- noko -waha -ma+F			yama	ki- kii
3PL.S away COMIT point change back			thing	DUP look
pron vi			nf	vi

rematamonane

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

'They were looking behind them. It didn't look around.'

16 Biyo

	karaboematamonaka			ahi
biyo	karaboha	-himata -mona -ka		ahi
spider monkey	shoot with blowgun	FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M		then
nf	vt			dem

fai saki

fai saki
 (sound of blowgun arrow)
 sound

'He shot a monkey.'

17 Biyo

	kiya	kanemetemoneke		ahi
biyo	kiya	ka- na -hemete -mone -ke		ahi
spider monkey	yell	COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F		then
nf	vi	aux		dem

'The monkey cried out.'

18 Karaboa

	sare	one	soba	kanamake
karaboha	sarehe	one	soba	ka- na -makI
blowgun	blowgun dart	other+F	pull out	COMIT AUX following
nf	nf	adj	vt	aux

TOWISAWA ROWI

biyo biyo spider monkey nf	kayawe ka- yawa+M COMIT be excited vi	hiwa hiwa 3SG.REFL.M pron	kahabane ka- habana+M COMIT order someone against vt
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rama rama unusual prt	ahi ahi then dem
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'He took out some more darts. The monkey was excited, and put itself in danger.'

19 Hikaraboematamona hi- karaboha OC shoot with vt	-himata -mona FP.N+M REP+M	ahi ahi then dem	kiya kiya yell vi	tonakosebana to- na -kosa -hibana CH AUX middle FUT+M aux
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ahi
ahi
then
dem

'He shot it, and it cried out.'

20 Kiki ki- kii DUP look vi	remata na -ra -himata AUX NEG FP.N+M aux	awaka awa -ka seem+M DECL+M sec	ota otaa 1EX.S pron	aati a- ati DUP say vt	toemari to- ha -himari CH AUX FP.E+M aux
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amaka
ama -ka
SEC DECL+M
sec

'We used to say that he wasn't looking around.'

21 Towisawa Towisawa (man's name) npropm	awe awa+M see vt	Towisawa Towisawa (man's name) npropm	yete yete hunt vt	kanemata ka- na -himata COMIT AUX FP.N+M aux	awaka awa -ka seem+M DECL+M sec
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ahi
ahi
then
dem

'It had seen Towisawa, and it was hunting him.'

22 Towisawa towisawa chief nm	yete yete hunt vt	kaneno ka- na -hino COMIT AUX IP.N+M aux	yama yama thing nf	biyo biyo spider monkey nf
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hikaraboa hi- karaboha+F OC shoot with blowgun vt	bao bao fall vi	nisemetemoneke na -risa -hemete -mone -ke AUX down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux	ahi ahi then dem
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'It was hunting Towisawa. A monkey that he had shot fell to the ground.'

23 Biyo biyo spider monkey nf	biyo biyo spider monkey nf	biti biti young+M adj	itibase iti -basa+M pick up edge vt	wahimata waa -himata stand FP.N+M vi
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TOWISAWA ROWI

awane **he** **kakatomahari**
 awa -ne hee ka- katoma -haari
 seem+M BKG+M 3SG.0 COMMIT look at IP.E+M
 sec pron vt

'He took the young monkey off from its mother. It was standing there, watching him.'

24 **Wehimata** **awaka**
 waa -himata awa -ka
 stand FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M
 vi sec

'It was standing there.'

25 **Biyo** **sonemetemone** **ahi**
 biyo sona -hemete -mone ahi
 spider monkey fall FP.N+F REP+F then
 nf vi dem

'The monkey fell.'

26 **Biyo** **Haa** **oko** **biyo** **biti** **ati**
 biyo haa o- ka biyo biti ati
 spider monkey aha 1SG.POSS POSS spider monkey young+M say
 nf interj prt nf adj vt

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

'"Aha, my young spider monkey," he said.'

27 **Biyo** **biti** **itibasematamonaka**
 biyo biti iti -basa -himata -mona -ka
 spider monkey young+M take out edge FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf adj vt

'He took off the young monkey from its mother.'

28 **Biyo** **biyo** **biti** **ohi** **ne** **owee** **owee** **owee**
 biyo biyo biti ohi na+M
 spider monkey spider monkey young+M cry AUX
 nf nf adj vi aux

biyo **biti** **ati** **nematamonaka**
 biyo biti ati na -himata -mona -ka
 spider monkey young+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf adj vt aux

'The young monkey cried. "Owee, owee, owee," the young monkey said.'

29 **Yama** **moni** **yana** **tonemetemone** **amani**
 yama moni yana to- na -hemete -mone ama -ni
 thing sound start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
 nf pn vi aux sec

kisiririri
 kisiririri
 (sound of leaves)
 sound

'A sound started up, kisiririri.'

TOWISAWA ROWI

30 *Kana ni kakehemetemone amake ahi*
 kana na.NFIN ka -kI -hemete -mone ama -ke ahi
 run AUX go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F then
 vi aux vi sec dem
 'It came running.'

31 *Fee ati nematamonaka*
 ati na -himata -mona -ka
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux
 "'Feee," he said.'

32 *Biyo biti ya biyo biti ya noko*
 biyo biti ya biyo biti ya noko
 spider monkey young+M ADJU spider monkey young+M ADJU face+M
 nf adj prt nf adj prt pn
hikinarematamonaka ahi
 hi- kina -rI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 OC hit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt dem
 'He hit it in the face with the young monkey.'

33 *Biyo biti yome hinofare sone*
 biyo biti yome hi- nofa -ra+M sona+M
 spider monkey young+M jaguar OC want NEG fall
 nf adj nm vt vi
homabisematamona fari
 homa -bisa -himata -mona faari
 lie on ground also FP.N+M REP+M that one+M
 vi dem
 'The jaguar didn't want the young monkey, and it fell to the side and lay there.'

34 *Towisawa ihawa tohitimatamona*
 Towisawa iha -waha to- na -hitI -himata -mona
 (man's name) take in turn change CH AUX along the way FP.N+M REP+M
 npropm vt aux
 'It kept on after Towisawa.'

35 *Towisawa weye hiriwe bao*
 Towisawa weye hi- na -riwaha+M bao
 (man's name) carry OC AUX across fall
 npropm vt aux vi
nisehimatamonaka ahi
 na -risa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem
 'Towisawa threw it from back to front when it attacked him as he ran, and it fell in front of him.'

36 *Taro hiwitimatamonaka ahi*
 taro hi- to- na -witI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 hit OC away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt aux dem
 'He pushed it away with his arms.'

TOWISAWA ROWI

37 *Taro hiwiti* , *he watawa tohiti*
 taro hi- to- na -witI+M , hee wata -waha to- na -hitI+M
 hit OC away AUX out 3SG.0 catch change CH AUX along the way
 vt aux pron vt aux
 , *bao nise wanamatase* , *hinaka toro* ,
 bao na -risa+M wana -ma -tasa+M , hinaka toro ,
 fall AUX down be attached back again 3SG.POSS inside+M
 vi aux vi pron pn

he toro ka kamata ite ya bisi hikane ,
 hee toro ka kamata ita.NOM+M ya bisi hi- ka- na+M ,
 3SG.POSS inside of belt sit ADJU scratch OC COMMIT AUX
 pron pn prt nm vi prt vt aux

tati mete wai hinena awa kaya nemetemone ahi .
 tati mete wai hi- na -hina awa kaya na -hemete -mone ahi
 head rear+M bite OC AUX IRR+M tree lie AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 pn pn vt aux nf vi aux dem

'He pushed it away. It kept after him. After it fell, it came at him again. It clawed him where the belt was on his midsection, and almost bit the back of his neck. There was a log lying across.'

38 *Awa kaya na ya habi*
 awa kaya na+F ya habi
 tree lie AUX ADJU pass under
 nf vi aux prt vi

hikase matamonaka *ahi* .
 hi- to- ka- na -kosa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 OC away COMMIT AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'He passed under the log that was lying with it.'

39 *Habi hikase* , *noko towitari*
 habi hi- to- ka- na -kosa+M , noko to- ita -rI.NOM
 pass under OC away COMMIT AUX middle face+M CH sit raised surface
 vi aux pn vi

ka waha nematamonaka fahi .
 ka waha na -himata -mona -ka fahi
 because fall off AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 prt vi aux dem

'He passed under with it. It fell off, because its face hit.'

40 *Waha ne* , *bete nawahematamonaka* *ahi* .
 waha na+M , bete na -waha -himata -mona -ka ahi
 fall off AUX run AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi aux vi aux dem

'It fell off. He ran.'

41 *Hiwakame* , *hinaka wati kawē ka*
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma+M , hinaka wati ka- waa.NOM+M ka
 OC away COMMIT go/come back 3SG.POSS arrow COMMIT stand LOC
 vt pron nm vi prt

ya hiwakamematamonaka *ahi* .
 ya hi- to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi
 ADJU OC away COMMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 prt vt dem

'He went with it. He went with it to where his arrows were against a tree.'

TOWISAWA ROWI

42 **Wanawana** **ba** **nematamona** **amane**
 wana- wana na -ba na -himata -mona ama -ne
 DUP be attached AUX without stopping AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M
 vi aux aux sec

'It kept after him.'

43 **Manakobote** , **kamata** , **tokahomakosematamona**
 manakobote kamata to- ka- homa -kosa -himata -mona
 then belt CH COMMIT lie on ground middle FP.N+M REP+M
 conj nm vi

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

'The belt was on the ground.'

44 **Kamata** **tisatisawa** **tosi**
 kamata tisa- tisa -waha to- na -sii
 belt DUP undo change CH AUX slowly along the way
 nm vt aux

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

'He took the belt off as he was running.'

45 **Kamata** **tosakosematamonaka** **yome** **hiwatari**
 kamata to- sona -kosa -himata -mona -ka yomee hi- wata -haari
 belt CH fall middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M jaguar OC catch IP.E+M
 nm vi nm vt

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

'The belt fell off when the jaguar was holding onto it.'

46 **Faya** **kana** **ni** **tokomematamona** **aati**
 faya kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma -himata -mona a- ati
 so run AUX away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DUP say
 conj vi aux vi vt

toemari **ahi**
 to- ha -himari ahi
 CH AUX FP.E+M then
 aux dem

'He went running, he used to say.'

47 **Yome** **bete** **okowamaro** **ama** **oni**
 yomee bete o- ka- na -waha -hamaro ama o- ni
 jaguar run 1SG.S COMMIT AUX change FP.E+F SEC 1SG.S BKG+F
 nm vi aux sec prt

'I was running with the jaguar holding onto me.'

48 **Tiwa** **afo** **one** **oni**
 tiwa afo o- na -ne o- ni
 2SG.O blow snuff into 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 pron vt aux prt

'I am blowing snuff into you.'

TOWISAWA ROWI

49 *Tiwa tekatomatiyahi ati nemari*
 tiwa ti- ka- katoma -tee -yahi ati na -himari
 2SG.O 2SG.S COMIT look at HAB DIST.IMP+F say AUX FP.E+M
 pron vt vt aux

'"Be careful," he said.'

50 *Efe yome eeye raba ote ama o*
 efe yomee e- eye na -raba o- na -tee ama o-
 this+M jaguar DUP encounter AUX a bit 1SG.S AUX HAB SEC 1SG.S
 dem nm vt aux nm sec prt

'"I encounter many jaguars in the forest."'

51 *Bete hikawe wati kawe ka ya*
 bete hi- ka- na -waha+M wati ka- waa.NOM+M ka ya
 run OC COMIT AUX change arrow COMIT stand LOC ADJU
 vi aux nm vi prt prt

hiwakame towakitikose wati
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma+M wati to- ka- iti -kosa+M wati
 OC away COMIT go/come back arrow away COMIT take out middle arrow
 vt nm vt nm

he kawatamaki wati kihi taro
 hee ka- wata -makI+M wati kihi taro
 3SG.O COMIT catch following arrow along with hit
 pron vt nm prt vt

hikawitematamonaka ahi
 hi- to- ka- na -witI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 OC away COMIT AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt dem

'He ran away with it. He took it to where the arrows were against a log. He picked up the arrows. It grabbed him along with the arrows. He pushed it away while holding the arrows.'

52 *Towawawitematamonaka*
 to- waa -waha -witI -himata -mona -ka
 away stand change out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He moved over and stood in a different place.'

53 *Wati soba kanibote nematamona*
 wati soba ka- na -bote na -himata -mona
 arrow pull out COMIT AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm vt aux aux

'He quickly took out an arrow.'

54 *Fito namatasebona titisa ka ya yoko*
 fito na -ma -tasa -hibona ti- tisa ka ya yoko
 rush AUX back again INT+M DUP shoot with arrow with ADJU push
 vi aux nf prt prt vt

hikawite yora kabote nematamonaka
 hi- to- ka- na -witI yora na -kabote na -himata -mona -ka
 OC away COMIT AUX out jump AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux vi aux aux

'It charged him again, and he pushed it away with the bow. It jumped away.'

TOWISAWA ROWI

55 *Wati* *yor* *kabote* , *kamebona* *sa*
 wati yori na -kabote , ka -ma -hibona saa
 arrow insert AUX quickly go/come back INT+M shoot with arrow
 nm vt aux vi vt

hikanematamonaka *ayata* *ahi* , *ayatarama* *ahi*
 hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka ayata ahi , ayata -rama ahi
 OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M near there near unusual there
 aux nf dem nf dem

saki

saki

(sound of arrow hitting flesh)

sound

'He quickly put an arrow in the bow, and shot it, really close, saki.'

56 *Kiya* *kanematamonaka* *ahi*
 kiya ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 yell COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi aux dem

'It cried out.'

57 *Towisawa* *yome* *tani* *towetowe* *na* *toaremar*
 Towisawa yomee tani towe- towe na to- ha -ra -himari
 (man's name) jaguar killer DUP bad AUX CH AUX NEG FP.E+M
 npropm nm pn adj aux aux

amaka

ama -ka

SEC DECL+M

sec

'Towisawa was a good jaguar killer.'

58 *Towisawa* *amoamosa* *na* *toaremar* *amane* ,
 Towisawa amo- amosa na to- ha -ra -himari ama -ne
 (man's name) DUP be good AUX CH AUX NEG FP.E+M SEC BKG+M
 npropm vi aux aux sec

yetene

nanafi

toemata

yetene na- nafi to- ha -himata

teenage boy DUP be big CH AUX FP.N+M

adj vi aux

'Towisawa was big, but not as big as when he was a teenager.'

59 *Towisawa* *na* *toemarima* *na* *toeri*
 Towisawa na to- ha.NOM+M -mari -ma na to- ha -hiri
 (man's name) AUX CH AUX FP.E+M like AUX CH AUX RP.E+M
 npropm aux aux aux aux

yoyobi

kana

toaka

hari

yo- yobi ka- na to- ha -ka haari

DUP go back and forth COMIT AUX CH AUX DECL+M that one+M

vi aux aux dem

'He goes around here in something, he was like Towisawa used to be.'

60 *Faya* , *yome* , *towakematamonaka* *ahi*
 faya yomee to- ka- ka -himata -mona -ka ahi
 so jaguar away COMIT go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj nm vi dem

'The jaguar went, wounded.'

TOWISAWA ROWI

61 *Haa* , *haa* *ati* *toke* ,
 haa , haa ati to- ka+M ,
 interj interj voice away go/come
 pn vi

tosawitematamonaka *ahi* *fariboti* *sa*
 to- sona -witI -himata -mona -ka ahi fariboti saa
 away fall out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then armpit shoot with arrow
 vi dem pn vt

hikane *rama* *ahi* .
 hi- ka- na+M rama ahi
 OC COMIT AUX unusual then
 aux prt dem

"Haa, haa," it said as it went. It fell over. He had shot it in its side, near its front leg.'

62 *Hoo* , *owa* *no* *tonihena* *sa*
 hoo , owa noho to- niha- na -hina saa
 whew 1SG.O be hurt CH CAUS AUX IRR+M shoot with arrow
 interj pron vi aux vt

okine *o* *owatino* .
 o- ka- na -ne o- owatino
 1SG.S COMIT AUX CONT+F 1SG.S exclamation
 aux prt interj

"Whew, it almost hurt me, but I hit it with an arrow."

63 *Owa* *nima* *tinahi* .
 owa nima ti- na -hi
 1SG like 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 pron prt aux

"You should have been like me."

64 *E* *okere* .
 ee o- na -ke -re
 be similar 1SG.S AUX DECL+F NEG+F
 vi prt

"I'm not like you."

65 *Owa* *okasoma* *oke* .
 owa o- ka- soma o- ke
 1SG.O 1SG.S COMIT help 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron vt prt

"I saved myself."

66 *Owa* *okasomini* .
 owa o- ka- soma -ni
 1SG.O 1SG.S COMIT help BKG+F
 pron vt

"I saved myself."

67 *Homa* *nawi* *orimakoni* *owa*
 homa na -wi o- na -ra -makoni owa
 lie on ground AUX steadily 1SG.S AUX NEG for this reason+F 1SG.O
 vi aux aux vt pron

okasomine *oke* *iti* *bote* *ama*
 o- ka- soma -ne o- ke iti bote ama
 1SG.S COMIT help CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F grandfather old be
 vt prt nm adj vc

TOWISAWA ROWI

orimakoni

o- -ra -makoni , ati **nematamonane**
 1SG.S NEG for this reason+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 prt vt aux

"I didn't stay lying on the ground, I saved myself, I'm not an old man," he said.'

68 **Yome** , **yama** **tiwa** **yama** **tiwa** **wati** **ya** **yama** , **yama**
 yomee yama tiwa yama tiwa wata.NOM+F ya yama yama
 jaguar thing 2SG.O thing 2SG.O catch ADJU thing thing
 nm nf pron nf pron vt prt nf nf

taro **tiwiteraba** **ama** **tini** **aati**
 taro ti- to- na -witI -tee -ra -haba ama ti- ni a- ati
 hit 2SG.S away AUX out HAB NEG FUT+F SEC 2SG.S BKG+F DUP say
 vt aux sec prt vt

toemari **amane**
 to- ha -himari ama -ne
 CH AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M
 aux sec

"If a jaguar grabs you, you won't be able to push it away," he used to say.'

69 **Yome** **bete** **okowamaro** **ama** **oni**
 yomee bete o- ka- na -waha -hamaro ama o- ni
 jaguar run 1SG.S COMIT AUX change FP.E+F SEC 1SG.S BKG+F
 nm vi aux sec prt

tosakosebana
 to- sona -kosa -hibana
 CH fall middle FUT+M
 vi

"I ran with the jaguar, and it fell off."

70 **Owa** **ni** **wanamake** **taro** **owiti**
 owa ni wana -makI taro o- to- na -witI+M
 1SG to be attached following hit 1SG.S away AUX out
 pron prt vi vt aux

tosawitemari **amaka**
 to- sona -witI -himari ama -ka
 away fall out FP.E+M SEC DECL+M
 vi sec

"It went after me again, and I pushed it away, and it fell."

71 **Tosawite** **bete** **okowatase** **oko**
 to- sona -witI bete o- ka- na -waha -tasa+M o- ka
 away fall out run 1SG.S COMIT AUX change again 1SG.POSS POSS
 vi vi aux prt

wati **kawe** **ka** **ya** **yome** **owakame**
 wati ka- waa.NOM+M ka ya yomee o- to- ka- ka -ma+M
 arrow COMIT stand LOC ADJU jaguar 1SG.S away COMIT go/come back
 nm aux prt prt nm vt

wati **owakitikosa** **wati** **owa** **kawatemari**
 wati o- to- ka- iti -kosa+F wati owa ka- wata -himari
 arrow 1SG.S away COMIT pick up middle arrow 1SG.O COMIT catch FP.E+M
 nm vt nm pron vt

amane **Bato**
 ama -ne Bato
 SEC BKG+M (man's name)
 sec npropm

"It fell. I ran with it again. I went with it to where my arrows were against a log. I picked up the bunch of

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arrows, and it grabbed me with the arrows, Bato."

72 *Towisawa* *te* *awa* *ha* .
 Towisawa tee awa haa
 (man's name) 2PL.S see DEM
 npropm pron vt dem

"Look at Towisawa."

73 *Hiyare* *hiyari* *ota* *kamite* , *Yama* *tiwa* *wati*
 hiyara+M hiyara.NFIN otaa ka- mita+M , yama tiwa wata.NOM+F
 speak speak 1EX.S COMMIT hear thing 2SG.O catch
 vi vi pron vt nf pron vt

ya *yama* , *tiye* *watateraba* *ama* *tini*
 ya yama , ti- yehe wata -tee -ra -haba ama ti- ni
 ADJU thing 2SG.POSS hand exist HAB NEG FUT+F SEC 2SG.POSS BKG+F
 prt nf pn vi sec prt

'As he talked, we listened to him talking. "If it gets you, you won't be able to kill it."

74 *Oof* , *wati* *owakitikosa* *wati* *owa*
 oof , wati o- to- ka- iti -kosa+F wati owa
 hoo arrow 1SG.S away COMMIT pick up middle arrow 1SG.O
 interj nm vt nm pron

kawate *wati* *tama* *kani* *okitinari*
 ka- wata+M wati tama ka- na.NFIN o- kita+F -naari
 COMMIT catch arrow hold onto COMMIT AUX 1SG.S be strong ?
 vt nm vt aux vi

"I picked up the bunch of arrows. It grabbed me with the arrows, as I held the arrows hard."

75 *Wati* *kihi* *taro* *okowite* , *tosawite*
 wati kihi taro o- to- ka- na -witI , to- sona -witI
 arrow along with kick 1SG.S away COMMIT AUX out away fall out
 nm prt vt aux vi

fito *namebona* *ati* *ne* *sa*
 fito na -ma -hibona ati na+M saa
 rush AUX back INT+M say AUX shoot with arrow
 vi aux vt aux vt

okanarene *wati* *tama* *onimakoni*
 o- ka- na -hare -ne wati tama o- na -makoni
 1SG.S COMMIT AUX IP.E+M BKG+M arrow hold onto 1SG.S AUX for this reason+F
 aux nm vt aux

, *ayata* *Bato*
 , ayata Bato
 near (man's name)
 nf npropm

"I pushed it away while holding onto the arrows. It fell. When it was about to attack again, I shot it with an arrow, up close. I had held onto the arrows."

76 *Ayata* , *wati* *ino* *tati* *wati* *fawa* *toniseno*
 ayata , wati ino tati wati fawa to- na -risa -hino
 near arrow point+M head arrow disappear away AUX down IP.N+M
 nf nm pn pn nm vi aux

ka *hasabori* *sa* *okane* *rama* *ahi*
 ka hasabori saa o- ka- na+M rama ahi
 of insides shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMMIT AUX unusual then
 prt pn vt aux prt dem

"Because it was so close, the arrow point went way in. I had hit its lungs with the arrow."

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83 *Kame* *biyo* , *biyo* *totime*
 ka -ma+M biyo , biyo to- iti -ma+M
 go/come back spider monkey spider monkey away pick up back
 vi nf nf vt

Biyo *maki* *okaraboe* *sone* *awa*
 biyo maki o- karaboha+M sona+M awa
 spider monkey male 1SG.S shoot with blowgun fall seem+M
 nf nm vt vi sec

'He came back and got the monkey. "The male that I shot fell over there."

84 *E* *awi* , *hiba*
 ee awa.NOM+F , hiba
 1IN.S see wait
 pron vt interj

"I don't know, wait."

85 *Biyo* *kame* *amake* *ahi*
 biyo ka -ma.NOM+M ama -ke ahi
 spider monkey go/come back be DECL+F here
 nf vi vc dem

"The monkey came this way."

86 *Awa* *waineke* *haro*
 awa waa -ne -ke haaro
 tree be located CONT+F DECL+F that one+F
 nf vi dem

"There is a tree over there."

87 *Biyo* *soni* *moni* *omitarareka*
 biyo sona.NFIN moni o- mita -ra -hare -ka
 spider monkey fall sound 1SG.S hear NEG IP.E+M DECL+M
 nf vi pn vt

"I didn't hear the sound of the monkey falling."

88 *Awa* *waine* *ha*
 awa waa -ne haa
 tree stand CONT+F DEM
 nf vi dem

"There is a tree over there."

89 *Biyo* *kame* *ama* *ahi*
 biyo ka -ma.NOM+M ama ahi
 spider monkey go/come back be here
 nf vi vc dem

"The monkey came this way."

90 *Home* *awaka* *ahi*
 homa+M awa -ka ahi
 lie on ground seem+M DECL+M there
 vi sec dem

"It must be lying over there."

91 *Towisawa* *tokomake* *yama* *ki*
 towisawa to- ka -maki yama kii
 chief away go/come following thing look at
 nm vi nf vt

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- 98 **Faya biyo** , **totime** **kame** , **Yama yama**
 faya biyo to- iti -ma+M ka -ma+M yama yama
 so spider monkey away pick up back go/come back thing thing
 conj nf vt vi nf nf
- tiwatori** **ya wa nawi tini ya** ,
 ti- wato -ra.NOM+F ya waa na -wi ti- na.NOM+F ya
 2SG.S know NEG ADJU stand AUX steadily 2SG.S AUX ADJU
 vt prt vi aux aux prt
- yama tiwa nabowateba ama ti tiye watara**
 yama tiwa na- aboha -tee -haba ama ti- ti- yehe wata -ra+F
 thing 2SG.O CAUS die HAB FUT+F SEC 2SG.O 2SG.POSS hand exist NEG
 nf pron vt sec prt pn vi
- tiwa aati toemari amane taro kabote**
 tiwa a- ati to- ha -himari ama -ne taro na -kabote
 2SG.POSS DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M hit AUX quickly
 pron vt aux sec vt aux
- tiri** **ya** .
 ti- na -ra.NOM+F ya
 2SG.S AUX NEG ADJU
 aux prt
- 'He went and picked up the monkey. "If you aren't smart, and if you are not aware, the jaguar will kill you. You will not kill it," he used to say, "if you don't push it away quickly."
- 99 **Faya Towisawa** , **ati ya owa afo nemari** .
 faya Towisawa ati ya owa afo na -himari
 so (man's name) voice ADJU 1SG.O blow snuff into AUX FP.E+M
 conj npropm pn prt pron vt aux
- 'Towisawa was talking as he blew snuff into me.'
- 100 **Owa owa kawamisemari** .
 owa owa ka- waa -misa -himari
 1SG.O 1SG.O COMMIT stand up FP.E+M
 pron pron vt
- 'It stood on its hind feet with me.'
- 101 **Kakamina oheri** .
 ka- kamina o- to- ha -hiri
 DUP tell 1SG.S CH AUX RP.E+M
 vt aux
- 'I told about it.'
- 102 **Kakamina tohareri amaka fari** .
 ka- kamina to- ha -ra -hiri ama -ka faari
 DUP tell CH AUX NEG RP.E+M SEC DECL+M that one+M
 result aux sec dem
- 'That one wasn't told about yet.'
- 103 **Faya me kamematamona fahi** .
 faya me ka -ma -himata -mona fahi
 so 3PL go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj pron vi dem
- 'He came back.'
- 104 **Kame biyo weye ni kame kobo** ,
 ka -ma+M biyo weye ni ka -ma+M kobo
 go/come back spider monkey carry AUX go/come back arrive
 vi nf vt aux vi vi

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name , **Hoo** .
na -ma+M hoo
AUX back whew
aux interj

'He came back. He came back carrying the monkeys on his back. He arrived back. "Whew."'

105 **Hinaka kamata kamata baikani sibi kanematamona**
hinaka kamata kamata baikani sibi ka- na -himata -mona
3SG.POSS belt belt middle tear COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M
pron nm nm pn result aux

amaka ahi ye ataro ehene ahi , ye ataro mowi
ama -ka ahi yehe ataro ehene ahi yehe ataro mowi
SEC DECL+M then hand claw+M because of+M then hand claw+M bend
sec dem pn pn post dem pn pn vi

tokane karo ahi .
to- ka- na+M karo ahi
CH COMMIT AUX because then
aux prt dem

'The middle of his belt was torn because of its claws, which were curved.'

106 **Faya hinaka kamata sibi kare , Oko**
faya hinaka kamata sibi ka- na -rI o- ka
so 3SG.POSS belt tear COMMIT AUX raised surface 1SG.POSS POSS
conj pron nm vi aux prt

kamata abakeno .
kamata ahaba -ke -no
belt end DECL IP.N+M
nm vi

'His belt was torn. "My belt is ruined."'

107 **Hine ahaba** .
hine ahaba.NOM+M
only end
pron vi

""Let it be ruined.""

108 **Towisawa hiwa kasomematamona aati**
Towisawa hiwa ka- soma -himata -mona a- ati
(man's name) 3SG.REFL.M COMMIT help FP.N+M REP+M DUP say
npropm pron vt vt

toemari amane .
to- ha -himari ama -ne
CH AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M
aux sec

'Towisawa used to say he saved himself.'

109 **Biyo biti tokomisamemata awa** .
biyo biti to- ka -misa -ma -himata awa
spider monkey young+M away go/come up back FP.N+M seem+M
nf adj vi sec

'I guess the little monkey went up in a tree.'

110 **Owati mitare awane ?**
o- ati mita -ra+M awa -ne
1SG.POSS voice hear NEG seem+M BKG+M
pn vt sec

'Didn't you hear me?'

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111 *Itarimatamonaka* *neme ya* .
 ita -rI -himata -mona -ka neme ya
 sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M up ADJU
 vi nf prt

'It sat up in the tree.'

112 *Biyo yama ona yome owa yama*
 biyo yama o- na+F yomee owa yama
 spider monkey climb after 1SG.S AUX jaguar 1SG.O climb after
 nf vt aux nm pron vt

rebana ? ati ne biyo yama
 na -ra -hibana ati na+M biyo yama
 AUX NEG FUT+M say AUX spider monkey climb after
 aux vt aux nf vt

rematamona aati toemari
 na -ra -himata -mona a- ati to- ha -himari
 AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M
 aux vt aux

'If I go up into the tree after the monkey, won't the jaguar come up the tree after me?' he thought, and he didn't go up into the tree after the monkey, he used to say.'

113 *Hahi bofe ka wai ka hiwa*
 haahi bofe ka waa.NOM ka hiwa
 this one+M ground LOC stand because 3SG.REFL.M
 dem nf prt vi prt pron

kakatometatamona aati toemarine
 ka- katoma -himata -mona a- ati to- ha -himari -ne
 COMIT look at FP.N+M REP+M DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M
 vt vt aux

'He said that because he was on the ground he could watch out.'

114 *Bato yafi me ha me fanawi ra me fanawi ra Towisawa*
 bato yafi me haa me fanawi ra me fanawi ra Towisawa
 Banawá 3PL DEM 3PL woman O 3PL woman O (man's name)
 npropm pron dem pron adj prt pron adj prt npropm

iiti toaremata
 i- iti to- ha -ra -himata
 DUP marry CH AUX NEG FP.N+M
 vt aux

'Towisawa didn't marry a Jarawara woman.'

115 *Bato yafi ra Towisawa iiti toemata*
 bato yafi ra Towisawa i- iti to- ha -himata
 Banawá O (man's name) DUP marry CH AUX FP.N+M
 npropm prt npropm vt aux

'Towisawa married a Banawá.'

116 *Makoni biti me ati hiyaya na*
 makoni biti me ati hiya -ya na
 for this reason 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.POSS voice be bad DUP AUX
 conj nm pron pn vi aux

toemetemone amani
 to- ha -hemete -mone ama -ni
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
 aux sec

'For this reason his children talked funny.'

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117 *Yome* *owa* *katomena* *okomine* *oke* *ati*
 yomee owa katoma -hina o- ka -ma -ne o- ke ati
 jaguar 1SG.O damage IRR+M 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F say
 nm pron vt vi prt vt

nemari

na -himari
 AUX FP.E+M
 aux

"I am coming home after being almost killed by a jaguar," he said.'

118 *Hiwa* *hihiyara* *toemari* *wati*
 hiwa hi- hiyara to- ha -himari wati
 3SG.REFL.M OC tell CH AUX FP.E+M remember
 pron vt aux vt

owahine

o- na -waha -ne o- ni *Towisawa*
 1SG.S AUX change CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F (man's name)
 aux prt npropm

'I am remembering Towisawa, who used to tell about himself.'

119 *Yama* *owa* *niki* *nake* , *kamata* , *owate* *yama*
 yama owa niki na -kI , kamata , o- wata+M yama
 thing 1SG.O press on AUX coming belt 1SG.S put thing
 nf pron vt aux nm vt nf

ye *atari* *mowi* *tokana* *bete* *okowa* *kana*
 yehe atari mowi to- ka- na+F bete o- ka- na -waha+F kana
 hand nail+F bend CH COMIT AUX run 1SG.S COMIT AUX change run
 pn pn vi aux vi aux vi

okowamaro

o- ka- na -waha -hamaro *tiwa* *afo* *one*
 1SG.S COMIT AUX change FP.E+F 2SG.O blow snuff into 1SG.S AUX CONT+F
 aux pron vt aux

oke

o- ke
 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt

"It gripped me tightly. I was wearing a belt. Its claws were curved. I ran with it. I ran. I am blowing snuff in you."

120 *Tiwa* *tekatomatiyahi*
 tiwa ti- ka- katoma -tee -yahi
 2SG.O 2SG.S COMIT look at HAB DIST.IMP+F
 pron vt

"Be careful."

121 *Yome* , *e* *ya* *e* *abe* *afo*
 yomee , ee ya ee abe afo
 jaguar 1IN ADJU 1IN.POSS RECIP blow snuff into
 nm pron prt pron pn vt

terimone

na -tee -ra.NOM+F -mone *tiwa* *afo* *one*
 AUX HAB NEG REP+F 2SG.O blow snuff into 1SG.S AUX CONT+F
 aux pron vt aux

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oke **ati** **nemari** **amaka**
 o- ke ati na -himari ama -ka
 1SG.S DECL+F say AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+M
 prt vt aux sec

"People shouldn't blow snuff into each other, but I am blowing snuff into you."

122 **Afa** **yome** **eeye** **raba** **ote** **ama** **o**
 afa yomee e- eye na -raba o- na -tee ama o-
 this+F jaguar DUP encounter AUX a bit 1SG.S AUX HAB SEC 1SG.S
 dem nm vt aux aux sec prt

'This is why I met up with many jaguars.'

123 **Yome** **bete** **okowamaro** **ama** **oni**
 yomee bete o- ka- na -waha -hamaro ama o- ni
 jaguar run 1SG.S COMIT AUX change FP.E+F SEC 1SG.S BKG+F
 nm vi aux sec prt

"I ran with the jaguar."

124 **Yome** **bete** **okowa** **yome** **taro**
 yomee bete o- ka- na -waha+F yomee , taro
 jaguar run 1SG.S COMIT AUX change jaguar hit
 nm vi aux nm vt

owiti **moso** **towitimari**
 o- to- na -witI+M , moso to- na -witI -himari
 1SG.S away AUX out fall headlong away AUX out FP.E+M
 aux vi aux

"I ran with the jaguar. I pushed the jaguar away, and it fell headlong."

125 **Moso** **owitiramaro** **oke** **ha** **owa**
 moso o- to- na -witI -ra -hamaro o- ke haa owa
 fall headlong 1SG.S away AUX out NEG FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F DEM 1SG
 vi aux prt dem pron

"But I didn't fall headlong."

126 **Towisawa** **amoamosa** **na** **toaremari** **amaka**
 Towisawa amo- amosa na to- ha -ra -himari ama -ka
 (man's name) DUP be good AUX CH AUX NEG FP.E+M SEC DECL+M
 npropm vi aux aux sec

'Towisawa was a big man.'

127 **Faya** **moso** **towitimatamona**
 faya moso to- na -witI -himata -mona
 so fall headlong away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M
 conj vi aux

hinemarine
 ati hi- na -himari -ne
 say OC AUX FP.E+M BKG+M
 vt

'He said it fell headlong.'

128 **Faya** **bete** **nawahe** **wati** **towakitikosematamona**
 faya bete na -waha+M wati to- ka- iti -kosa -himata -mona
 so run AUX change arrow away COMIT take out middle FP.N+M REP+M
 conj vi aux nm vt

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141 *Ati sawiraba ama ?*
 ati sawi -ra -haba ama
 voice be present NEG FUT+F SEC
 pn vi sec

'Will the sound be on the tape?'

142 *Tosi nareka*
 tosi na -hare -ka
 fart AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'He farted.'

143 *Ebe ati sawiraba ama ?*
 ebe ati sawi -ra -haba ama
 dear voice be present NEG FUT+F SEC
 voc pn vi sec

'Dear, will the sound be on the tape?'

144 *Sawihaba amani*
 sawi -haba ama -ni
 be present FUT+F SEC BKG+F
 vi sec

'It will be.'

145 *Yama narabi hawiha aware awane*
 yama narabi hawi+F awa -ra+M awa -ne
 thing ear+F work see NEG seem+M BKG+M
 nf pn vi vt sec

'Don't you know the thing hears well?'

146 *Faya ya , kamematamona aati toemari fahi*
 faya ya ka -ma -himata -mona a- ati to- ha -himari fahi
 so ADJU go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M then
 conj prt vi vt aux dem

'Then he came back, he used to say.'

147 *Kame , Oka biyo biti , biyo*
 ka -ma+M o- ka biyo biti biyo
 go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS spider monkey young+M spider monkey
 vi prt prt nf adj nf

biti ya yome okinarera oni
 biti ya yomee o- kina -rI -hara oni
 young+M ADJU jaguar 1SG.S hit raised surface IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 adj prt nm vt prt

'He came back. "I hit the jaguar in the head with my little monkey."'

148 *Yama owa wata okomine oni*
 yama owa wata+F o- ka -ma -ne o- ni
 thing 1SG.O catch 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 nf pron vt vi prt

'"I am coming home after a jaguar grabbed me."'

149 *Yama owa wata oko , oka , kamata*
 yama owa wata+F o- ka , o- ka , kamata
 thing 1SG.O catch 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS belt
 nf pron vt prt prt prt nm

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kamata	owati		onofe		yama	owa	kawatini		ahi	
kamata	o-	wata	o-	nofa+M	yama	owa	ka-	wata	-ni	ahi
belt	1SG.S	put	1SG.S	recently	thing	1SG.O	COMIT	catch	BKG+F	then
nm	vt		prt		nf	pron	vt			dem

"The jaguar grasped me. The jaguar grasped me along with the belt I wear."

150	Wabao		Kamiro		Kamiro		owa	nima
	Wabao		Kamiro		Kamiro		owa	nima
	(man's name)		(man's name)		(man's name)		1SG.O	like
	npropm		npropm		npropm		pron	prt

titeraba				ama	tike		bati	na		
ti-	na	-tee	-ra	-haba	ama	ti-	ke	bati	ati	na
2SG.S	AUX	HAB	NEG	FUT+F	SEC	2SG.S	DECL+F	3SG.POSS.father	say	AUX
aux				sec	prt			nm		vt

hiemari							
hi-	to-	ha	-himari				
OC	CH	AUX	FP.E+M				
aux							

"Wabao, Kamiro, you won't be like me," his father used to say about him.'

151	Towisawa		Makowi		Makowi		totoa
	Towisawa		Makowi		Makowi		to- to- ha
	(man's name)		(man's name)		(man's name)		DUP CH be
	npropm		npropm		npropm		vc

toemarika						
to-	ha	-himari	-ka			
CH	AUX	FP.E+M	DECL+M			
aux						

'Towisawa, Makowi. It was Makowi.'

152	Towisawa		Makowi		totoa		toemarika
	Towisawa		Makowi		to- to- ha		to- ha -himari -ka
	(man's name)		(man's name)		DUP CH be		CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M
	npropm		npropm		vc		aux

'Towisawa was Makowi.'

153	Faya	me		Yome	owa	watamake		owa
	faya	me		yomee	owa	wata -makI		owa
	so	3PL		jaguar	1SG.O	catch following		1SG.O
	conj	pron		nm	pron	vt		pron

watamakehimari				aware		ahi
wata	-makI		-himari	awa	-ra+M	ahi
exist	following		FP.E+M	see	NEG	then
vt				vt		dem

"The jaguar grasped me again. You didn't see it."

154	Bete	okowemari				ahi	
	bete	o-	ka-	na	-waha	-himari	ahi
	run	1SG.S	COMIT	AUX	change	FP.E+M	then
	vi	aux					dem

"I ran with it."

155	Kamata	moni	tokemari			amaka
	kamata	moni	to-	ka	-himari	ama -ka
	belt	sound	away	go/come	FP.E+M	SEC DECL+M
	nm	pn	vi			sec

"There was the sound of the belt ripping as I went."

TOWISAWA ROWI

156 **Kamata tisasawa kamata tama namako mata**
 kamata tisa- tisa -waha kamata tama na -mako mata
 belt DUP undo change belt hold onto AUX for this reason+M more
 nm vt nm vt aux adv

bete nawa onara oke
 bete na -waha o- na -hara o- ke
 run AUX change 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi aux aux prt

"The belt came apart as I went along. Because it was holding onto the belt, I ran as fast as I could."

157 **Miti tone oko bete ni**
 miti to- na+M o- ka bete na.NFIN
 get loose CH AUX 1SG.POSS POSS run AUX
 vi aux prt vi aux

kamarake ahi kasiro ya oko wati
 ka -ma -hara -ke ahi kasiro ya o- ka wati
 go/come back IP.E+F DECL+F then a lot ADJU 1SG.POSS POSS arrow
 vi dem nf prt prt nm

kawe ya ahi ati nemarine
 ka- waa.NOM+M ya ahi , ati na -himari -ne
 COMMIT stand ADJU there say AUX FP.E+M BKG+M
 aux prt dem vt aux

"It came off. I came running back to where my bunch of arrows was against a log," he said.'

158 **Wati kakiti kanibote ona owa**
 wati ka- iti ka- na -bote o- na+F owa
 arrow COMMIT pick up COMMIT AUX quickly 1SG.S AUX 1SG.O
 nm vt aux aux pron

watamake taro owititasehimari amane ahi
 wata -makI taro o- to- na -witI -tasa -himari ama -ne ahi
 catch following hit 1SG.S away AUX out again FP.E+M SEC BKG+M then
 vt vt aux sec dem

Bato
 Bato
 (man's name)
 npropm

"I quickly picked up the arrows. It grabbed me again, and I pushed it away again, Bato."

159 **Towisawa otara afo tibe**
 Towisawa otara afo ti- na -be
 (man's name) 1EX.O blow snuff into 2SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 npropm pron vt aux

"Towisawa, blow snuff into us."

160 **Yome me ota tisa nibe**
 yomee me otaa tisa na -be
 jaguar 3PL.O 1EX.S shoot with arrow AUX IMMED+F
 nm pron pron vt aux

"We want to shoot jaguars with arrows."

161 **Te afo obeya**
 tee afo o- na -be -ya
 2PL.O blow snuff into 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 pron vt aux

"I will blow snuff in you."

TOWISAWA ROWI

162 *Faya me* , *Towisawa* , *Oof* , *owa*
 faya me , Towisawa , oof , owa
 so 3PL (man's name) hoo 1SG.O
 conj pron npropm interj pron

owakatominari *yama* , *yama* *owa* *watamaro* , *ini*
 o- ka- katoma+F -naari yama , yama owa wata -hamaro , ini
 1SG.S COMIT look at ? thing thing 1SG.O catch FP.E+F name+F
 vt nf nf pron vt pn

hiri tina *yama ini* *hiri rama* *teramone*
 hiri ti- na+F yama ini hiri na -rama na -tee -ra -hamone
 say 2SG.S AUX thing name+F say AUX unusual AUX HAB NEG REP+F
 vt aux nf pn vt aux aux

amani Bato
 ama -ni Bato
 SEC BKG+F (man's name)
 sec npropm

"I was careful. Don't say the name of the jaguar that got me. The jaguar's name shouldn't be said, Bato."

163 *Ino hiri okana* *owa*
 ino hiri na o- ka -na owa
 name+M say AUX 1SG.S DECL+M IRR+M 1SG.O
 pn vt prt pron

owakatomabisaba *owa* *awine* *oke* *Towisawa*
 o- ka- katoma -bisa -haba owa awine o- ke Towisawa
 1SG.S COMIT look at also FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S DECL+F (man's name)
 vt pron sec prt npropm

"I am going to say its name, but I will also be careful, Towisawa."

164 *Noko sa* *okanebanaka* *ahi noko*
 noko saa o- ka- na -hibana -ka ahi noko
 face+M shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+M DECL+M then face+M
 pn vt aux dem pn

ahi kanatare ya
 ahi kanatare ya
 there arrow for fishing ADJU
 dem nm prt

"I will shoot it in the face with an arrow."

165 *Awahi yokana siba* *bisakara*
 awa -hi yokana siba na -bisa -ka -ra
 see IMP+F true be all right AUX also DECL+M NEG+M
 vt adj vi aux

"If we see it well, it will be good."

166 *Ee* , *hahi* *aware* *ka* *era* *fito* *kane* ,
 ee , haahi awa -ra+M ka era fito ka- na+M ,
 yes this one+M see NEG because 1IN.O rush COMIT AUX
 interj dem vt prt pron vi aux

fito kana nane *bisa naka*
 fito ka- na na.CONT+M -ne bisa na.CONT+M -ka
 rush COMIT AUX AUX BKG+M also AUX DECL+M
 vi vi aux prt aux

"If we see it and it doesn't see us, it is good. It is shot with an arrow," he said.'

TOWISAWA ROWI

167 *Hehi* *awahi* *watore* *kamahi* *noko* *sa*
 hehi awa+M wato -ra+M ka -ma+M noko saa
 that one+M see know NEG go/come back face+M shoot with arrow
 dem vt vt vi pn result

kane *siba* *kara* *bisa* *wati* *ya*
 ka- na+M siba na ka -ra bisa wati ya
 COMIT AUX be all right AUX DECL+M NEG+M also arrow ADJU
 aux vi prt prt nm prt

sa *kanahari* *ati* *nemari*
 saa ka- na -haari , ati na -himari
 shoot with arrow COMIT AUX IP.E+M say AUX FP.E+M
 result aux vt aux

"It is good if we see it and it doesn't know we are there, when it comes toward us we shoot it with an arrow," he said.'

168 *Sa* *okanemari* *amane* *Bato*
 saa o- ka- na -himari ama -ne , Bato
 shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M (man's name)
 vt aux sec npropm

"I shot it with an arrow, Bato."

169 *Owati* *tikamita*
 o- ati ti- ka- mita
 1SG.POSS voice 2SG.S COMIT hear
 pn vt

"Listen to what I am saying."

170 *Oka* *yama* *yete* *onamaro* *oke*
 o- to- ka+F yama yete o- na -hamaro o- ke
 1SG.S away go/come thing hunt 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi nf vt aux prt

"I went out into the forest. I hunted."

171 *Yama* *yete* *ona* *yama* *yete* *onamaro* *oni*
 yama yete o- na+F , yama yete o- na -hamaro o- ni
 thing hunt 1SG.S AUX thing hunt 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 nf vt aux nf vt aux prt

"I hunted."

172 *Yama* *yete* *ona* *oka*
 yama yete o- na+F o- to- ka+F
 thing hunt 1SG.S AUX 1SG.S away go/come
 nf vt aux vi

okamaro *oke* *ahi*
 o- to- ka -hamaro o- ke ahi
 1SG.S away go/come FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F then
 vi prt dem

"I went hunting."

173 *Oka* *onoko* *awamaro* *amani* *ahi* *yama*
 o- to- ka+F , o- noko awa -hamaro ama -ni ahi yama
 1SG.S away go/come 1SG.POSS eye see FP.E+F SEC BKG+F then thing
 vi pn vi sec dem nf

TOWISAWA ROWI

, *awi kabehinoho*
 awi kaba -hino -ho
 tapir eat IP.N+M DUP
 nm vt

'"I went, and I saw something. A jaguar was eating a tapir."'

174 *Awi kabehino kamento fu fawebona*
 awi kaba -hino ka -ma -hino faha fawa -hibona
 tapir eat IP.N+M go/come back IP.N+M water drink INT+M
 nm vt vi nf vt
kisameno hiwematamona hinemarine
 ka -risa -ma -hino hi- awa -himata -mona ati hi- na -himari -ne
 go/come down back IP.N+M OC see FP.N+M REP+M say OC AUX FP.E+M BKG+M
 vi vt vt

'It was eating a tapir. It came, and he used to say he saw it as it came down to drink water.'

175 *Hinaka awi homematamonaka ahi*
 hinaka awi homa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 3SG.POSS tapir lie on ground FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 pron nm vi dem

'Its tapir was lying there.'

176 *Awi naboweno awi kabeno fu fawebona*
 awi na- aboha -hino awi kaba -hino faha fawa -hibona
 tapir CAUS die IP.N+M tapir eat IP.N+M water drink INT+M
 nm vt nm vt nf vt
kamento kisiririri ki kabote
 ka -ma -hino kisiriririri kii na -kabote
 go/come back IP.N+M (sound of leaves) look at AUX quickly
 vi sound vt aux

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

'It had killed a tapir, and was eating the tapir. It came to drink water. Kisiririri. He looked around.'

177 *Yama kamemetemoneke ahi*
 yama ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 thing go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf vi dem

'It came.'

178 *Nokorisakane nabati*
 noko -risa -kane nabati
 point down ?+M stomach
 vi pn

'It was looking down, with its stomach full.'

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

'It came.'

TOWISAWA ROWI

180 *Wati* , *wati* , *soba* *kane* , *soba* *nake* *wati*
 wati , wati , soba ka- na+M , soba na -kI wati
 arrow arrow pull out COMIT AUX pull out AUX coming arrow
 nm nm vt aux vt aux nm

kakibarisaraba *ne* *wati* *soba* *nake* ,
 ka- iba -risa -raba na+M wati soba na -kI ,
 COMIT set down down a bit AUX arrow pull out AUX coming
 vt aux nm vt aux

kamematamona *ahi* *noki* *hinahari* *ahi* .
 ka -ma -himata -mona ahi noki hi- na -haari ahi
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then wait for OC AUX IP.E+M then
 vi dem vt aux dem

'He took out an arrow, and he put the arrow quietly on the ground. It came as he waited for it.'

181 *Fa* *ita* *wati* *kanematamonaka* *ahi* .
 faha ita+F wati ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 water sit plan against COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nf vi vt aux dem

'It was after the pond.'

182 *Fa* *wati* *kane* *kifewamebona*
 faha wati ka- na+M ka -fI -waha -ma -hibona
 water plan against COMIT AUX go/come water change back INT+M
 nf vt aux vi

sa *hikanematamona* *na* *hiemari*
 saa hi- ka- na -himata -mona ati na hi- to- ha -himari
 shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M say AUX OC CH AUX FP.E+M
 vt aux vt aux

ama .
 ama
 SEC
 sec

'It was after the pond. When it was going to come down to the water, he shot it with an arrow, he used to say.'

183 *Yora* *tokowitematamonaka* *ahi* .
 yora to- ka- na -witI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 jump away COMIT AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi aux dem

'It jumped.'

184 *Yee* *ati* *nematamonaka* .
 yee ati na -himata -mona -ka
 (sound of yelling) say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 interj vt aux

'"Yee," he said.'

185 *Nabati* *nafi* *rama* *ahi* .
 nabati nafi rama ahi
 stomach be big unusual then
 pn vi prt dem

'It's stomach was full.'

186 *Hiwa* *toka* *nematamonaka* .
 hiwa to- ka.LIST na -himata -mona -ka
 only.M away go/come AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vi aux

'It went off slowly.'

TOWISAWA ROWI

187 *Hiwa toka ne ya* ,
 hiwa to- ka.LIST na.NOM+M ya
 only.M away go/come AUX ADJU
 pron vi aux prt

tosawitematamonaka ahi
 to- sona -witI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 away fall out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem

'It went off slowly, and fell.'

188 *Yome sa tikanahi*
 yomee saa ti- ka- na -hi
 jaguar shoot with arrow 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMP+F
 nm vt aux

''Shoot the jaguar with an arrow.''

189 *Yama bete nawabone tina ama yomahi ati*
 yama bete na -waha -habone ati ti- na+F ama yomahi , ati
 thing run AUX change INT+F say 2SG.S AUX SEC jaguar say
 nf vi aux vt sec nm vt

nemari
 na -himari
 AUX FP.E+M
 aux

''The jaguar will not run away,' he said.'

190 *Yama wati kanakomabote amani*
 yama wati ka- na- koma -bote ama -ni
 thing arrow COMIT CAUS hurt very be BKG+F
 nf nm adj vc

''It will feel the effect of the arrow right away.''

191 *Tosawitemarine*
 to- sona -witI -himari -ne
 away fall out FP.E+M BKG+M
 vi

''It fell.''

192 *Tosawite fariboti sa okanemata*
 to- sona -witI , fariboti saa o- ka- na -himata
 away fall out armpit shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX FP.N+M
 vi pn vt aux

amaka ahi
 ama -ka ahi
 SEC DECL+M then
 sec dem

''It fell. I shot it with an arrow behind its front leg.''

193 *Wati ino tofoyamako ene*
 wati ino to- foya -mako ehene
 arrow point+M CH be inside for this reason+M because of+M
 nm pn vi pn

kawa nawaremari amane ati nemarika
 ka- waa na -waharI -himari ama -ne , ati na -himari -ka
 COMIT stand AUX all over FP.E+M SEC BKG+M say AUX FP.E+M DECL+M
 vi aux sec vt aux

TOWISAWA ROWI

"Because the point of the arrow was deep inside it, it staggered around," he said.'

194 *Faya* , *tosawite* *me* , *Hima* *ataro* , *ataro* *ote*
 faya , to- sona -witI me , hima ataro , ataro o- itI
 so away fall out 3PL let's go skin+M skin+M 1SG.S skin
 conj vi pron interj pn pn vt

'It fell. 'Should I skin it?'"

195 *Hiwa* *bata* *na* .
 hiwa bata.NOM+M na
 only.M be rotten AUX
 pron vi aux

""Let it rot.""

196 *Owakanakosemari* *amane* .
 o- ka- kana -kosa -himari ama -ne
 1SG.S COMIT leave middle FP.E+M SEC BKG+M
 vt sec

"I left it there."

197 *Manakobisa* , *manakobisa* *okatasi* *ya* , *awi*
 manakobisa , manakobisa o- to- ka -tasa.NOM+F ya , awi
 then then 1SG.S away go/come again ADJU awi
 conj conj vi prt nm

kakama *na* *toemari* *amane* , *awi* .
 ka- ka -ma na to- ha -himari ama -ne , awi
 COMIT go/come back AUX CH AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M tapir
 vt aux aux sec nm

"When I went out another time, one was coming with a tapir."

198 *Yama* *ati* *kamemetemone* .
 yama ati ka -ma -hemete -mone
 thing voice go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
 nf pn vi

'A voice could be heard coming.'

199 *Oooo* *ooo* *oo* *oo* *yama* *ati* *nemetemone* *Towisawa* *ati*
 oooo ooo oo oo yama ati na -hemete -mone Towisawa ati
 sound sound sound sound thing say AUX FP.N+F REP+F (man's name) say
 nf vt aux npropm vt

nemarika *ahi* , *yama* *sisiwa* *narawa* *ati* *ama*
 na -himari -ka ahi , yama si- siwa na -rawa+F ati ama
 AUX FP.E+M DECL+M then thing DUP play AUX F.PL voice be
 aux dem nf vi aux pn vc

nikani .
 na+F -kani
 AUX CNTRFACT
 aux

"Oooo ooo oo oo," the sound went, Towisawa said. He thought it was people playing.'

200 *Yama* *ati* *kama* *moni* *kamemetemoneke* .
 yama ati ka -ma+F moni ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 thing voice go/come back sound go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf pn vi pn vi

'The voice could be heard coming. There were also sounds.'

TOWISAWA ROWI

201 *Yama moni kama kamemetemone Towisawa*
 yama moni ka -ma+F ka -ma -hemete -mone Towisawa
 thing sound go/come back go/come back FP.N+F REP+F (man's name)
 nf pn vi vi npropm

aati toemari amaka ahi
 a- ati to- ha -himari ama -ka ahi
 DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+M then
 vt aux sec dem

'The sounds came, Towisawa used to say.'

202 *Kobo foti foti foti foti foti*
 kobo foti foti foti foti foti
 sound sound sound sound sound sound

'Kobo foti foti foti foti foti.'

203 *Awī ati kamematamona fiya , fiya fiya*
 awi ati ka -ma -himata -mona fiya , fiya fiya
 tapir voice go/come back FP.N+M REP+M sound sound sound
 nm pn vi

'The tapir could be heard coming, "Fiya, fiya, fiya."'

204 *Wanabasematamona Towisawa na*
 wana -basa -himata -mona Towisawa ati na
 be attached edge FP.N+M REP+M (man's name) say AUX
 vi npropm vt

hiemari awi fariboti ya
 hi- to- ha -himari awi fariboti ya
 OC CH AUX FP.E+M tapir armpit ADJU
 aux nm pn prt

'It was holding on, Towisawa used to say, behind the tapir's front leg.'

205 *Awī namiti hawihawi nematamona na*
 awi namiti hawi- hawi na -himata -mona ati na
 tapir neck DUP gnaw AUX FP.N+M REP+M say AUX
 nm pn vt aux vt

hiemari amane ahi
 hi- to- ha -himari ama -ne ahi
 OC CH AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M then
 aux sec dem

'It was gnawing at the tapir's neck, he used to say.'

206 *Awī sasa kana ino hiri*
 awi sa- saa ka- na ino hiri
 tapir DUP shoot with arrow COMIT AUX name+M say
 nm pn vt

rematamona aati toemari awi hasi
 na -ra -himata -mona a- ati to- ha -himari awi hasi
 AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M tapir escape
 aux vt aux nm vi

nabonamako , wanabase rama ahi he
 na -bona -mako wana -basa+M rama ahi hee
 AUX INT+M for this reason+M be attached edge unusual there 3SG
 aux vi prt dem pron

wai ka ya ahi
 waa.NOM ka ya ahi
 stand LOC ADJU there
 vi prt prt dem

TOWISAWA ROWI

'He didn't want to shoot the tapir, he used to say. The tapir escaped, because the jaguar was on the same side that he was on.'

207 *Sa* *hikanematamonane*
 saa hi- ka na -himata -mona -ne
 shoot with arrow OC go/come AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vt aux

'He shot it with an arrow.'

208 *Awi* , *abematamona* *amaka*
 awi , ahaba -himata -mona ama -ka
 tapir die FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M
 nm vi sec

'The jaguar died.'

209 *Tokomake* *awi* , *awi* *mama* *ihi*
 to- ka -makI awi , awi mama ihi
 away go/come following tapir tapir DUP be tired result of+F
 vi nm nf pn

toe *tokomake* , *Hiba* *awi* *mama* *ihi*
 to- ha+M to- ka -makI , hiba awi mama ihi
 CH be away go/come following wait tapir DUP be tired result of+F
 vc vi interj nm nf pn

tohe *tokomaka* *afi* *nebana* , *Towisawa* *ati*
 to- ha+M to- ka -ma -ka afi na -hibana , Towisawa ati
 CH be away go/come back DECL+M bathe AUX FUT+M (man's name) say
 vc vi vi aux npropm vt

nematamona *aati* *toemari*
 na -himata -mona a- ati to- ha -himari
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M
 aux vt aux

'He went. The tapir was tired out, and he went. "Wait, the tapir is tired out, and it went to bathe," Towisawa used to say he thought.'

210 *Totowamake* *omataba*
 to- to- awa -makI o- na -mata -ba
 DUP away see following 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+M
 vt aux

'I'm going to go take a look at it.'

211 *Awi* *yana* *kabote* *re* *awaka*
 awi yana na -kabote na -ra+M awa -ka
 tapir start AUX quickly AUX NEG seem+M DECL+M
 nm vi aux aux sec

'I don't think the tapir left so quickly.'

212 *Towisawa* *tokomake* *tokomake* ,
 Towisawa to- ka -makI to- ka -makI
 (man's name) away go/come following away go/come following
 npropm vi vi

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

'Towisawa went there.'

TOWISAWA ROWI

<p>tokomisame to- ka -misa -ma+M away go/come up back vi</p>	<p>tokomisame to- ka -misa -ma+M away go/come up back vi</p>	<p>towame to- waa -ma+M away stand back vi</p>
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hinakamakimatamona
hi- to- na- ka -makI -himata -mona
OC away CAUS go/come following FP.N+M REP+M
vt

'It went up. It had finished bathing and went up. It stopped and stood there. He went after it.'

218 **Hinakamaki**
hi- to- na- ka -makI+M
OC away CAUS go/come following
vt

<p>totikosawawitematamonaka to- iti -kosa -waha -witI -himata -mona -ka away go around middle change out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vi</p>	<p>ahi ahi dem</p>
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'He went after it. He circled around.'

<p>219 Totikosawawite to- iti -kosa -waha -witI away go around middle change out vi</p>	<p>toke to- ka+M away go/come vi</p>	<p>toke , ya to- ka.NOM+M ya away go/come ADJU vi prt</p>
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<p>totikosawawite to- iti -kosa -waha -witI away go around middle change out vi</p>	<p>AwI awi tapir nm</p>	<p>wareka waa -hare -ka stand IP.E+M DECL+M vi</p>	<p>ahi , ahi there dem</p>
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Towisawa **ati** **nematamona**
Towisawa ati na -himata -mona
(man's name) say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
npropm vt aux

'He circled around. He went. He circled around. "The tapir was here," Towisawa said.'

<p>220 Fii fii (sound of whistling) sound</p>	<p>ati nematamona ati na -himata -mona say AUX FP.N+M REP+M vt aux</p>
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'"Fii," he whistled.'

221 **Fii**
fii
(sound of whistling)
sound

'"Fii,"'

<p>222 Fii fii (sound of whistling) sound</p>	<p>ati nematamonaka ati na -himata -mona -ka say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vt aux</p>	<p>ahi ahi then dem</p>
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'"Fii," he whistled.'

223 **Hari**
haari
that one+M
dem

'"There it is,"'

TOWISAWA ROWI

224 *Kakehimatamona* *Towisawa* *na* *hiemari*
ka -kI -himata -mona Towisawa ati na hi- to- ha -himari
go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M (man's name) say AUX OC CH AUX FP.E+M
vi npropm vt aux

amane *yome* *ma* *hinihe* *afi* *nenō*
ama -ne yomee maa hi- to- niha- ha+M afi na -hino
SEC BKG+M jaguar be tired OC CH CAUS AUX bathe AUX IP.N+M
sec nm vi aux vi aux

kake *sa* *hikanebana* *ahi*
ka -kI saa hi- ka- na -hibana ahi
go/come coming shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX FUT+M then
vi vt aux dem

'It came, Towisawa used to say. The jaguar had tired it out, and it had bathed, and when it came he shot it with an arrow.'

225 *Yome* *hikabena* *okobawahemari* *amaka*
yomee hi- kaba -hina o- kaba -waha -himari ama -ka
jaguar OC eat IRR+M 1SG.S eat change FP.E+M SEC DECL+M
nm vt vt sec

kakehari
ka -kI -haari
go/come coming IP.E+M
vi

'''The jaguar didn't eat it, but I ate it after it came.'''

226 *Kakemarika* *ahi*
ka -kI -himari -ka ahi
go/come coming FP.E+M DECL+M then
vi dem

'It came.'

227 *Kake* *yome* *namiti* *wisiwisi* *namiti* *yome*
ka -kI yomee namiti wisi- wisi -si namiti yomee
go/come coming jaguar neck DUP saw DUP neck jaguar
vi nm pn vt pn nm

hawi *hineno* *yome* *ye* *ataro* *ehene* *kihakiha*
hawi hi- na -hino yomee yehe ataro ehene kiha- kiha
gnaw OC AUX IP.N+M jaguar hand claw+M result of+M DUP have
vt aux nm pn pn pn vt

nematamona *na* *hiemari* *amane*
na -himata -mona ati na hi- to- ha -himari ama -ne
AUX FP.N+M REP+M say AUX OC CH AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M
aux vt aux sec

'It came. Its neck was all gashed from the jaguar. The jaguar had gnawed on its neck. It had jaguar claw wounds all over it, he used to say.'

228 *Sa* *okowemari*
saa o- ka- na -waha -himari
shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX change FP.E+M
vt aux

'''I finally shot it with an arrow.'''

229 *Ota* *kabawemari* *amane* *yome* *hikabenaha*
otaa kaba -waha -himari ama -ne yomee hi- kaba -hina -ha
1EX.S eat change FP.E+M SEC BKG+M jaguar OC eat IRR+M DUP
pron vt sec nm vt

TOWISAWA ROWI

"We ate it instead of the jaguar eating it."

230 *Faya awi sa okane ahabe me*
 faya awi saa o- ka- na+M ahaba+M ' me
 so tapir shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX die 3PL.O
 conj nm vt aux vi pron
onakama
 o- na- ka -ma+F , awi , ota bobi nimaro
 1SG.S CAUS go/come back tapir 1EX.S slit AUX FP.E+F
 vt nm pron vt aux

amake

ama -ke
 be DECL+F
 vc

"I shot the tapir with an arrow, and it died. I came back after the others. We cut up the tapir."

231 *Awí ota bobi na awi ota , Awí yome hinabowe*
 awi otaa bobi na+F awi otaa , awi yomee hi- na- aboha+M
 tapir 1EX.S slit AUX tapir 1EX tapir jaguar OC CAUS die
 nm pron vt aux nm pron nm nm vt

amaka

ama -ka hari
 SEC DECL+M that one+M
 sec dem

"We cut up the tapir. The jaguar killed this tapir."

232 *Hinaka yome homare ahi*
 hinaka yomee homa -hare ahi
 3SG.POSS jaguar lie on ground IP.E+M there
 pron nm vi dem

"Its jaguar is lying on the ground over there."

233 *E raba ?*
 ee na -ra -ba
 (question) AUX CQ+M IMMED+M
 vi aux

"What about it?"

234 *Hiwa homaka*
 hiwa homa -ka
 only.M lie on ground DECL+M
 pron vi

"Let it lie there."

235 *Awí ka yome homare ahi sa*
 awi ka yomee homa -hare ahi saa
 tapir POSS jaguar lie on ground IP.E+M there shoot with arrow
 nm prt nm vi dem vt

okanahi

o- ka- na+M
 1SG.S COMIT AUX
 aux

"The tapir's jaguar is lying there, I shot it with an arrow."

TOWISAWA ROWI

236 *Hiwa* *aba* *na*
 hiwa ahaba.NOM+M na
 only.M die AUX
 pron vi aux

""Let it die.""

237 *Faya* *Towisawa* *kamematamona* *aati* *toemari*
 faya Towisawa ka -ma -himata -mona a- ati to- ha -himari
 so (man's name) go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M
 conj npropm vi vt aux

fahi

fahi
 then
 dem

'Then Towisawa came back, he used to say.'

238 *Kame* *mera* *itime* *mera* *towakame*
 ka -ma+M mera iti -ma+M mera to- ka- ka -ma+M
 go/come back 3PL.O pick up back 3PL.O away COMIT go/come back
 vi pron vt pron vt

bai *fawa* *nise* *ya* *awi* *me* *bobi*
 bahi fawa na -risa.NOM+M ya awi me bobi
 sun disappear AUX down ADJU tapir 3PL.S slit
 nm vi aux prt nm pron vt

nemetemone *amake*
 na -hemete -mone ama -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 aux sec

'He came back and got the others, and took them out there. It was late afternoon when they cut up the tapir.'

239 *Nafi* *me* *bobi* *hinematamonaka* *ahi*
 nafi me bobi hi- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 all 3PL.S slit OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 pn pron vt aux dem

'They cut up the whole animal.'

240 *Nafi* *me* *bobi* *hine* *Hoo* *okoyo*
 nafi me bobi hi- na+M hoo o- ka ayo
 all 3PL.S slit OC AUX humph 1SG.POSS POSS older brother
 pn pron vt aux interj nm

awi *sa* *kani* *nofe* *rama* *bai* *toke*
 awi saa ka- na nofa+M rama bahi to- ka.NOM+M
 tapir shoot with arrow COMIT AUX recently unusual sun away go/come
 nm vt aux prt prt nm vi

ya
 ya
 ADJU
 prt

'They cut up the whole animal. "Hoo, my older brother shot a tapir with an arrow late in the day."'

241 *Awi* *bobi* *ne* *were* *nematamonaka* *ahi*
 awi bobi na+M were na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 tapir slit AUX throw AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm vt aux vt aux dem

'He cut up the tapir, and distributed the pieces.'

TOWISAWA ROWI

242 *Awi were nematamonaka ahi*
 awi were na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 tapir throw AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm vt aux dem

'He distributed the pieces of the tapir.'

243 *Awi were hine me , te nemetemoneke*
 awi were hi- na+M me , tee na -hemete -mone -ke
 tapir throw OC AUX 3PL.S put inside AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm vt aux pron vt aux

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He distributed the pieces of the tapir, and they put them in their baskets.'

244 *Awi me te na me , kana ni*
 awi me tee na+F me , kana na.NFIN
 tapir 3PL.S put inside AUX 3PL.S run AUX
 nm pron vt aux pron vi aux

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

'They put the pieces of the tapir in their baskets, and they came running back.'

245 *Me kana ni kama me , me kobo*
 me kana na.NFIN ka -ma+F me , me kobo
 3PL.S run AUX go/come back 3PL.POSS 3PL.S arrive
 pron vi aux vi pron pron vi

nama me
 na -ma+F me
 AUX back 3PL.S
 aux pron

'They came running back, and they arrived back.'

246 *Faya ota , me kamemetemoneke*
 faya otaa , me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 so 1EX 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj pron pron vi

'They came back.'

247 *Awi yome hinabowena okasome*
 awi yomee hi- na- aboha -hina o- ka- soma+M
 tapir jaguar OC CAUS die IRR+M 1SG.S COMIT help
 nm nm vt vt

sa okowe amaka
 saa o- ka- na -waha+M ama -ka
 shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX change SEC DECL+M
 vt aux sec

'"I saved the tapir that the jaguar was going to kill, and then I shot it with an arrow, too."'

248 *E kabibanani ati nematamona aati*
 ee kaba+F -bana -ni ati na -himata -mona a- ati
 1IN.S eat FUT BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP say
 pron vt vt aux vt

TOWISAWA ROWI

toemari

to- ha -himari

CH AUX FP.E+M

aux

"We will eat it," he used to say he said.'

249 **Okasomemari**

o- ka- soma -himari

1SG.S COMIT let go FP.E+M

vt

amaka

ama -ka

SEC DECL+M

sec

"I saved it."

250 **Yome**

yomee

wanabase

wana

-basa+M

jaguar be attached edge

nm

vi

sa

saa

shoot with arrow

vt

okanamaro

o- ka- na -hamaro

1SG.S COMIT AUX FP.E+F

aux

ama oni

ama o-

ni

Bato

Bato

SEC 1SG.S BKG+F (man's name)

sec prt

npropm

"I shot the jaguar that was attacking alongside of it, Bato."

251 **Towisawa**

Towisawa

(man's name)

npropm

kakasi

ka- kasi

DUP be naughty

vi

raba

na -raba

AUX a bit

aux

nofe

na nofa+M

AUX recently

aux

ama

ama

SEC

sec

"Towisawa is really something."

252 **Kakasiro**

ka- kasiro

DUP persist

vi

ohamaro

o- to- ha -hamaro

1SG.S CH AUX FP.E+F

aux

ama

ama

SEC

sec

oni

o- ni

1SG.S BKG+F

prt

bisa

bisa

also

prt

Bato

Bato

(man's name)

npropm

"I was really something, Bato."

253 **Aw**

awi

tapir

nm

awi

awi

tapir

nm

fariboti

fariboti

armpit

pn

tama

tama

hold onto

vt

nikime

na -kima+M

AUX two

aux

wane

wana+M

be attached

vi

sa

saa

shoot with arrow

vt

okanamaro

o- ka- na -hamaro

1SG.S COMIT AUX FP.E+F

aux

ama oni

ama o- ni

SEC 1SG.S BKG+F

sec prt

"It was attacking, holding onto the tapir's sides, and I shot it with an arrow."

254 **Aw**

awi

tapir

nm

tati

tati

head

pn

ta

taa

extend

vt

nawa

na -waha

AUX change

aux

tohitamatamona

to- na -hitI

CH AUX along the way

aux

-himata

-himata

FP.N+M

aux

-mona

-mona

REP+M

aux

ati

ati

say

vt

nemarine

na -himari -ne

AUX FP.E+M BKG+M

aux

namiti

namiti

neck

pn

bisi

bisi

scratch

vt

hikanari

hi- ka- na -haari

OC COMIT AUX IP.E+M

aux

'He said the tapir kept turning its head away, as it was clawing its neck.'

TOWISAWA ROWI

255 *Ye ataro ene iisi nematamona na*
 yehe ataro ehene i- isi na -himata -mona ati na
 hand claw+M result of+M DUP be small AUX FP.N+M REP+M say AUX
 pn pn pn vi aux vt

hiemari ama , awi tama nahi
 hi- to- ha -himari ama , awi tama na+M
 OC CH AUX FP.E+M SEC tapir hold onto AUX
 aux sec nm vt aux

'He used to say its claw wounds were big, where it held onto the tapir.'

256 *Hinabowa hikanena , okasomemari*
 hi- na- aboha hi- ka- na -hina , o- ka- soma -himari
 OC CAUS die OC COMIT AUX IRR+M 1SG.S COMIT let go FP.E+M
 vt aux vt

amaka

ama -ka
 SEC DECL+M
 sec

'It almost killed it, and I saved it.'

257 *Ota kabawemari ama*
 otaa kaba -waha -himari ama
 1EX.S eat change FP.E+M SEC
 pron vt sec

'Then we ate it.'

258 *Faya faya me yana tona me hikabematamonaka*
 faya faya me yana to- na+F me hi- kaba -himata -mona -ka
 so so 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj conj pron vi aux pron vt

fahi

fahi
 then
 dem

'They were ready, and they ate it.'

259 *Awi watakeno sa okane ota kabe*
 awi wataka -hino saa o- ka- na+M otaa kaba+M
 tapir be fatty IP.N+M shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX 1EX.S eat
 nm vi vt aux pron vt

okominine oke ati nemari ama
 o- kamina -ne o- ke ati na -himari ama
 1SG.S tell CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F say AUX FP.E+M SEC
 vt prt vt aux sec

'I am telling about the fat tapir that I shot with an arrow, and we ate,' he said.'

260 *Ota fotari ya hikaminemari ama*
 otaa fota -ra.NOM+F ya hi- kamina -himari ama
 1EX.S be big NEG ADJU OC tell FP.E+M SEC
 pron vi prt vt sec

'He told about it when we were not adults yet.'

261 *Faya ota fotari ya hikaminemari*
 faya otaa fota -ra.NOM+F ya hi- kamina -himari
 so 1EX.S be big NEG ADJU OC tell FP.E+M
 conj pron vi prt vt

TOWISAWA ROWI

okominine

o- kamina -ne o- ke .
 1SG.S tell CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vt prt

'I am telling about the one he told about when we were not yet adults.'

262 *Okobi*

o- ka abi
 1SG.POSS POSS father
 nm

okobi

o- ka abi
 1SG.POSS POSS father
 nm

bani hata

bani hata
 cougar
 nm

hiwatematamona

hi- wata -himata -mona
 OC catch FP.N+M REP+M
 vt

me

me
 3PL.S
 pron

kaminite

kamina.NOM+F
 tell
 vt

?

'Has anyone told about the cougar that grabbed my father?'

WEKO

Free Translation

The old men were beating the *kona* roots, and afterwards the young men beat them. They were the ones who first discovered the *kona* plant. They discovered *kona*, and they planted it. They planted it, and they ate what they caught with it. They poisoned the fish with *kona*, but there were still fish left. There were still fish left, because there were many of them. They fished with *kona*, the old men, the ones who became old men. The ones who were young came and lived over here, and then they got old. Those are all their old villages, on the other side of the Faha Biri stream.

My father used to say there were many of them. The Brazilians killed some of them. They lived by their graves. Noko Mora lived by their graves. Sino's house was where their graves ended. My father used to show how the graves were close together. They didn't kill Brazilians unprovoked.

He was Weko. Weko went out into the forest, and when he came back, he came upon the others being killed. He saw it as he arrived back. The Brazilians were running into the forest. He attacked them, and he killed the Brazilians. Yoka shot them with arrows. He shot them with arrows, and they died. Yoka got revenge for some of them.

They were all living there. The women died, also the children. This big. Yes, this big. The ones this big died, the Brazilians killed them. Their mothers and their fathers all died. When the Brazilians came again, more of them died.

My mother always escaped, my grandmother used to say. "I always escaped."

Then the Brazilians came after them again. They would have shot them, but they went across to the other side. The place is called Yowi Yawa Tao Ni. There is a *yowi* tree at the mouth of the Awi stream that the Brazilians shot their guns at. You haven't seen it. It has scars on it. They all died.

Then they shot fish with arrows, living somewhere else. The Jamamadis. They got together with the Jamamadis and started living with them, my father used to say. There are many old gardens at Bosao, where they lived. It is their old village there. They lived there a long time. They fished with *kona* poison. The name of the Jamamadi was Ekanawi. Wait, Ekanawi was the name of one of Amoro's ancestors. They lived there a long time. They had many festas. They had festas for each other. They had festas for the Jamamadis, the old Jamamadis and the young ones. They aren't anymore.

Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Ee</i>		<i>e</i>		<i>iti</i>		<i>boteri</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>bote</i>		<i>e</i>	<i>bote</i>	
	ee	,	ee		iti		bote -ri	,	me	bote	,	ee	bote	,
	(pause)		1IN.POSS		grandfather		old PN		3PL	old		1IN	old	
	interj		pron		nm		pn		pron	adj		pron	adj	
	<i>kona</i>		<i>babaro</i>		<i>toemetemone</i>				<i>me yetene</i>	<i>baro</i>				
	kona		ba- baro		to- ha -hemete -mone				me yetene	baro				
	plant sp		DUP beat		CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F				young men	beat				
	nm		vt		aux				nf	vt				

WEKO

hiwahatebana

hi- na -waha -tee -hibana
 OC AUX change HAB FUT+M
 aux

'The old men were beating the *kona* roots, and afterwards the young men beat them.'

2 *Ee me me , faya kona , me hiwasimata me*
 ee me me , faya kona , me hi- wasi -himata me
 yes 3PL 3PL so plant sp 3PL.S OC find FP.N+M 3PL.S
 interj pron pron conj nm pron vt pron

hiwasimata awaka
 hi- wasi -himata awa -ka
 OC find FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M
 vt sec

'They were the ones who first discovered the *kona* plant.'

3 *Me hiwasimata me kokoro hiemata*
 me hi- wasi -himata me ko- koro hi- to- ha -himata
 3PL.S OC find FP.N+M 3PL.S DUP plant OC CH AUX FP.N+M
 pron vt pron vt aux

awaka kona
 awa -ka kona
 seem+M DECL+M plant sp
 sec nm

'They discovered *kona*, and they planted it.'

4 *Faya me kokoro hie ene me kakaba*
 faya me ko- koro hi- to- ha+M ehene me ka- kaba
 so 3PL.S DUP plant OC CH AUX victim of+M 3PL.S DUP eat
 conj pron vt aux pn pron vt

hiematamonaha
 hi- to- ha -himata -mona -ha
 OC CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 aux

'They planted it, and they ate what they caught with it.'

5 *Aba me , aba me me , aba me me sa*
 aba me , aba me me , aba me me saa
 fish 3PL fish 3PL 3PL fish 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow
 nm pron nm pron pron nm pron pron vt

kani ya aba me aaba toaremetemone
 ka- na.NOM+F ya aba me a- ahaba to- ha -ra -hemete -mone
 COMIT AUX ADJU fish 3PL.S DUP end CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 aux prt nm pron vi aux

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

'They poisoned the fish with *kona*, but there were still fish left.'

6 *Me aaba toaremete me amake aba mati ,*
 me a- ahaba to- ha -ra -hemete me ama -ke aba mati ,
 3PL.S DUP end CH AUX NEG FP.N+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F fish 3PL
 pron vi aux pron sec nm pron

WEKO

me tamimakoni
 me tama -makoni
 3PL.S be many for this reason+F
 pron vi
 'There were still fish left, because there were many of them.'

7 **Kowata ati e nemonaha ati nane**
 Kowata ati ee na -himona -ha ati na.CONT+M -ne
 (man's name) voice be similar AUX REP+M DUP say AUX BKG+M
 npropm pn vi aux vt aux

Kowata tamine mitemonaha
 Kowata tamine mita -himona -ha
 (man's name) news about hear REP+M DUP
 npropm pn vt
 'She heard that that is what Kowata said.'³⁷

8 **Faya kona me sasa toemetemoneke fahi**
 faya kona me sa- saa to- ha -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 so plant sp 3PL.S DUP release CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 conj nm pron vt aux dem

, **bote mati bote me tohawaba mati**
 bote mati bote me to- ha -waha -haba mati
 old 3PL old 3PL.S CH be change FUT+F 3PL.S
 adj pron adj pron vc pron

'They fished with *kona*, the old men, the ones who became old men.'

9 **Yati me toha me wiwinama toha bote me**
 yati me to- ha+F me wi- wina -ma to- ha+F bote me
 young 3PL.S CH be 3PL.S DUP live back CH be old 3PL.S
 adj pron vc pron vi vc adj pron

tohawawa toimetemone
 to- to- ha -waha to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone
 DUP CH be change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vc aux

'The ones who were young came and lived over here, and then they got old.'

10 **Me tabori bote amake ahi yama nafi ahi**
 me tabori bote ama -ke ahi yama nafi ahi
 3PL.POSS place+F old be DECL+F there thing all there
 pron pn adj vc dem nf pn dem

kowani karo
 kowani karo
 other side LOC
 nf prt

'Those are all their old villages, on the other side [of the Faha Biri stream].'

11 **Ee tamabote me tohemetemone okobi**
 ee tama -bote me to- ha -hemete -mone o- ka abi
 yes be many very 3PL.S CH be FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father
 interj adj pron vc nm

me na hiamaro me amake
 me ati na hi- to- ha -hamaro me ama -ke
 3PL.O say AUX OC CH AUX FP.E+F 3PL.O SEC DECL+F
 pron vt aux pron sec

'My father used to say there were many of them.'

³⁷ This sentence was a comment by Siko about something else.

WEKO

12 *Yara me me hitibasemetemone*
 yara me me hi- iti -basa -hemete -mone
 Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S OC take out edge FP.N+F REP+F
 npropm pron pron vt

'The Brazilians killed some of them.'

13 *Me tame me kakawina toimaro*
 me tame me ka- ka- wina to- ha.NOM+F -maro
 3PL.POSS grave+F 3PL.S DUP COMIT live CH AUX FP.E+F
 pron pn pron vt aux

'They lived by their graves.'

14 *Noko Mora me tame bere ni yokana*
 Noko Mora me tame bere na.NFIN yokana
 (man's name) 3PL.POSS grave+F be across AUX true
 npropm pron pn vi aux adj

Noko Mora wiwina toemari ahi
 Noko Mora wi- wina to- ha.NOM+M -mari ahi
 (man's name) DUP live CH AUX FP.E+M then
 npropm vi aux dem

'Noko Mora lived by their graves.'

15 *Me tame yowimaro ya Sino ka yobe*
 me tame yowa.NOM+F -maro ya Sino ka yobe
 3PL.POSS grave+F reach FP.E+F ADJU (man's name) POSS house
 pron pn vi prt npropm prt nm

waware toemari amake fahi
 wa- waa -rI to- ha.NOM+M -mari ama -ke fahi
 DUP stand raised surface CH AUX FP.E+M be DECL+F then
 vi aux vc dem

'Sino's house was where their graves ended.'

16 *Meye tama meye kanemete okobi*
 meye tama meye ka- na -hemete o- ka abi
 be together grave be together COMIT AUX FP.N+F 1SG.POSS POSS father
 vi nf vi aux nm

yoyofi hiamaro
 yo- yofi hi- to- ha -hamaro
 DUP show OC CH AUX FP.E+F
 vt aux

'My father used to show how the graves were close together.'

17 *Me me ihi itimete*
 me me ihi iti.NOM -mete
 3PL 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist FP.N+F
 pron pron pn vi

'They didn't kill people.'

18 *Me ihi itiremetemoneke*
 me ihi iti -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pn vi

'They didn't kill people.'

WEKO

19 *Ee* , *Weko* *Weko* *toahi* , *Weko* ,
 ee Weko Weko to- ha+M Weko ,
 (pause) (man's name) (man's name) CH be (man's name)
 interj npropm npropm vc npropm

Weko *toahi* *toke* , *me* *mowa* *ni* *wasime* ,
 Weko to- ha+M to- ka+M me mowa na.NFIN wasi -ma+M ,
 (man's name) CH be away go/come 3PL.S fight AUX find back
 npropm vc vi pron result aux vt

hiba *kokobo* *nama* *ne* *noko* *awematamonaka* .
 hiba ko- kobo na -ma na+M noko awa -himata -mona -ka
 soon after DUP arrive AUX back AUX eye+M see FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi aux aux pn vi

'He was Weko. Weko went out into the forest, and when he came back, he came upon the others being killed. He saw it as he arrived back.'

20 *Yara* *me* *kana* *ni* *tokoma* *mera* *fito*
 yara me kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma+F mera fito
 Brazilian 3PL.S run AUX away go/come back 3PL.O rush
 npropm pron vi vt pron vi

tokanamaki *yara* , *yara* *mera*
 to- ka- na -makI+M yara yara mera
 away COMMIT AUX following Brazilian Brazilian 3PL.O
 aux npropm npropm pron

nabimatamona *fahi* .
 na- ahaba -himata -mona fahi
 CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M then
 vt dem

'The Brazilians were running into the forest. He attacked them, and he killed the Brazilians.'

21 *Yoka* *me* *sa* *hinemetemoneke* *ahi*
 Yoka me saa hi- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 (man's name) 3PL.O shoot with arrow OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 npropm pron vt aux dem

'Yoka shot them with arrows.'

22 *Me* *sa* *hina* *me* *abemetemone* *fahi* .
 me saa hi- na+F me ahaba -hemete -mone fahi
 3PL.O shoot with arrow OC AUX 3PL.S die FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron vt aux pron vi dem

'He shot them with arrows, and they died.'

23 *Me* *aba* *me* , *me* *manakone* *bokato* *Yoka*
 me ahaba+F me me manakone bokato Yoka
 3PL.S die 3PL.S 3PL.POSS price fair amount (man's name)
 pron vi pron pron pn adj npropm

hiwemetemone .
 hi- awa -hemete -mone
 OC avenge FP.N+F REP+F
 vt

'They died. Yoka got revenge for some of them.'

24 *Me* *nafi* *wina* *me* *nafi* *wina* *me fanawi* , *me fanawi*
 me nafi wina+F me nafi wina+F me fanawi me fanawi
 3PL.POSS all live 3PL.POSS all live women women
 pron pn vi pron pn vi nf nf

WEKO

ahaba , **matehe** **bite**
 ahaba.LIST , matehe bite.LIST
 die children small+F
 vi nf nf
 'They were all living there. The women died, also the children.'

25 **Me e na mati**
 me ee na+F mati
 3PL.S be similar AUX 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron
 'This big.'

26 **Ee me e na mati**
 ee me ee na+F mati
 yes 3PL.S be similar AUX 3PL.S
 interj pron vi aux pron
 'Yes, this big.'

27 **Me e na me abemetemoneke ahi** ,
 me ee na+F me ahaba -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.POSS be similar AUX 3PL.S die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi aux pron vi dem
yara me me tao hina mati
 yara me me tao hi- na+F mati
 Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot OC AUX 3PL.O
 npropm pron pron vt aux pron
 'The ones this big died, the Brazilians killed them.'

28 **Me ka ami mati me ka abi mati me na**
 me ka ami mati.LIST me ka abi mati.LIST me na+F
 3PL POSS mother 3PL 3PL POSS father 3PL 3PL.S AUX
 pron prt nf pron pron prt nm pron pron aux
me fawa tonemetemone
 me fawa to- na -hemete -mone
 3PL.S disappear CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vi aux
 'Their mothers and their fathers all died.'

29 **Ee me ka ami mati me ka abi mati me na**
 ee , me ka ami mati me ka abi mati me na+F
 yes 3PL POSS mother 3PL 3PL POSS father 3PL 3PL.S AUX
 interj pron prt nf pron pron prt nm pron pron aux
me fawa tokanemetemone me nafi
 me fawa to- ka- na -hemete -mone , me nafi
 3PL.S disappear CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS all
 pron vi aux pron pn
 'Yes, their mothers and their fathers all died.'

30 **Me kamatasi ya me ahabatasa** ,
 me ka -ma -tasa.NOM+F ya me ahaba -tasa+F
 3PL.S go/come back again ADJU 3PL.S die again
 pron vi prt pron vi
okomi hasi kaba na
 o- ka ami , hasi kaba na
 1SG.POSS POSS mother escape AUX without stopping AUX
 nf vi vt aux

WEKO

tohemetemone **okaki** **aati** **toamaro**
to- ha -hemete -mone o- ka aki a- ati to- ha -hamaro
CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.S POSS grandmother DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F
aux nf vt aux

'When they came again, more of them died. My mother always escaped, my grandmother used to say.'

31 **Hasi** **kaba** **na** **ohamaro** **ama** **oni**
hasi na -kaba na o- to- ha -hamaro ama o- ni
escape AUX without stopping AUX 1SG.S CH AUX FP.E+F SEC 1SG.S BKG+F
vi aux aux aux

'I always escaped.'

32 **Faya** , **yara** **me** **me** **hinakamata** **me**
faya yara me me hi- na- ka -ma -tasa+F me
so Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S OC CAUS go/come back again 3PL.O
conj npropm pron pron vt pron

me **tao** **hinehene** **me** , **me** **tokariwaha** **me** **me**
me tao me me to- ka -riwaha+F me me
3PL.S shoot 3PL.O 3PL.S away go/come across 3PL.S 3PL.S
pron vt pron pron vi pron pron

tokariwahimetemone **amake** **ahi**
to- ka -riwaha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi
away go/come across FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F then
vi sec dem

'Then the Brazilians came after them again. They would have shot them, but they went across to the other side.'

33 **Yowi Yawa Tao Ni** **yama** **toineke** **etehe** **batori**
Yowi Yawa Tao Ni yama to- ha -ne -ke eteheni batori
(place name) place CH be CONT+F DECL+F (whatchamacallit) junction
npropf nf vc nf pn

karo **haro** **ee** , **Awi** **batori** **ka** , **yowi**
karo haaro ee Awi batori ka yowi
LOC that one+F (pause) (name of stream) junction of tree sp
prt dem interj npropm pn prt nm

yara **me** **tao** **hinematama** **tiwehina** **wa**
yara me tao hi- na -himata -mona ti- awa -hina waa.CONT+M
Brazilian 3PL.S shoot OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M 2SG.S see IRR+M stand
npropm pron vt aux vt vi

fa
faa
that
dem

'The place is called Yowi Yawa Tao Ni. There is a *yowi* tree at the mouth of the Awi stream that the Brazilians shot their guns at. You haven't seen it.'

34 **Bokabokaka** **ne** **awaka**
boka- bokaka na+M awa -ka
DUP be scarred AUX seem+M DECL+M
vi aux sec

'It has scars on it.'

35 **Me** **nafi** **abemetemone** **faro**
me nafi ahaba -hemete -mone faaro
3PL.POSS all die FP.N+F REP+F that+F
pron pn vi dem

WEKO

'They all died.'

36	Me	nafi	aba	me	,	faya	aba	me	me
	me	nafi	ahaba+F	me		faya	aba	me	me
	3PL.POSS	all	die	3PL.S		so	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S
	pron	pn	vi	pron		conj	nm	pron	pron
	sasa		toemetemoneke			waha		me	
	sa- saa		to- ha -hemete -mone -ke			waha		me	
	DUP shoot with arrow	CH	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F			now		3PL.S	
	vt		aux			prt		pron	
	winawa	mati	,	wahati		mati			
	wina -waha+F	mati		wahati		mati			
	live change	3PL.S		Jamamadi		3PL			
	vi	pron		npropm		pron			

'They all died. Then they shot fish with arrows, living somewhere else. The Jamamadis.'

37	Wati	me	ya	hine	me	yoro		tokania
	wahati	me ya	hine	me	yoro		to- ka- niha- na+F	
	Jamamadi	3PL ADJU	3.REFL	3PL.S	be together	CH	COMIT CAUS AUX	
	npropm	pron prt	pron	pron	vi		aux	
	me	,	wiwinawa	toimetemone		okobi		
	me		wi- wina -waha	to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone		o- ka abi		
	3PL.S		DUP live change	CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F		1SG.POSS POSS father		
	pron		vi	aux		nm		
	aati	toamari		ama				
	a- ati	to- ha.NOM+M -mari		ama				
	DUP say	CH AUX FP.E+M		SEC				
	vt	aux		sec				

'They got together with the Jamamadis and started living with them, my father used to say.'

38	Ha	Bosao		ka	,	Bosao		ka	fatara	bote
	haa	Bosao		ka		Bosao		ka	fatara	bote
	DEM	(name of place)		of		(name of place)		of	garden	old
	dem	npropf		prt		npropf		prt	nf	adj
	tamake	faro	,	me	wiwina	tohimete		karo		
	tama -ke	faaro		me	wi- wina	to- ha.NOM+F -mete		karo		
	be many	DECL+F that+F		3PL.S	DUP live	CH AUX FP.N+F		which		
	vi	dem		pron	vi	aux		prt		

'There are many old gardens at Bosao, where they lived.'

39	Me	tabori	bote	amake	faro
	me	tabori	bote	ama -ke	faaro
	3PL.POSS	place+F	old	be DECL+F	that+F
	pron	pn	adj	vc	dem

'It is their old village there.'

40	Faya	me	wiwina	toa	me	,	kona	me	sasa
	faya	me	wi- wina	to- ha+F	me		kona	me	sa- saa
	so	3PL.S	DUP live	CH AUX	3PL.S		plant sp	3PL.S	DUP release
	conj	pron	vi	aux	pron		nm	pron	vt
	tohemetemone								
	to- ha -hemete -mone								
	CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F								
	aux								

'They lived there a long time. They fished with *kona* poison.'

WEKO

46 *Me ebe mari na , me wawata*
 me ebe mari na+F , me wa- wata
 3PL.POSS RECIP offer a feast to AUX 3PL.S DUP exist
 pron pn vt aux pron vi

toharemete me amake faro .
 to- ha -ra -hemete me ama -ke faaro
 CH AUX NEG FP.N+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F that+F
 aux pron sec dem

'They had festas for each other. They aren't anymore.'

47 *Hiya , fara amake* .
 hiya fara ama -ke
 come on same+F be DECL+F
 interj dem vc

'Come on, that's all.'

THE BRAZILIANS KILLED KAWI YIFE

Free Translation

The Brazilians shot Kawi Yife, my father's companion, my father's cousin. He died. They went after the others, and they came running back. They got their bows and arrows and went running on the trail, chasing the Brazilians. The log broke on them, and they fell in the water. They came upon them as they were swimming. They went away. If they had been near they could have caught up with them. They were in canoes.

They left off following them. They came back. They arrived back. They dug graves for them the next day, and they buried them. They came back, and they moved to another place. They went to the other side at Hato Fa. They went to Hato Fa, and lived out there. They came back, my father used to say. They came back, and arrived back.

They were hungry. They came upon unripe corn – haven't you seen unripe corn that grows – and they ate the corn, my father used to say. They broke off the corn ears and ate it, because the peach palm fruits were not ripe yet. They arrived back when the peach palm fruits were not ripe yet. They ate only corn, but then the peach palm fruits got ripe. Then they ate ripe peach palm fruits.

"They killed my cousin Kawi Yife, and his grave is there."

But my father's father, Bono Wiyo, escaped, because he had gone fishing. Bono Wiyo went fishing, and he shot an *aba* fish with an arrow. He hit the *aba* fish on the head. He came back. He arrived back.

"There is only one *aba* fish. I only shot one *aba* fish. I have brought it. There aren't any fish."

"They shot your nephew."

"They shot my nephew. They shot my nephew as if he were an animal." My grandfather was upset. "Come get me, too. Kill me, too. I am here. I won't run away. I am here," my grandfather said.

Then my grandfather slept angry. He ate. He ate the fish, and slept.

My father and mother went out into the forest, and slept out there. My grandfather was left alone.

He waited for the Brazilians to come back. They didn't come back, so they moved away. They moved, and they came over this way. They came this way, and arrived. It is Bosao. They arrived at Bosao, and they caught fish, my father used to say, with something that was not a hook, the metal of a pot.

They ate. They ate fish. They caught fish, and ate fish. They lived there. It is Bosao. They lived there, and ate. They planned to make gardens. A little upstream from Bosao there are old gardens. They cleared the forest for gardens. They cleared the forest. They cut down trees, my father used to say. The trees were all cut down.

Then they went again to the Curiá River. They grated manioc, and they took manioc mash, and went to the Curiá. They went to the Curiá, and lived out there. They came upon some Jamamadis. They lived together with the Jamamadis. They ate there.

They came back to burn the gardens. They burned the gardens. They planted the gardens, my father used to say. They caught fish, the fish of the Faha Biri stream. Then the ones who had

THE BRAZILIANS KILLED KAWI YIFE

stayed behind came. They were carrying roasted fish that they had caught, my father used to say. They arrived carrying the roasted fish.

"You eat the fish. We already ate many of them. We are tired of eating them."

They took out the fish, and they ate the fish, with no manioc meal, just fish. They ate them by themselves. They ate fish by itself. They ate it with sweet manioc, roasted sweet manioc. They ate fish, my father used to say.

"I didn't eat fish by itself. I roasted two pieces of manioc, and ate a fish," my father said.

"My older brother also ate manioc. We lived there a long time. We planted gardens. We finished planting the gardens, and our crops grew. We lived with the fish, there were many of them. We ate many *aba* fish."

"My father made them disappear. My father sent spirits against them, to get revenge for my younger brother. They died. The sound of fighting came upstream, the sound of fighting against the fish. Many trees fell into the stream, oooo, botororoo, but there was no lightning. There was no lightning, there was fighting."

They were fighting them, and the fighting of them was finished. Dawn came. They went out fishing. The *aba* fish had disappeared. There weren't any *aba* fish. There weren't going to be *aba* fish. They fished, but didn't catch any *aba* fish. But the *tawi* fish didn't die, or the *sako fana* fish, or the *ote* fish. They ate small fish. They ate fish.

"What happened to the *aba* fish?"

"Who knows? I guess my grandfather sent spirits against the *aba* fish. Wait, I will ask my grandfather."

So he went to ask his grandfather. He asked his grandfather. "Grandpa."

"Huh?"

"Grandpa, did the *aba* fish disappear because you sent spirits against them?"

"Because the *aba* fish hurt my son, I sent spirits against the *aba* fish, and they disappeared. They could have lived here, but I sent spirits against them, and they ate them."

Another day, some people who lived somewhere else came, and arrived.

"What happened to the *aba* fish that they disappeared?"

"I know about the *aba* fish. We think that the *aba* fish disappeared when the sound of the wind came upstream. They say my grandfather sent spirits against the *aba* fish, in revenge for his son."

"Let them die. We will eat *sako fana* fish."

So they shot *sako fana* fish with arrows, and ate them. *Kiramato* fish. The *kiramato* fish doesn't die. It revives when we put *kona* poison in the water.

Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Kawi Yife</i> Kawi Yife (man's name) npropm	<i>Kawi Yife</i> Kawi Yife (man's name) npropm	,	<i>Kawi Yife</i> Kawi Yife (man's name) npropm	,	<i>yara</i> yara Brazilian npropm	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>tao</i> tao shoot vt
	<i>hinematamona</i> hi- na -himata OC AUX FP.N+M aux	<i>amaka</i> -mona ama -ka REP+M SEC DECL+M sec		<i>okobi</i> o- ka abi 1SG.POSS POSS father nm		<i>owa</i> ka abi 1SG.POSS POSS father other+M adj		<i>okobi</i> o- ka abi 1SG.POSS POSS father nm

THE BRAZILIANS KILLED KAWI YIFE

anoti

anoti
3SG.POSS older parallel cousin
nm

'The Brazilians shot Kawi Yife, my father's companion, my father's cousin.'

2 *Yara me tao hinematamonaha*
yara me tao hi- na -himata -mona -ha
Brazilian 3PL.S shoot OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
npropm pron vt aux

'The Brazilians shot him.'

3 *Abematamona amaka*
ahaba -himata -mona ama -ka
die FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M
vi sec

'He died.'

4 *Manakobisa me me hinakamakia me kana*
manakobisa , me me hi- to- na- ka -makI+F me kana
then 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following 3PL.S run
conj pron pron vt pron vi

ni kama me wati me kayaba me
na.NFIN ka -ma+F me , wati me ka- yaba+F , me
AUX go/come back 3PL.S arrow 3PL.S COMMIT take out 3PL.S
aux vi pron nm pron vt pron

kana ni tokomaketemoneke hawi ya
kana na.NFIN to- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke hawi ya
run AUX away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F trail ADJU
vi aux vi nf prt

ahi yara me me kiyoa mati
ahi , yara me me kiyoa mati
then Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S chase 3PL.S
dem npropm pron pron vt pron

'They went after the others, and they came running back. They got their bows and arrows and went running on the trail, chasing the Brazilians.'

5 *Me baka tokanani me kabokani me*
me baka to- ka- na -hani me ka- boka -hani me
3PL.S break CH COMMIT AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S COMMIT enter water IP.N+F 3PL.S
pron vt aux pron vi pron

taori tonani me me hiwasimakia me
tao -ri to- na -hani me me hi- to- wasi -makI+F me
hit DISTR CH AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away find following 3PL.S
vi aux pron pron vt pron

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

'The log broke on them, and they fell in the water. They came upon them as they were swimming. They went away.'

6 *Aya me totoa nemenehe me toemetemone*
aya me to- to- ha na -hemenehe me to- ha -hemete -mone
here 3PL.S DUP CH be AUX HYPOTH+F 3PL.S CH be FP.N+F REP+F
dem pron vc aux pron vc

THE BRAZILIANS KILLED KAWI YIFE

kanawa ya ahi
 kanawa ya ahi
 canoe ADJU then
 nf prt dem

'If they had been near [they could have caught up with them]. They were in canoes.'

7 *Kanawa ya toa me me , me sa*
 kanawa ya to- ha+F me me , me saa
 canoe ADJU CH be 3PL.S 3PL.O 3PL.S leave off
 nf prt vc pron pron pron vt

hisamake me , me me sa
 hi- to- na -kosa -makI me , me me saa
 OC CH AUX middle following 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S leave off
 aux pron pron pron vt

hisamakemetemoneke

hi- to- na -kosa -makI -hemete -mone -ke
 OC CH AUX middle following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'They were in canoes. They left off following them.'

8 *Me me sa hisamake me ,*
 me me saa hi- to- na -kosa -makI me ,
 3PL.O 3PL.S leave off OC CH AUX middle following 3PL.S
 pron pron vt aux pron

kama me me kama me kobo nama me
 ka -ma+F me me ka -ma+F me kobo na -ma+F me
 go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S
 vi pron pron vi pron vi aux pron
 , *me kobo namemetemoneke*
 me kobo na -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S arrive AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

'They left off following them. They came back. They arrived back.'

9 *Me kobo nama me , faya me me tamebone*
 me kobo na -ma+F me , faya me me tame -bone
 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S so 3PL 3PL.POSS grave+F INT+F
 pron vi aux pron conj pron pron pn

me wi namina me , faya me me kamoha me ,
 me wii na -mina+F me , faya me me kamo+F me ,
 3PL.S dig AUX morning 3PL.S so 3PL.O 3PL.S bury 3PL.S
 pron vt aux pron conj pron pron vt pron

me kama me bana me tokimetemone
 me ka -ma+F me bana+F me to- ka.NOM+F -mete -mone
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S move away 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vi pron vi pron vi

amake kowani ya ahi , Hato Fa ya
 ama -ke kowani ya ahi , Hato Fa ya
 be DECL+F other side ADJU then (village name) ADJU
 vc nf prt dem npropf prt

'They arrived back. They dug graves for them the next day, and they buried them. They came back, and they moved to another place. They went to the other side at Hato Fa.'

10 *Hato Fa ya me toka me , me*
 Hato Fa ya me to- ka+F me , me
 (village name) ADJU 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S 3PL.S
 npropf prt pron vi pron pron

THE BRAZILIANS KILLED KAWI YIFE

totowinawiti **toa** **me** , **kamimetemone**
to- to- wina -witI to- ha+F me , ka -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone
DUP away live out CH AUX 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
vi aux pron vi

okobi **aati** **toemari** **ama** **ahi** .
o- ka abi a- ati to- ha.NOM+M -mari ama -ke ahi
1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M be DECL+F then
nm vt aux vc dem

'They went to Hato Fa, and lived out there. They came back, my father used to say.'

11 **Me** **kama** **me** **kobo** **nama** **me** , **me** **fimiha**
me ka -ma+F me kobo na -ma+F me , me fimi+F
3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S 3PL.S be hungry
pron vi pron vi aux pron pron vi

mati .
mati
3PL.S
pron

'They came back, and arrived back. They were hungry.'

12 **Me** **fimiha** , **kimi** -- **kimi** **sonari** **tiware** **awa**
me fimi+F , kimi -- kimi sonari ti- awa -ra+M awa
3PL.S be hungry corn corn unripe 2SG.S see NEG seem+M
pron vi nm nm pn vt sec

yanahari **hari** , **kimi** **sonari** -- **kimi** **sonari** **me** ,
yana -haari haari , kimi sonari -- kimi sonari me ,
grow IP.E+M that one+M corn unripe corn unripe 3PL.S
vi dem nm pn nm pn pron

wasima **kimi** **me** **kabemetemone** **okobi** **aati**
wasi -ma+F kimi me kaba -hemete -mone o- ka abi a- ati
find back corn 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say
vt nm pron vt nm vt

toemarine
to- ha -himari -ne
CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M
aux

'They were hungry. They came upon unripe corn -- haven't you seen unripe corn that grows -- and they ate the corn, my father used to say.'

13 **Kimi** **me** **kaba** **me** , **kimi** **me** **baka** **na** **kimi** **me**
kimi me kaba+F me , kimi me baka na+F kimi me
corn 3PL.S eat 3PL.S corn 3PL.S break AUX corn 3PL.S
nm pron vt pron nm pron vt aux nm pron

kabemetemoneke **ahi** , **yawita** **yawita** **hatare**
kaba -hemete -mone -ke ahi , yawita yawita hata -ra.NOM+M
eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then peach palm peach palm be ripe NEG
vt dem nm nm vi

ya **mata** .
ya mata
ADJU for now
prt prt

'They ate corn. They broke off the corn ears and ate it, because the peach palm fruits were not ripe yet.'

14 **Yawita** **hatare** **ya** **me** **kobo** **namemetemone**
yawita hata -ra.NOM+M ya me kobo na -ma -hemete -mone
peach palm be ripe NEG ADJU 3PL.S arrive AUX back FP.N+F REP+F
nm vi prt pron vi aux

THE BRAZILIANS KILLED KAWI YIFE

'They arrived back when the peach palm fruits were not ripe yet.'

15 *Kimi ta me kaba me , faya yawita*
 kimi taa me kaba+F me , faya yawita
 corn contrast 3PL.S eat 3PL.S so peach palm
 nm prt pron vt pron conj nm

hatematamona ama fahi
 hata -himata -mona ama fahi
 be ripe FP.N+M REP+M SEC then
 vi sec dem

'They ate only corn, but then the peach palm fruits got ripe.'

16 *Faya yawita hate me , kakaba toimetemone*
 faya yawita hata+M me , ka- kaba to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone
 so peach palm be ripe 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 conj nm vi pron vt aux

amake
 ama -ke
 be DECL+F
 vc

'Then they ate ripe peach palm fruits.'

17 *Ee , okobi ka Okoyo me*
 ee , o- ka abi ka o- ka ayo me
 (pause) 1SG.POSS POSS father POSS 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 3PL
 interj nm prt nm pron
 , *Kawi Yife me hikatomenoho , temene ita ha*
 Kawi Yife me hi- katoma -hino -ho , temene ita.CONT+M haa
 (man's name) 3PL.S OC attack IP.N+M DUP grave+M sit DEM
 npropm pron vt pn vi dem

'''They killed my cousin Kawi Yife, and his grave is there.'''

18 *Okobi okobi bati ta*
 o- ka abi o- ka abi bati taa
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father 3SG.POSS.father contrast
 nm nm nm prt
hasi nematamonaka bati tokahari fa
 hasi na -himata -mona -ka bati to- ka -haari faha
 escape AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS.father away go/come IP.E+M water
 vi aux nm vi nf

ki nebonaha , Bono Wiyo
 kii na -hibona -ha , Bono Wiyo
 look at AUX INT+M DUP (man's name)
 vt aux npropm

'But my father's father, Bono Wiyo, escaped, because he had gone fishing.'

19 *Bono Wiyo hasi nematamonaka*
 Bono Wiyo hasi na -himata -mona -ka
 (man's name) escape AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 npropm vi aux

'Bono Wiyo escaped.'

20 *Bono Wiyo hasi nematamona*
 Bono Wiyo hasi na -himata -mona
 (man's name) escape AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 npropm vi aux

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'Bono Wiyo escaped.'

21 *Bono Wiyo* *fa* *ki* *nebona* *toke* , *aba* ,
 Bono Wiyo faha kii na -hibona to- ka+M , aba
 (man's name) water look at AUX INT+M away go/come fish sp
 npropm nf vt aux vi nm

aba *sa* *kane* *aba* , *aba* *sa*
 aba saa ka- na+M aba , aba saa
 fish sp shoot with arrow COMIT AUX fish sp fish sp shoot with arrow
 nm vt aux nm nm vt

kanematamonaka

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

'Bono Wiyo went fishing, and he shot an *aba* fish with an arrow.'

22 *Aba* *sa* *kane* *aba* , *tati* *ba*
 aba saa ka- na+M aba , tati baa
 fish sp shoot with arrow COMIT AUX fish sp head hit
 nm vt aux nm pn vt

nare *kame* , *kamematamonaka*
 na -rI ka -ma+M , ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 AUX raised surface go/come back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux vi vi

'He shot an *aba* fish. He hit the *aba* fish on the head. He came back.'

23 *Kame* , *kame* *kobo* *name* , *Aba*
 ka -ma+M , ka -ma+M kobo na -ma+M , aba
 go/come back go/come back arrive AUX back fish sp
 vi vi vi aux nm

ohariare

ohari -hare
 be one IP.E+M
 vi

'He came back. He arrived back. "There is only one *aba* fish."

24 *Aba* *sa* *kani* *owarihara* *o*
 aba saa ka- na.NFIN o- ohari -hara o-
 fish sp shoot with arrow COMIT AUX 1SG.S be only IP.E+F 1SG.S
 nm vt aux vi prt

"I only shot one *aba* fish."

25 *Owakamine* *o*
 o- ka- ka -ma -ne o-
 1SG.S COMIT go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S
 vt prt

"I have brought it."

26 *Aba* *me* *watararake*
 aba me wata -ra -hara -ke
 fish 3PL.S exist NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
 nm pron vi

"There aren't any fish."

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35 *Kana okere*

kana o- na -ke -re
run 1SG.S AUX DECL+F NEG+F
vi aux

"I won't run away."

36 *Kana orini*

kana o- na -ra -ni
run 1SG.S AUX NEG BKG+F
vi aux

"I won't run away."

37 *Owinaro*

o- wina -haaro haaro
1SG.S live look+F that one+F
vi dem

haro

okiti

o- ka iti
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
nm

ati

ati
say
vt

nematamona

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

"I am here," my grandfather said.'

38 *Faya okiti*

faya o- ka iti
so 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
conj nm

faya

yawa

amo

kane

faya yawa amo ka- na+M
so anger sleep COMMIT AUX
conj nf vi aux

tafe

aba

kabe

aba

kabe

amo

nematamonaka

tafe aba kaba+M aba kaba+M amo na -himata -mona -ka
food+F fish eat fish eat sleep AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
pn nm vt nm vt vi aux

'Then my grandfather slept angry. He ate. He ate the fish, and slept.'

39 *Okobi*

o- ka abi
1SG.POSS POSS father
nm

mati

okomi

mati o- ka ami
3PL 1SG.POSS POSS mother
pron nf

okobi

o- ka abi
1SG.POSS POSS father
nm

me

ta

me

yama kabani

ya

me

toka

me

amo

me taa me yama kabani ya me to- ka+F me amo
3PL contrast 3PL forest ADJU 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S sleep
pron prt pron nf prt pron vi pron vi

towiti

to- na -witI.LIST
away AUX out
aux

okiti

o- ka iti
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
nm

ohari

ohari+M
be one
vi

towinakose

to- wina -kosa+M
CH live middle
vi

mera

noki

ne

me

kamarimakoni

mera noki na+M me ka -ma -ra -makoni
3PL.O wait for AUX 3PL.S go/come back NEG for this reason+F
pron vt aux pron vi

me banawemetemone

me bana -waha -hemete -mone
3PL.S move away change FP.N+F REP+F
pron vi

'My father and mother went out into the forest, and slept out there. My grandfather was left alone. He waited for them. They didn't come back, so they moved away.'

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40 *Me bana me , kamimetemone amake*
 me bana+F me , ka -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F
 pron vi pron vi vc

ahi .

ahi
 then
 dem

'They moved, and they came over this way.'

41 *Me kama me kama me , kobo*
 me ka -ma+F me ka -ma+F me , kobo
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive
 pron vi pron vi pron vi

namimetemone

na -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone
 AUX back FP.N+F REP+F
 aux

'They came this way, and arrived.'

42 *Bosao amake ahi* .
 Bosao ama -ke ahi
 (name of place) be DECL+F there
 npropf vc dem

'It is Bosao.'

43 *Bosao ya me kobo nama aba me , aba me*
 Bosao ya me kobo na -ma+F aba me , aba me
 (name of place) ADJU 3PL.S arrive AUX back fish 3PL fish 3PL.O
 npropf prt pron vi aux nm pron nm pron

me nawasimetemone

me na- wasi.NOM -mete -mone o- ka abi aati
 3PL.S CAUS get caught FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say
 pron vt nm vt

toemari

to- ha.NOM+F -mari ama ahi , ee , kabikana amara ya ,
 CH AUX FP.E+M be then (pause) fish hook be NEG ADJU
 aux vc dem interj nf vc prt

ee banera , ka feho , haro .
 ee banera , ka feho , haaro
 (pause) n POSS iron that one+F
 interj prt nf dem

'They arrived at Bosao, and they caught fish, my father used to say, with something that was not a hook, the metal of a pot.'

44 *Faya me , me tafemetemone fahi* .
 faya me , me tafa -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3PL 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron pron vi dem

'They ate.'

45 *Me tafa me , me tafemetemoneke* .
 me tafa+F me , me tafa -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi pron pron vi

'They ate.'

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46 *Aba me me kaba me , aba me me nawasia*
 aba me me kaba+F me , aba me me na- wasi+F
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S CAUS get caught
 nm pron pron vt pron nm pron pron vt

aba me me kabemetemoneke ahi
 aba me me kaba -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nm pron pron vt dem

'They ate fish. They caught fish, and ate fish.'

47 *Faya me wiwina toimetemone*
 faya me wi- wina to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone
 so 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 conj pron vi aux

'They lived there.'

48 *Bosao amake ahi*
 Bosao ama -ke ahi
 (name of place) be DECL+F there
 npropf vc dem

'It is Bosao.'

49 *Faya me wina me tatafa toa me , awa me*
 faya me wina+F me ta- tatafa to- ha+F me , awa me
 so 3PL.S live 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX 3PL.S garden 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron vi aux pron nf pron

wati hikanemetemone
 wati hi- ka- na -hemete -mone
 think about OC COMMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vt aux

'They lived there, and ate. They planned to make gardens.'

50 *Bosao ka tokatokatima ni ka ,*
 Bosao ka toka- to- ka -tima na.NOM+F ka
 (name of place) LOC DUP away go/come upstream AUX which
 npropf prt vi aux prt

awa bote si toneke faro
 awa bote sii to- na -ne -ke faaro
 garden old stand CH AUX CONT+F DECL+F that+F
 nf adj vi aux dem

'A little upstream from Bosao there are old gardens.'

51 *Awa me bore nemetemone fahi*
 awa me bore na -hemete -mone fahi
 tree 3PL.S clear AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 nf pron vt aux dem

'They cleared the forest for gardens.'

52 *Awa me bore na awa me kaka*
 awa me bore na+F awa me ka- kaa
 tree 3PL.S clear AUX tree 3PL.S DUP chop
 nf pron vt aux nf pron vt

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

THE BRAZILIANS KILLED KAWI YIFE

ama .
ama
be
vc

'They cleared the forest. They cut down trees, my father used to say.'

53 *Awa me* , *bore na me* , *awa me ka na me* ,
awa me , bore na+F me , awa me kaa na+F me ,
tree 3PL.S clear AUX 3PL.S tree 3PL.S chop AUX 3PL.S
nf pron vt aux pron nf pron vt aux pron

awa me ka nemetemoneke
awa me kaa na -hemete -mone -ke
tree 3PL.S chop AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
nf pron vt aux

'They cleared the forest. They cut down trees.'

54 *Awa me ka na awa aba* , *awa*
awa me kaa na+F awa ababa+F , awa
tree 3PL.S chop AUX tree end tree
nf pron vt aux nf vi nf

abemetemoneke
ahaba -hemete -mone -ke
end FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vi

'They cut down trees. The trees were all cut down.'

55 *Awa aba* , *faya me* , *tokawemetemone*
awa ababa+F , faya me , to- ka -waha -hemete -mone
tree end so 3PL.S away go/come change FP.N+F REP+F
nf vi conj pron vi

Koriwa ya ahi
Koriwa ya ahi
Curiá ADJU then
npropf prt dem

'The trees were all cut down. Then they went again to the Curiá River.'

56 *Iyawa me* , *fowa me hiti na me* , *iyawa*
iyawa me , fowa me hiti na+F me , iyawa
manioc mash 3PL manioc 3PL.S grate AUX 3PL.S manioc mash
nf pron nm pron vt aux pron nf

me towaka me tokimetemone Koriwa ya
me to- ka- ka+F me to- ka.NOM+F -mete -mone Koriwa ya
3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F Curiá ADJU
pron vt pron vi npropf prt

ahi .
ahi
then
dem

'They grated manioc, and they took manioc mash, and went to the Curiá.'

57 *Koriwa ya me toka me* , *towinawitia me* ,
Koriwa ya me to- ka+F me , to- wina -witI+F me ,
Curiá ADJU 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S away live out 3PL.S
npropf prt pron vi pron vi pron

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wati	me	me	towasiwitia	wati	me	me
wahati	me	me	to- wasi -witI+F	wahati	me	me
Jamamadi	3PL.O	3PL.S	away find out	Jamamadi	3PL.O	3PL.S
npropm	pron	pron	vt	npropm	pron	pron

kakawina	tohemetemone
ka- ka- wina	to- ha -hemete -mone
DUP COMIT live	CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
vt	aux

'They went to the Curiá, and lived out there. They came upon some Jamamadis. They lived together with the Jamamadis.'

58 Faya	me	tatafa	toa	,	awa	me	sari	nabone	me
faya	me	ta- tafa	to- ha+F	,	awa	me	sari	na -habone	me
so	3PL.S	DUP eat	CH AUX	,	tree	3PL.S	burn	AUX INT+F	3PL.S
conj	pron	vi	aux	,	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron

kama	me	awa	me	sari	namimetemone
ka	-ma+F	me	awa	me	sari na -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone
go/come back	3PL.S	tree	3PL.S	burn	AUX back FP.N+F REP+F
vi	pron	nf	pron	vt	aux

'They ate there. They came back to burn the gardens. They burned the gardens.'

59 Awa	me	sari	nama	me	,	awa	me	sari	nama
awa	me	sari	na -ma+F	me	,	awa	me	sari	na -ma+F
tree	3PL.S	burn	AUX back	3PL.S	,	tree	3PL.S	burn	AUX back
nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	,	nf	pron	vt	aux

awa	me	nanatafa	toimetemone
awa	me	na- na- tafa	to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone
tree	3PL.S	DUP CAUS eat	CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
nf	pron	vt	aux

okobi	abi	aati	toemari	ama	ahi
o-	ka	abi	a- ati	to- ha.NOM+M -mari	ama -ke ahi
1SG.POSS	POSS	father	DUP say	CH AUX FP.E+M	be DECL+F then
nm			vt	aux	vc dem

'They came back and burned the gardens. They planted the gardens, my father used to say.'

60 Bese	yama	tai	karima	tinahi
bese	yama	tai	ka- na -rima	ti- na -hi
son	thing	step on	COMIT AUX NEG.IMP+F	2SG.S AUX IMP+F
voc	nf	vt	aux	aux

'Son, don't step on that.'

61 Ee	,	faya	aba	me	me	,	nanawasima
ee	,	faya	aba	me	me	,	na- na- wasi -ma
(pause)		so	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S		DUP CAUS get caught back
interj		conj	nm	pron	pron		vt

hiemetemone	me	ama	haro	Fa Biri
hi- to- ha -hemete -mone	me	ama -ke	haaro	Faha Biri
OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F	3PL.O	SEC DECL+F	that one+F	(name of stream)
aux	pron	sec	dem	npropf

ka mati
ka mati
of 3PL
prt pron

'They caught fish, the fish of the Fa Biri stream.'

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62 *Faya me* , *me towinakosa me kamakia me* ,
 faya me , me to- wina -kosa+F me ka -makI+F me ,
 so 3PL 3PL.S CH live middle 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S
 conj pron pron vi pron vi pron

aba me me nawasiani aba me kai me
 aba me me na- wasi -hani aba me kaha.NFIN me
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S CAUS get caught IP.N+F fish 3PL.S be toasted 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt nm pron vi pron

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

ama me yetene
 ama me yetene
 be young men
 vc nf

'Then the ones who had stayed behind came. They were carrying roasted fish that they had caught, my father used to say.'

63 *Faya aba me kai me weye na me kobo*
 faya aba me kaha.NFIN me weye na+F me , kobo
 so fish 3PL.S be toasted 3PL.S carry AUX 3PL.S arrive
 conj nm pron vi pron vt aux pron vi

namakia , Aba me , aba me te kakaba
 na -makI+F , aba me , aba me tee ka- kaba
 AUX following fish 3PL fish 3PL.O 2PL.S DUP eat
 aux nm pron nm pron pron vt

'They arrived carrying the roasted fish. "You eat the fish."'

64 *Me ota kaba me amake*
 me otaa kaba+F me ama -ke
 3PL.O 1EX.S eat 3PL.O SEC DECL+F
 pron pron vt pron sec

'"We already ate many of them."'

65 *Me kabi nawaharake*
 me kaba.NFIN nawaha -hara -ke
 3PL.S eat take a long time IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron result vi

'"We are tired of eating them."'

66 *Aba me me yaba , aba me me*
 aba me me yaba+F , aba me me
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S take out fish 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt nm pron pron

kabemetemoneke , farina amara ya , aba me
 kaba -hemete -mone -ke , farina ama -ra+F ya , aba me
 eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F manioc meal be NEG ADJU fish 3PL.POSS
 vt nf vc prt nm pron

hinita
 hinita
 alone
 pn

'They took out the fish, and they ate the fish, with no manioc meal, just fish.'

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67 *Me hinita me hikabemetemoneke*
 me hinita me hi- kaba -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.POSS alone 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pn pron vt

'They ate them by themselves.'

68 *Faya me hinita me hikaba me , fowa ,*
 faya me hinita me hi- kaba+F me , fowa ,
 so 3PL.POSS alone 3PL.S OC eat 3PL.O manioc
 conj pron pn pron vt pron nm

fowa kabe , fowa kabe ya me me kakawi
 fowa kabe fowa kabe ya me me ka- kawi
 sweet manioc sweet manioc ADJU 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat with something
 nm nm prt pron pron vt

hinemetemone , fowa kabe yokahi ya
 hi- na -hemete -mone , fowa kabe yokahi ya
 OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F sweet manioc roast on coals ADJU
 aux nm result prt

'They ate fish by itself. They ate it with sweet manioc, roasted sweet manioc.'

69 *Faya aba me me kabimetemone okobi*
 faya aba me me kaba.NOM+F -mete -mone o- ka abi
 so fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father
 conj nm pron pron vt nm

aati toemari ama
 a- ati to- ha.NOM+M -mari ama
 DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M SEC
 vt aux sec

'They ate fish, my father used to say.'

70 *Owa owa okatomaramaro oke ha owa*
 owa owa o- katoma -ra -hamaro o- ke haa owa
 1SG.O 1SG.O 1SG.S attack NEG FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F DEM 1SG
 pron pron vt prt dem pron

'I didn't eat fish by itself.'

71 *Oko , fowa , fowa obanikima , aba*
 o- ka fowa , fowa o- ibana -kima+F , aba
 1SG.POSS POSS manioc manioc 1SG.S roast two fish
 prt nm nm vt nm

okobamaro oke bisa , okobi aati
 o- kaba -hamaro o- ke bisa , o- ka abi a- ati
 1SG.S eat FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F also 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say
 vt prt prt nm vt

toemarika
 to- ha -himari -ka
 CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M
 aux

'I roasted two pieces of manioc, and ate a fish,' my father said.'

72 *Okoyo , fowa kaba*
 o- ka ayo fowa kaba.LIST ,
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother manioc eat
 nm nm vt

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84 *Bai* *me* *ati* *watari* *ya* , *yama* *yama* ,
 bahi me ati wata -ra.NOM+F ya , yama yama
 lightning 3PL.POSS voice exist NEG ADJU thing thing
 nm pron pn vi prt nf nf

mowa *nemetemone* *amake*
 mowa na -hemete -mone ama -ke
 fight AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 vt aux sec

"There was no lightning, there was fighting."

85 *Faya* *me* *me* , *mowa* *hina* *me* , *me* *mowa* *ni*
 faya me me , mowa hi- na+F me , me mowa na.NFIN
 so 3PL 3PL.O fight OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX
 conj pron pron vt aux pron pron result aux

ahaba *me* , *yama* *wahemetemone* *amake* *haro*
 ahaba+F me , yama waha -hemete -mone ama -ke haaro
 end 3PL.POSS thing dawn FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F that one+F
 vi pron nf vi sec dem

"They were fighting them, and the fighting of them was finished. Dawn came."

86 *Yama* *waha* , *fa* *me* *ki* *nabone* *me* *toka*
 yama waha+F , faha me kii na -habone me to- ka+F
 thing dawn water 3PL.S look at AUX INT+F 3PL.S away go/come
 nf vi nf pron vt aux pron vi

me , *aba* *me* *fawa* *nemetemone* *fahi* , *aba*
 me , aba me fawa na -hemete -mone fahi , aba
 3PL.S fish sp 3PL.S disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F then fish sp
 pron nm pron vi aux dem nm

me *watarabani* *mati*
 me wata -ra -haba -ni mati
 3PL.S exist NEG FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S
 pron vi pron

"Dawn came. They went out fishing. The *aba* fish had disappeared. There weren't any *aba* fish."

87 *Aba* *me* *wataraba* *me* *fa* *me* , *fa* *me*
 aba me wata -ra -haba me faha me , faha me
 fish sp 3PL.S exist NEG FUT+F 3PL.S water 3PL water 3PL.S
 nm pron vi pron nf pron nf pron

ki *na* *me* , *aba* *me* *me* *kikiha* *ra* *me* ,
 kii na+F me , aba me me ki- kiha na -ra+F me ,
 look at AUX 3PL.S fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP have AUX NEG 3PL.S
 vt aux pron nm pron pron vt aux pron

tawi *ta* *ahabarihi* *tawi* , *sako fana* , *tawi* ,
 tawi taa ahaba -rihi tawi , sako fana , tawi ,
 fish sp contrast die NEG.LIST fish sp fish sp fish sp
 nf prt vi nf nf nf

ote *mati*
 ote mati
 fish sp 3PL
 nm pron

"There weren't going to be *aba* fish. They fished, but didn't catch any *aba* fish. But the *tawi* fish didn't die, or the *sako fana* fish, or the *ote* fish."

88 *Aba* *me* *me* *me* *kabemetemone*
 aba me me me kaba -hemete -mone
 fish 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F
 nm pron pron pron vt

THE BRAZILIANS KILLED KAWI YIFE

'They ate [small] fish.'

89 *Me me , me me hikaba me , Hibaka aba me*
 me me , me me hi- kaba+F me , hibaka aba me
 3PL 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S OC eat 3PL.O where fish sp 3PL.S
 pron pron pron pron vt pron interrog nm pron
toani me fawa nineri ?
 to- ha -hani me fawa na -ne -ri
 CH be IP.N+F 3PL.S disappear AUX CONT+F CQ+F
 vc pron vi aux

'They ate fish. "What happened to the *aba* fish?'"

90 *E awakere*
 ee awa -ke -re
 1IN.S see DECL+F NEG+F
 pron vt

"Who knows?"

91 *Aba okiti me , kabane*
 aba o- ka iti me , ka- habana+M
 fish sp 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 3PL.O COMMIT order someone against
 nm nm pron vt

awaka
 awa -ka
 seem+M DECL+M
 sec

"I guess my grandfather sent spirits against the *aba* fish."

92 *Hiba okiti aate obe*
 hiba o- ka iti a- ate o- na -be
 wait 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather DUP ask 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 interj nm vt aux

"Wait, I will ask my grandfather."

93 *Okiti aate obeya*
 o- ka iti a- ate o- na -be -ya
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather DUP ask 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 nm vt aux

"I will ask my grandfather."

94 *Okiti aba me kabane*
 o- ka iti , aba me ka- habana+M
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather fish sp 3PL.O COMMIT order someone against
 nm nm pron vt

awaka
 awa -ka
 seem+M DECL+M
 sec

"I guess my grandfather sent spirits against the *aba* fish."

95 *Faya hinakiti aate nebona tokome*
 faya hinaka iti a- ate na -hibona to- ka -ma+M ,
 so 3SG.POSS grandfather DUP ask AUX INT+M away go/come back
 conj nm vt aux vi

THE BRAZILIANS KILLED KAWI YIFE

101 *Me me hikaba me amake*
 me me hi- kaba+F me ama -ke
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC eat 3PL.O SEC DECL+F
 pron pron vt pron sec

"They ate them."

102 *Faya me , yama yama we one ya , yama we*
 faya me , yama yama wehe one ya , yama wehe
 so 3PL thing thing light+F other+F ADJU thing light+F
 conj pron nf nf pn adj prt nf pn
one ya me , haha me , haha me winabisa me ,
 one ya me , haaha me , haaha me wina -bisa+F me ,
 other+F ADJU 3PL this+F 3PL this+F 3PL.S live also 3PL.S
 adj prt pron dem pron dem pron vi pron
kake me kobo nake me , Himata aba me
 ka -kI me kobo na -kI me , himata aba me
 go/come coming 3PL.S arrive AUX coming 3PL.S what? fish sp 3PL.S
 vi pron vi aux pron interrog nm pron
ebe nani me fawa nineri ?
 ebe na -hani me fawa na -ne -ri ?
 happen to AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S disappear AUX CONT+F CQ+F
 vt aux pron vi aux

'Another day, some people who lived somewhere else came, and arrived. "What happened to the *aba* fish that they disappeared?"

103 *Aba me owatoarake*
 aba me o- wato -hara -ke
 fish sp 3PL.O 1SG.S know IP.E+F DECL+F
 nm pron vt

"I know about the *aba* fish."

104 *Aba me , aba boni moni katimi ya aba*
 aba me , aba boni moni ka -tima.NOM+F ya aba
 fish sp 3PL fish sp wind sound go/come upstream ADJU fish sp
 nm pron nm nf pn vi prt nm
me fawa nineni , ota ati na otake
 me fawa na -ne -ni , otaa ati na+F otaa -ke
 3PL.S disappear AUX CONT+F BKG+F 1EX.S say AUX 1EX.S DECL+F
 pron vi aux aux pron vt aux pron

"We think that the *aba* fish disappeared when the sound of the wind came upstream."

105 *Aba okiti me*
 aba o- ka iti me
 fish sp 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 3PL.O
 nm nm pron

hikahabanamoneke , biti manakone
 hi- ka- habana -hamone -ke , biti manakone
 OC COMIT order someone against REP+F DECL+F 3SG.POSS.son price
 vt nm pn

"They say my grandfather sent spirits against the *aba* fish, in revenge for his son."

106 *Hine me abake*
 hine me ahaba -ke
 only 3PL.S die DECL+F
 pron pron vi

"Let them die."

THE BRAZILIANS KILLED KAWI YIFE

107 *Hine me abi na*
 hine me ahaba.NOM+F na
 only 3PL.S die AUX
 pron pron nm aux

"Let them die."

108 *Sako fana e kababa eke sako fana*
 sako fana ee kaba -haba ee -ke sako fana
 fish sp 1IN.S eat FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F fish sp
 nf pron vt pron nf

"We will eat *sako fana* fish."

109 *Faya sako fana me tisa hirawa me*
 faya sako fana me tisa hi- na -rawa+F me
 so fish sp 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX F.PL 3PL.S
 conj nf pron vt aux pron

kabarawa me iteheni kiramato
 kaba -rawa+F me iteheni kiramato
 eat F.PL 3PL.S what's the name fish sp
 vt pron nm nm

'So they shot *sako fana* fish with arrows, and ate them. *Kiramato* fish.'

110 *Kiramato abatere amaka fari*
 kiramato ahaba -tee -ra+M ama -ka faari
 fish sp die HAB NEG SEC DECL+M that one+M
 nm vt sec dem

'The *kiramato* fish doesn't die.'

111 *Wamisamarima te amane*
 waa -misa -ma -rima na -tee ama -ne
 stand up back intermittent AUX HAB SEC BKG+M
 vi aux sec

'It revives [when we put *kona* poison in the water].'

FIVE YIMAS CAME

Free Translation

My father and his older brother were with their brothers-in-law, Sawa Bofe, Sakobi, and Towisawa Rowi. They went out into the forest. They saw something. Two of them came running back to the village.

"We saw something, and we have come running back. Whew, we saw something. There are people coming. They are Yimas."

"They won't kill anyone. We will shoot them with arrows."

They waited for them.

"They saw us running. They are going to come."

They waited for them, and they came. He came, up high.

"Wow, the one I have been waiting for is tall. He is taller than me."

He was waiting for him.

"What are you doing?"

"We are hunting. We are hunting white-lipped peccaries. The peccaries went that way. They went there. Go look at them."

"We aren't going to go look at them. We don't want to go look at them. You go look at them. Where did you come?"

"We came along the stream. We don't have a trail."

There were four tall ones, and one short one, only this high. They spoke to them.

"We have come after peccaries."

"You're the peccaries," the Jarawaras said.

Since they were planning against them as if they were peccaries, they didn't stay. They went running away. They yelled to scare them. They didn't shoot them with arrows. They only scared them. They scared them, and they went running away.

Interlinear Presentation

1	Okobi	o-	ka	abi	,	ee	,	okobi	,		
		1SG.POSS	POSS	father		yes		1SG.POSS	POSS	father	
		nm				interj		nm			
	okobi					anoti		me	fama	me	fara
		o-	ka	abi		anoti		me	fama+F	me	fara
		1SG.POSS	POSS	father		3SG.POSS	older brother	3PL.S	be two	3PL.S	same+F
		nm				nm		pron	vi	pron	dem
	fara	me	ka	wabo		me	taba		Sawa Bofe		
	fara	me	ka	wabo		me	taba+F		Sawa Bofe.LIST		
	same+F	3PL	POSS	brother-in-law		3PL.S	be together		(man's name)		
	dem	pron	prt	nm		pron	vi		npropm		

FIVE YIMAS CAME

Sakobi , **Sakobi** , **me** **na** **me** , **Towisawa**
 Sakobi.LIST , Sakobi.LIST , me na+F me , Towisawa
 (man's name) (man's name) 3PL.S AUX 3PL.S (man's name)
 npropm npropm pron aux pron npropm

Towisawamatamona **Towisawa Rowi**
 Towisawa -mata -mona Towisawa Rowi
 (man's name) FP.N+M REP+M (man's name)
 npropm npropm

'My father and his older brother were with their brothers-in-law, Sawa Bofe, Sakobi, and Towisawa Rowi.'

2 **Towisawa Rowimatamona**
 Towisawa Rowi -mata -mona
 (man's name) FP.N+M REP+M
 npropm

'Towisawa Rowi.'

3 **Me toka me** , **noki awahani me** , **kana**
 me to- ka+F me , noki awa -hani me , kana
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.POSS eye+F see IP.N+F 3PL.S run
 pron vi pron pn vi pron vi

ni kakamemetemoneke
 na.NFIN ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX COMMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux vi

'They went out into the forest. They saw something. Two of them came running back.'

4 **Me kana ni kakama me** , **Ota noko**
 me kana na.NFIN ka- ka -ma+F me , otaa noko
 3PL.S run AUX COMMIT go/come back 3PL.POSS 1EX.POSS eye
 pron vi aux vi pron pron pn

awa ota kakamineni
 awa+F otaa ka- ka -ma -ne -ni
 see 1EX.S COMMIT go/come back CONT+F BKG+F
 vi pron vi

'They came running back. "We saw something, and we have come running back."

5 **Hoo ota noko awa otani**
 hoo otaa noko awa+F otaa -ni
 whew 1EX.POSS eye see 1EX.POSS BKG+F
 interj pron pn vi pron

""Whew, we saw something.""

6 **Me inamati kaki ahi**
 me inamati ka -kI.NOM ahi
 people go/come coming there
 nf vi dem

""There are people coming.""

7 **Yima me toarani yima mati**
 yima me to- ha -hara -ni yima mati
 Yima 3PL.S CH be IP.E+F BKG+F Yima 3PL
 npropm pron vc npropm pron

""They are Yimas.""

FIVE YIMAS CAME

8 *Me* *ihi* *wataraba* *me* *awineke*
 me ihi wata -ra -haba me awine -ke
 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist NEG FUT+F 3PL.POSS seem+F DECL+F
 pron pn vi pron sec

"They won't kill anyone."

9 *Me* *e* *tisa* *nabanake*
 me ee tisa na -habana -ke
 3PL.O 1IN.S shoot with arrow AUX FUT+F DECL+F
 pron pron vt aux

"We will shoot them with arrows."

10 *Me* *me* *noki* *hinemetemoneke*
 me me noki hi- na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.O 3PL.S wait for OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pron vt aux

'They waited for them.'

11 *Me* *me* *noki* *hina* *me* , *Ota* *me*
 me me noki hi- na+F me , otaa me
 3PL.O 3PL.S wait for OC AUX 3PL.O 1EX.O 3PL.S
 pron pron vt aux pron pron pron
awarake *ota* *bete* *kawaha* *ota*
 awa -hara -ke otaa bete ka- na -waha+F otaa
 see IP.E+F DECL+F 1EX.POSS run COMIT AUX change 1EX.S
 vt pron vi aux pron

'They waited for them. "They saw us running."

12 *Me* *kamakiaba* *me* *amani*
 me ka -makI -haba me ama -ni
 3PL.S go/come following FUT+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F
 pron vi pron sec

"They are going to come."

13 *Me* *me* *noki* *hina* *me* , *me* *me* *me* *noki*
 me me noki hi- na+F me , me me me noki
 3PL.O 3PL.S wait for OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S wait for
 pron pron vt aux pron pron pron pron vt
hina *me* , *kamakiemetemoneke*
 hi- na+F me , ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke
 OC AUX 3PL.S go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux pron vi

'They waited for them, and they came.'

14 *Me* *kamakia* *me* , *kamakimatamona* *neme*
 me ka -makI+F me , ka -makI -himata -mona neme
 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S go/come following FP.N+M REP+M up
 pron vi pron vi nf

ya *ahi*
 ya ahi
 ADJU there
 prt dem

'They came. He came, up high.'

FIVE YIMAS CAME

15 *Kaa* , *bofebofe* *re* *noki* *one*
 kaa , bofe- bofe na -ra+M noki o- na -ne
 wow DUP ground AUX NEG wait for 1SG.S AUX CONT+F
 interj vi aux vt aux

onih , *owa* *fiyafiya* *nari*
 o- na.NOM+F -ni -hi , owa fiya- fiya na -haari
 1SG.S AUX IP.N+F DUP 1SG.O DUP pass AUX IP.E+M
 aux pron vt aux

"Wow, the one I have been waiting for is tall. He is taller than me."

16 *Faya* *noki* *hine* , *Hiyamata* *te* , *hiyamata* *te*
 faya noki hi- na+M , hiyamataha tee , hiyamataha tee
 so wait for OC AUX what? 2PL what? 2PL.S
 conj vt aux interrog pron interrog pron

ebe *nani* *te* *amari* ?
 ebe na -hani tee ama -ri
 purpose AUX IP.N+F 2PL.S SEC CQ+F
 vt aux pron sec

"He was waiting for him. "What are you doing?"

17 *Yama* *yama* *ota* *yete* *na* *ota*
 yama yama otaa yete na+F otaa
 thing thing 1EX.S hunt AUX 1EX.S
 nf nf pron vt aux pron

"We are hunting."

18 *Hiyama* *me* , *hiyama* *me* *ota* *yete*
 hiyama me , hiyama me otaa yete
 white-lipped peccary 3PL white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S hunt
 nm pron nm pron pron vt

na *otake*
 na+F otaa -ke
 AUX 1EX.S DECL+F
 aux pron

"We are hunting white-lipped peccaries."

19 *Hiyama* *me* *ota* *yete* *na* *otani*
 hiyama me otaa yete na+F otaa -ni
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S hunt AUX 1EX.S BKG+F
 nm pron pron vt aux pron

hiyama *mati*
 hiyama mati
 white-lipped peccary 3PL
 nm pron

"We are hunting peccaries."

20 *Hiyama* *me* , *hiyama* *me*
 hiyama me , hiyama me
 white-lipped peccary 3PL white-lipped peccary 3PL.S
 nm pron nm pron

tokomake *ahi*
 to- ka -ma -ke ahi
 away go/come back DECL+F there
 vi dem

"The peccaries went that way."

FIVE YIMAS CAME

- 21 **Me tokomi ahi**
 me to- ka -ma.NOM+F ahi
 3PL.S away go/come back there
 pron vi dem
 "They went there."
- 22 **Me te towamakehi**
 me tee to- awa -makI -hi
 3PL.O 2PL.S away see following IMP+F
 pron pron vt
 "Go look at them."
- 23 **Me ota towamake**
 me otaa to- awa -makI
 3PL.O 1EX.S away see following
 pron pron vt
 "We aren't going to go look at them."
- 24 **Me ota towamaki nofakere**
 me otaa to- awa -makI.NFIN nofa -ke -re
 3PL.O 1EX.S away see following want DECL+F NEG+F
 pron pron vt vt
 "We don't want to go look at them."
- 25 **Me te towamake ha te**
 me tee to- awa -makI haa tee
 3PL.O 2PL.S away see following DEM 2PL
 pron pron vt dem pron
 "You go look at them."
- 26 **Hibaka te kakerini** ?
 hibaka tee ka -kI -ri -ni
 where 2PL.S go/come coming CQ+F BKG+F
 interrog pron vi
 "Where did you come?"
- 27 **Ota kabasawaki ama ahi**
 otaa ka -basa -waha -kI.NOM ama ahi
 1EX.S go/come edge change coming be there
 pron vi vc dem
 "We came along the stream."
- 28 **Hawi ota kihara otake**
 hawi otaa kiha -ra+F otaa -ke
 trail 1EX.S have NEG 1EX.S DECL+F
 nf pron vt pron
 "We don't have a trail."
- 29 **Fare me inamati ha me fama ha me fama me**
 fare me inamati haa me fama.LIST haa me fama.LIST me
 same+M people DEM 3PL.S be two DEM 3PL.S be two 3PL.S
 dem nf dem pron vi dem pron vi pron
na hahi tatao ne ohari aya wawa nari
 na+F haahi ta- tao na+M ohari+M aya wawa na -haari
 AUX this one+M DUP shoot AUX be one this DUP stand AUX IP.E+M
 aux dem nm aux vi dem vi aux
 "There were four tall ones, and one short one, only this high."

FIVE YIMAS CAME

30 *Faya me , me me , hora hinemetemone fahi*
 faya me , me me , hora hi- na -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S scold OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron pron pron vt aux dem
 'They spoke to them.'

31 *Hiyama me ota nakia me*
 hiyama me otaa na- ka -kI+F me
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1EX.S CAUS go/come coming 3PL.O
 nm pron pron vt pron
 "'We have come after peccaries.'"

32 *Hiyama me te tohimakoni*
 hiyama me tee to- ha -makoni
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.COMPL 2PL.S CH be for this reason+F
 nm pron pron vc
hiyama me te tohimakoni me
 hiyama me tee to- ha -makoni me
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.COMPL 2PL.S CH be for this reason+F 3PL
 nm pron pron vc pron
me ati nemetemoneke ahi
 me ati na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vt aux dem
 "'You're the peccaries," they said.'

33 *Hiyama me , me tohabone me me*
 hiyama me me to- ha -habone me me
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.COMPL 3PL.S CH be INT+F 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vc pron pron
wati hikana me , me nahoremtemoneke
 wati hi- ka- na+F me me naho -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 plan against OC COMIT AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S stay NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux pron pron vi
 'Since they were planning against them as if they were peccaries, they didn't stay.'

34 *Me kana ni tokometemonehe*
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -he
 3PL.S run AUX away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DUP
 pron vi aux vi
 'They went running away.'

35 *Me me ye hikanemetemoneke ahi*
 me me yee hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.O 3PL.S yell OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron pron vi aux dem
 'They yelled to scare them.'

36 *Me me sa hikarettemoneke*
 me me saa hi- ka- na -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pron vt aux
 'They didn't shoot them with arrows.'

FIVE YIMAS CAME

37 *Hine ya me me e hinihemetemoneke*
 hine ya me me ee hi- niha- na -hemete -mone -ke
 only ADJU 3PL.O 3PL.S yell OC CAUS AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron prt pron pron vi aux

'They only scared them.'

38 *Me me e hiniha me kana ni*
 me me ee hi- niha- na+F me kana na.NFIN
 3PL.O 3PL.S yell OC CAUS AUX 3PL.S run AUX
 pron pron vi aux pron vi aux

tokometemone

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

'They scared them, and they went running away.'

THE ABA FISH OF THE CURIÁ RIVER

Free Translation

They came back, and slept. They wanted to have a festa, even though there were no *aba* fish. They wanted to have a feast with *aba* fish. They wanted to have a festa for one of their girls.

The people from the other village came, and arrived.

"There are no *aba* fish for the girl's feast, why did we come here?"

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

"With what am I going to have a feast for my daughter? There is nothing to give the girl's feast with. Go get the ones of the Curiá River. We will have the *aba* fish of the Curiá. There are still many *aba* fish at the Curiá. You two go to the Curiá. I have made something from the bail of a pot. I made a hook from the bail of a pot, so I can catch a fish."

"What to you know, he made something from the bail of a pot."

They worked on the pot bails. They were ready to go.

"Don't delay. The festa will end soon. Don't stay away many days. Come back after four days."

They were ready, and they went.

"Don't stay away many days. You heard what I said. It should be four days."

They came back. They were waiting on the day they were supposed to come back. They didn't wait during the night. On that day they came back walking, when the people in the village were sleeping.

They yelled for them, "Yee."

"Aa, aa, aa, aa," the people in the village said.

They were excited like woolly monkeys. They were hungry, and they took the *aba* fish out, and they ate the *aba* fish.

"Come on, you sleep first, since you have eaten. We are going to eat for a while."

They ate. Before sleeping, they took snuff.

"Come on, let's sleep. We will have more festa tomorrow. We will eat all of my older sister's manioc mash."

They roasted *aba* fish on racks the next day, and they ate the *aba* fish all day long. They feasted on them, and the boiled *aba* fish were on the ground, on top of *honofe* leaves. They ate.

"Bono Wiyo, older brother, eat some. Join your sons."

"You go ahead and eat. You stand there in the plaza."

They slept. They woke up. They ate *aba* fish all day long. They decided to sing. It was at Bosao. They sang all night long. My grandfather sang all night long. He sang the song about the *aba* fish that he had sent spirits against. They sang with him. I don't know the song. He sang the song all night long. My father said the name of the song.

"They couldn't remain there because they did a bad thing. They became worried. They are fish, not people," my grandfather sang.

"They aren't people, why did they get so angry? My children ate them." He sang the song about the ones who his children [that is, his familiar spirits] had eaten. My grandfather sang the

THE ABA FISH OF THE CURIÁ RIVER

song until dawn.

Interlinear Presentation

1 *Haa* ?
 haa
 huh?
 interj
 'Huh?'

2 *Hibakari* ?
 hibakari
 who+M
 interrog
 'Who?'

3 *Aa* , *ee* , *faya me* , *faya me kama* *me*
 aa , ee , faya me , faya me ka -ma+F me
 (pause) (pause) so 3PL so 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S
 interj interj conj pron conj pron vi pron
me kama me me amo na me ayaka ayaka
 me ka -ma+F me me amo na+F me , ayaka ayaka
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S festa festa
 pron vi pron pron vi aux pron nf nf
ini me hiri nani me ayaka ini me hiri
 ini me hiri na -hani me , ayaka ini me hiri
 name+F 3PL.S say AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S festa name+F 3PL.S say
 pn pron vt aux pron nf pn pron vt
nemetemoneke aba me watari ya
 na -hemete -mone -ke , aba me wata -ra.NOM+F ya
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F fish sp 3PL.S exist NEG ADJU
 aux nm pron vi prt

'They came back, and slept. They wanted to have a festa, even though there were no *aba* fish.'

4 *Aba me me mari nabone me ati nani me*
 aba me me mari na -habone me ati na -hani me
 fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S feast on AUX INT+F 3PL.S say AUX IP.N+F 3PL
 nm pron pron vt aux pron vt aux pron
ka me ka inamate me mari kanabone mati
 ka , me ka inamate , me mari ka- na -habone mati
 POSS 3PL POSS child 3PL.S feast COMIT AUX INT+F 3PL.S
 prt pron prt nf pron vi aux pron

'They wanted to have a feast with *aba* fish. They wanted to have a festa for one of their girls.'

5 *Me kama me me kobo nama me Inamate*
 me ka -ma+F me , me kobo na -ma+F me inamate
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S child
 pron vi pron pron vi aux pron nf
 , *mamari kana watare ya e*
 ma- mari ka- na wata -ra.NOM+M ya ee
 DUP feast COMIT AUX exist NEG ADJU 1IN.S
 pn vi prt pron
kakamine ninihi
 ka- ka -ma -ne na.NOM+F -ni -hi
 COMIT go/come back CONT+F AUX IP.N+F DUP
 vt aux

THE ABA FISH OF THE CURIÁ RIVER

"They came, and arrived. "There are no *aba* fish for the girl's feast, why did we come here?"

6 *Aba me fawa narake*
 aba me fawa na -hara -ke
 fish sp 3PL.S disappear AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 nm pron vi aux

"There aren't any *aba* fish."

7 *Aba me fawa narani*
 aba me fawa na -hara -ni
 fish sp 3PL.S disappear AUX IP.E+F BKG+F
 nm pron vi aux

"The *aba* fish disappeared."

8 *Aba me , Bono Wiyo Bono Wiyo me*
 aba me Bono Wiyo Bono Wiyo me
 fish sp 3PL.O (man's name) (man's name) 3PL.O
 nm pron npropm npropm pron

hikabanani , *Bono Wiyo me*
 hi- ka- habana -hani Bono Wiyo me
 OC COMIT order someone against IP.N+F (man's name) 3PL.O
 vt npropm pron

hikabanani me , abarake
 hi- ka- habana -hani me ahaba -hara -ke
 OC COMIT order someone against IP.N+F 3PL.S end IP.E+F DECL+F
 vt pron vi

me nafi
 me nafi
 3PL.POSS all
 pron pn

"Bono Wiyo sent spirits against the *aba* fish, and they are all gone."

9 *Himata okoto mari onaba ?*
 himata okoto mari o- na -haba
 what? my daughter offer a feast to 1SG.S AUX FUT+F
 interrog nf vt aux

"With what am I going to have a feast for my daughter?"

10 *Inamate mamari kana watakere*
 inamate ma- mari ka- na wata -ke -re
 child DUP feast COMIT AUX exist DECL+F NEG+F
 nm pn vi

"There is nothing to give the girl's feast with."

11 *Koriwa ka me te tonakamahi Koriwa ka mati*
 Koriwa ka me tee to- na- ka -ma -hi Koriwa ka mati
 Curiá of 3PL.O 2PL.S away CAUS go/come back IMP+F Curiá of 3PL
 npropf prt pron pron vt npropf prt pron

"Go get the ones of the Curiá River."

12 *Koriwa aba me iabana furo*
 Koriwa aba me iha -habana faaro
 Curiá fish sp 3PL.S take in turn FUT+F that+F
 npropf nm pron result dem

"We will have the *aba* fish of the Curiá."

THE ABA FISH OF THE CURIÁ RIVER

13 *Koriwa ka aba me tamasa ke*
 Koriwa ka aba me tama -saa na -ke
 Curiá of fish sp 3PL.S be many still AUX DECL+F
 npropf prt nm pron vi prt

"There are still many *aba* fish at the Curiá."

14 *Koriwa , Koriwa te towakama yiwa , yiwa mani*
 Koriwa , Koriwa tee to- ka- ka -ma+F yiwa , yiwa mani
 Curiá Curiá 2PL.S away COMIT go/come back pot pot arm+F
 npropf npropf pron vi nf nf pn

yama ona yiwa mani , yiwa mani ama haro
 yama o- na+F yiwa mani , yiwa mani ama haaro
 work on 1SG.S AUX pot arm+F pot arm+F be that one+F
 vt aux nf pn nf pn vc dem

"You two go to the Curiá. I have made something from the bail of a pot."

15 *Yiwa mani , yama onaha kabikana aba*
 yiwa mani , yama o- na+F kabikana aba
 pot arm+F work on 1SG.S AUX fish hook fish
 nf pn vt aux nf nm

onawasiabone owa
 o- na- wasi -habone owa
 1SG.S CAUS get caught INT+F 1SG.S
 vt pron

"I made a hook from the bail of a pot, so I can catch a fish."

16 *Yiwa mani yama neno ati amane*
 yiwa mani yama na -hino ati ama -ne
 pot arm+F work on AUX IP.N+M voice be BKG+M
 nf pn vt aux pn vc

"What do you know, he made something from the bail of a pot."

17 *Faya me yiwa mani me yama na me , faya me ,*
 faya me yiwa mani me yama na+F me , faya me
 so 3PL pot arm+F 3PL.S work on AUX 3PL.S so 3PL.S
 conj pron nf pn pron vt aux pron conj pron

yana tonemetemone fahi
 yana to- na -hemete -mone fahi
 start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 vi aux dem

'They worked on the pot bails. They were ready to go.'

18 *Te kerewe rima nahi*
 tee kerewe na -rima na -hi
 2PL.S be slow AUX NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F
 pron vi aux aux

"Don't delay."

19 *Ayaka abakabote nibeya*
 ayaka ahaba -kabote na -be -ya
 festa end quickly AUX IMMED+F now
 nf vi aux

"The festa will end soon."

THE ABA FISH OF THE CURIÁ RIVER

20 *Ayaka abibeya*

ayaka ahaba -be -ya
festa end IMMED+F now
nf vi

"The festa will end soon."

21 *Ayaka , ayaka abakabote nabanake*

ayaka , ayaka ahaba -kabote na -habana -ke
festa festa end quickly AUX FUT+F DECL+F
nf nf vi aux

"The festa will end soon."

22 *Te amo ni tamariya*

tee amo na.NFIN tama -ra -yahi
2PL.S sleep AUX be many NEG DIST.IMP+F
pron vi aux vi

"Don't stay away many days."

23 *Te amo ni kowato niyahi*

tee amo na.NFIN kowato na -yahi
2PL.S sleep AUX be four AUX DIST.IMP+F
pron vi aux vi aux

"Come back after four days."

24 *Faya me yana tona me me*

faya me yana to- na+F me me
so 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S
conj pron vi aux pron pron

tokometemoneke

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

'They were ready, and they went.'

25 *Me tokoma me , me tokoma me*
me to- ka -ma+F me me to- ka -ma+F me
3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S
pron vi pron pron vi pron

Te amo ni tamariya

tee amo na.NFIN tama -ra -yahi
2PL.S sleep AUX be many NEG DIST.IMP+F
pron vi aux vi

"They went. "Don't stay away many days."

26 *Owati te miti*

o- ati tee mita.NOM+F
1SG.POSS voice 2PL.S hear
pn pron vi

"You heard what I said."

27 *Yia kowato tohiyahi*

yia kowato to- ha -yahi
day four CH be DIST.IMP+F
nf nf vc

"It should be four days."

THE ABA FISH OF THE CURIÁ RIVER

28	Faya faya so conj	me me 3PL.S pron	kama ka go/come vi	-ma+F back	me me 3PL.S pron	,	me me 3PL.S pron	amo amo sleep vi	ni na.NFIN AUX aux	me me 3PL.S pron
	noki noki wait for vt	hina hi- OC aux	na+F me 3PL.POSS pron	me me 3PL.S pron	,	me me 3PL.S pron	amo amo sleep vi	ni na.NFIN AUX aux	me me 3PL.S pron	noki noki wait for vt
	hinahabara na AUX aux	hi- OC at night	nahaba -ra+F NEG 3PL.S pron	me me 3PL.S pron	,	amo amo sleep vi	ni na.NFIN AUX aux	ya ya ADJU prt	me me 3PL.S pron	
	kamani ka go/come vi	-ma -hane IP.N+F pron	-hani me 3PL.S pron	me me 3PL.S pron	,	me me 3PL.S pron	amo amo sleep vi	na na+F AUX aux	me me 3PL.S pron	yaka yaka walk vi
	nemetemoneke na AUX aux	-hemete -mone -ke FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux	ahi ahi then dem	.						

"They came back. They were waiting on the day they were supposed to come back. They didn't wait during the night. On that day they came back walking, when they were sleeping."

29	Me me 3PL.O pron	me me 3PL.S pron	ye yee yell vi	kana ka- COMIT aux	na+F AUX	me me 3PL.S pron	,	Yee yee (sound of yelling) interj	.
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"They yelled for them, "Yee."

30	Aa aa (call of woolly monkey) sound	aa aa (call of woolly monkey) sound	aa aa (call of woolly monkey) sound	aa aa (call of woolly monkey) sound	aa aa (call of woolly monkey) sound	aa aa (call of woolly monkey) sound	aa aa (call of woolly monkey) sound
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me me 3PL.S pron	ati ati say vt	nemetemone na -hemete -mone FP.N+F REP+F aux	.
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"Aa, aa, aa, aa," they said.'

31	Me me 3PL.S pron	kayawemetemoneke ka- yawa COMIT vi	-hemete -mone -ke FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	wafa wafa woolly monkey nm	memone me -mone 3PL REP+F pron
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THE ABA FISH OF THE CURIÁ RIVER

mati

mati

3PL

pron

'They were excited like woolly monkeys.'

32 *Me kayawa me , faya me fimiha me aba*
 me ka- yawa+F me , faya me fimi+F me aba
 3PL.S COMIT be excited 3PL.S so 3PL.S be hungry 3PL.S fish sp
 pron vi pron conj pron vi pron nm

me me yaba aba me me kaba , Hima , te
 me me yaba+F aba me me kaba+F , hima , tee
 3PL.O 3PL.S take out fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S eat let's go 2PL.S
 pron pron vt nm pron pron vt interj pron

amo niba , te tatafa nani te
 amo na -baha , tee ta- tafa na -hani tee
 sleep AUX before 2PL.S DUP eat AUX IP.N+F 2PL.S
 vi aux pron vi aux pron

'They were excited. They were hungry, and they took the *aba* fish out, and they ate the *aba* fish. "Come on, you sleep first, since you have eaten.'"

33 *Ota tafamatibe*
 otaa tafa -mata -be
 1EX.S eat short time IMMED+F
 pron vi

"We are going to eat for a while."

34 *Faya me tafa me , me tafa me amo ni ,*
 faya me tafa+F me , me tafa+F me amo na.NFIN ,
 so 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.S eat 3PL.S sleep AUX
 conj pron vi pron pron vi pron vi aux

amo nabone sina me hisi na me , sina me hisi
 amo na -habone sina me hisi na+F me , sina me hisi
 sleep AUX INT+F snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX 3PL.S snuff 3PL.S sniff
 vi aux nf pron vt aux pron nf pron vt

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

'They ate. Before sleeping, they took snuff.'

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

na me , Hima e amo namata
 na+F me , hima ee amo na -mata
 AUX 3PL.S let's go 1IN.S sleep AUX short time
 aux pron interj pron vi aux

'They took snuff. "Come on, let's sleep.'"

36 *Ayaka e maika naminibe*
 ayaka ee mahika na -mina -be
 festa 1IN.S consume a lot AUX morning IMMED+F
 nf pron vt aux

"We will have more festa tomorrow."

THE ABA FISH OF THE CURIÁ RIVER

42 *Me tafa me , Bono Wiyo , Bono Wiyo , ayo ,*
 me tafa+F me , Bono Wiyo , Bono Wiyo , ayo
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S (man's name) (man's name) older brother
 pron vi pron npropm npropm nm

kakaba

ka- kaba
 DUP eat
 vt

"They ate. "Bono Wiyo, older brother, eat some."

43 *Tikatao me titabahi*
 tikatao me ti- taba -hi
 2SG.POSS.son 3PL 2SG.S be together IMP+F
 nm pron vi

"Join your sons."

44 *Te tafa ahi*
 tee tafa ahi
 2PL.S eat there
 pron vi dem

"You go ahead and eat."

45 *Te nao ha*
 tee naho haa
 2PL.S stand DEM
 pron vi dem

"You stand there in the plaza."

46 *Faya me , amo na me , me tafia me aba*
 faya me , amo na+F me , me tafi+F me aba
 so 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S wake up 3PL.S fish sp
 conj pron vi aux pron pron vi pron nm

me me , kaba natiha me , ayaka me wati
 me me , kaba nahatI+F me , ayaka me wati
 3PL.O 3PL.S eat daytime 3PL.S song 3PL.S think about
 pron pron vt prt pron nf pron vt

kanemetemone

ka- na -hemete -mone ama -ke
 COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 aux sec

"They slept. They woke up. They ate *aba* fish all day long. They decided to sing.'

47 *Bosao amake*
 Bosao ama -ke
 (name of place) be DECL+F
 npropf vc

'It was at Bosao.'

48 *Ayaka me hiri naba , okiti ayaka*
 ayaka me hiri na nahaba+F , o- ka iti ayaka
 song 3PL.S sing AUX at night 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather song
 nf pron vt aux nm nf

hiri nabe , aba me hikahabanani
 hiri na nahaba+M , aba me hi- ka- habana -hani
 sing AUX at night fish sp 3PL.O OC COMIT order someone against IP.N+F
 vt aux nm pron vt

THE ABA FISH OF THE CURIÁ RIVER

me , *me* *tani* *hiri* *nabe* , *ayaki* *me*
 me , me tani hiri na nahaba+M , ayaka.NFIN me
 3PL.O 3PL.POSS song about sing AUX at night sing 3PL.S
 pron pron pn vt aux vi pron

wara *hinabe* , *ayaka* *owato* *okere*
 wara hi- nahaba+M , ayaka o- wato o- ke -re
 respond to OC at night song 1SG.S know 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F
 vt prt nf vt prt

'They sang all night long. My grandfather sang all night long. He sang the song about the *aba* fish that he had sent spirits against. They sang with him. I don't know the song.'

49 *Ayaka* *hiri* *nabe* *ayaka* , *ini* *okobi* *iti*
 ayaka hiri na nahaba+M ayaka , ini o- ka abi i- iti
 song sing AUX at night song name+F 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say
 nf vt aux nf pn nm vt

hiamaro , *Ati* *ati* *watari* *winatere*
 hi- to- ha -hamaro , ati ati wata -ra.NFIN wina -tee -ra+M ,
 OC CH AUX FP.E+F voice voice exist NEG live HAB NEG
 aux pn pn vi vi

ati *watari* *winatere* , *ehehetoto* *nawaha* *ne*
 ati wata -ra.NFIN wina -tee -ra+M , ehe- eheto -to na -waha na+M
 voice exist NEG live HAB NEG DUP be good DUP AUX change AUX
 pn vi vi vi aux aux

, *aba* , *aba* *aba* *amaramako*
 aba , aba aba ama -ra -mako
 fish sp fish sp fish sp be NEG for this reason+M
 nm nm nm vc

'He sang the song all night long. My father said the name of the song. "They couldn't remain there because they did a bad thing. They became worried. They are fish, not people."'

50 *Aba* *amaramako* *ehehetoto* *nawaha* *ne* ,
 aba ama -ra -mako ehe- eheto -to na -waha na+M
 fish sp be NEG for this reason+M DUP be good DUP AUX change AUX
 nm vc vi aux aux

okiti *ayaki* *ati* *nematamona*
 o- ka iti ayaka.NFIN ati na -himata -mona
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather sing say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm vi vt aux

'"They are fish, not people. They became worried," my grandfather sang.'

51 *E* *toha* *awineni*
 ee to- ha+F awine -ni
 human being CH be seem+F BKG+F
 nf vc sec

'"They are not people."'

52 *E* *tohimakoni* , *fare* *hahama* *nenono*
 ee to- ha -makoni , fare ha- hama na -hino
 human being CH be for this reason+F same+M DUP be mean AUX IP.N+M
 nf vc dem vi aux

, *okatao* *me* *me* *kabawaine* *owatino*
 okatao me me kaba -waha -ne owatino
 my son 3PL.O 3PL.S eat change CONT+F exclamation
 nm pron pron vt interj

'"They aren't people, why did they get so angry? My children ate them."'

THE ABA FISH OF THE CURIÁ RIVER

53 *Faya* , *biti* *me* *me* , *hikaba* *me* *tani*
 faya , biti me me , hi- kaba+F me tani
 so 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.O 3PL.S OC eat 3PL.POSS song about
 conj nm pron pron vt pron pn

hiri *hina* *me* , *okiti* *ayaka*
 hiri hi- na+F me , o- ka iti ayaka
 sing OC AUX 3PL.POSS 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather song
 vt aux pron nm nf

kanawematamonaka

ka- na- waha -himata -mona -ka
 COMIT CAUS dawn FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'He sang the song about the ones who his children had eaten. My grandfather sang the song until dawn.'

54 *Okiti* *ayaka* *kanawe* , *ayaka*
 o- ka iti ayaka ka- na- waha+M , ayaka
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather song COMIT CAUS dawn song
 nm nf vt nf

kanawematamonaka

ka- na- waha -himata -mona -ka
 COMIT CAUS dawn FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'My grandfather sang the song until dawn.'

55 *Ayaka* *kanawe* , *hima* , *faya* *amake*
 ayaka ka- na- waha+M , hima , faya ama -ke
 song COMIT CAUS dawn let's go enough be DECL+F
 nf vt interj adj vc

'He sang the song until dawn. Come on, that's all.'

THEY MADE A BARK CANOE

Free Translation

My father and uncle cut down the *kanawa* tree. It fell. They chopped at the tree, to take off the bark. They chopped on the top side of the trunk. There were three vines under the tree at different places [which the men had put there, to catch the bark when it fell]. They poked under the bark with sticks, to lift it away from the trunk. "Siu, siu," went the sound of them scraping. The bark fell off. My father and uncle pulled the bark off. "Over here is where it will be burned. Here it is clear," my uncle said. They dragged it over.

"Light a fire there. One fire will be here, and another over there." My father lit a fire. He lit two fires. One fire was here, and the other over there. My uncle took off a piece of the prow with a knife. He took off pieces of the prow, like the prow of a dugout canoe. He took off pieces, he used to say. "Come on, it's ready. Let's go downstream."

They turned it over. There was a fire under the middle of the prow. The fire was coals. The bark got soft. He also put a stick across the prow. "We are missing this other stick yet [in the middle]." He also put that stick across. He got ahold of the prow. My uncle held the prow, with a vine. Have you seen *sai* vine, similar to *cipó titica*? My grandfather pulled it tight with *sai* vine. He pulled it tight like the prow of a dugout canoe. "You will see the prow."

Then he made the stern. When he had made the stern, when he had heated the prow, he put the stick of the prow in place. There was no stick for the prow, so he started cutting sticks to try them. "Don't come any closer. There's fire there." My father warned us. We sat on a log. "Come here." My father grabbed ahold of the base of the prow. My uncle tied it. When he tightened it slowly, it was good. My father opened up the canoe more. They cut some sticks. They lay the sticks on the ground. We sat on the sticks.

"Come on, let's paddle. This bark canoe is good. Bark is good, too." So we got in. My father paddled us. We went out into the middle of the Faha Biri stream. We went toward Bosao. We went downstream. We arrived.

The others came to see the canoe. They had been weaving fish traps to catch fish with. There were lots of traps. They caught *korobo* fish. *Sako fana* fish got lifted up in the trap, too. *Korobo* and *wasabi* fish got lifted up in the trap, too. They also used to catch *wasabi* fish. Also piranhas. They used to eat piranhas that they caught.

We came downstream. We went onto the shore. The others went to catch piranhas. They came back. They slept back at the village. They got up early to go fishing. They went. They took the fish out of the traps. They came back. They arrived back with the fish. We ate them, *wasabi* fish, piranhas, *sako fana* fish. Since there wasn't farinha, we always ate them with manioc mash.

"Don't put a hole in the canoe with a knife."

THEY MADE A BARK CANOE

Interlinear Presentation

1	Me	, me	ka	hine	okobi		ya	me	fama	
	me	, me	kaa	hi- na+M	o-	ka	abi	ya	me	fama+F
	3PL	3PL.S	chop	OC AUX	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	ADJU	3PL.S	be two
	pron	pron	vt	aux	nm			prt	pron	vi
	me	ka	hine	toke		, me	, ka	hikanemari		
	me	kaa	hi- na+M	to- ka+M		, me	, kaa	hi- ka- na	-himari	
	3PL.S	chop	OC AUX	away go/come		3PL.S	chop	OC COMIT	AUX FP.E+M	
	pron	vt	aux	vi		pron	prt	aux		
	amaka	ahi								
	ama -ka	ahi								
	SEC DECL+M	then								
	sec	dem								

'They cut it down. My father and his companion cut it down. It fell. They chopped at it.'

2	Bari	ka	ya	me	ka	hikane		mato	mato	koto
	bari	ka	ya	me	kaa	hi- ka- na+M		, mato	, mato	koto
	back	LOC	ADJU	3PL.S	chop	OC COMIT	AUX	vine	vine	lie across
	pn	prt	prt	pron	vt	aux		nf	nf	vi
	nawaha		mato	baikani	ka	winaha	ha	winaha	faya	me
	na -waha+F		mato	baikani	ka	wina+F	haa	wina+F	faya	me
	AUX change		vine	middle	LOC	hang	DEM	hang	so	3PL
	aux		nf	pn	prt	vi	dem	vi	conj	pron
	awa	ya	, awa	ya	me	, awa	ya	me	saka	
	awa	ya	, awa	ya	me	, awa	ya	me	saka	
	wood	ADJU	wood	ADJU	3PL	wood	ADJU	3PL.S	pierce repeatedly	
	nf	prt	nf	prt	pron	nf	prt	pron	vt	
	hikane		sio			sio				
	hi- ka- na+M		sio			sio				
	OC COMIT	AUX	(sound of scraping)			(sound of scraping)				
	aux		sound			sound				
	sio		, sio			, sio				
	sio		, sio			, sio				
	(sound of scraping)		(sound of scraping)			(sound of scraping)				
	sound		sound			sound				
	sio		, sio			, sio				
	sio		, sio			, sio				
	(sound of scraping)		(sound of scraping)			(sound of scraping)				
	sound		sound			sound				
	sonarisematamonaka					fahi				
	sona -risa -himata	-mona	-ka	fahi						
	fall down	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	then					
	vi			dem						

'They chopped at it, on top. There was a vine hanging under the tree. There was a vine under the middle. There was another vine on the other side. They poked it with sticks. "Siu, siu." It fell off.'

3	Sonarise	, faya	okobi		me	horo	hinaki	
	sona -risa+M	, faya	o-	ka	abi	me	horo	hi- na -kI+M
	fall down	so	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	3PL.S	drag	OC AUX coming
	vi	conj	nm			pron	vt	aux
	, Ha	ya	, ha	ya	toki	wataba	ahi	
	, haa	ya	, haa	ya	toka.NFIN	wata.NOM+M	-ba	ahi
	DEM	ADJU	DEM	ADJU	partially burn	be located	FUT	here
	dem	prt	dem	prt	vi	vi		dem

'It fell off. My father and his companion pulled it off. "Over here is where it will be burned."'

THEY MADE A BARK CANOE

4 *Yama amosineke haro , okobise ati*
 yama amosa -ne -ke haaro , o- ka abise ati
 thing be good CONT+F DECL+F that one+F 1SG.POSS POSS uncle say
 nf vi dem nm vt

nemarika

na -himari -ka
 AUX FP.E+M DECL+M
 aux

"Here it is clear," my uncle said.'

5 *Faya me horo hiwiti , me horo*
 faya me horo hi- to- na -witI+M , me horo
 so 3PL.S drag OC away AUX out 3PL.S drag
 conj pron vt aux pron vt

hiwiti me , Yifo afo tikana
 hi- to- na -witI+M me , yifo afo ti- ka- na
 OC away AUX out 3PL pron fire light 2SG.S COMIT AUX
 aux pron nf vt aux

"They dragged it over. "Light a fire."³⁸

6 *Yifo afo tikana ahi*
 yifo afo ti- ka- na ahi
 fire light 2SG.S COMIT AUX there
 nf vt aux dem

"Light a fire there."

7 *Yifo one kawita one kawita na ahi*
 yifo one ka- ita.LIST one ka- ita.LIST na ahi
 fire one+F COMIT be located other+F COMIT be located AUX there
 nf adj vi adj vi aux dem

"One fire will be here. "Another fire will be there."

8 *Yifo , yifo okobi afo kane*
 yifo , yifo o- ka abi afo ka- na+M ,
 fire fire 1SG.POSS POSS father light COMIT AUX
 nf nf nm vt aux

okobi yifo afo kanikimeimarika
 o- ka abi yifo afo ka- na -kima -himari -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS father fire light COMIT AUX two FP.E+M DECL+M
 nm nf vt aux

'My father lit a fire. My father lit two fires.'

9 *Yifo one kawita , one kawita , tati*
 yifo one ka- ita.LIST , one ka- ita.LIST , tati
 fire one+F COMIT be located other+F COMIT be located front end
 nf adj vi adj vi pn

yimawa bite ya okobise siri hine , yimawa
 yimawa bite ya o- ka abise siri hi- na+M , yimawa
 knife small+F ADJU 1SG.POSS POSS uncle scrape OC AUX knife
 nf adj prt nm vt aux nf

tati siri hine tati siri hinikime fara
 tati siri hi- na+M tati siri hi- na -kima+M fara
 front end scrape OC AUX front end scrape OC AUX two same+F
 pn vt aux pn vt aux dem

38 This *me* is a mistake, or alternatively, Siko actually says *hine* and it is transcribed incorrectly. In this case, the *hine* would represent a "list" auxiliary.

THEY MADE A BARK CANOE

kanawa tati nima
 kanawa tati nima
 canoe front end like
 nf pn prt

'One fire was here. The other was there. My uncle took off a piece of the prow with a knife. He took off a piece of the prow with a knife. He took off pieces of the prow, like the prow of a canoe.'

10 *Faya siri hineimatamona*
 faya siri hi- na -himata -mona
 so scrape OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 conj vt aux

'He took off pieces.'

11 *Siri hineimatamona*
 siri hi- na -himata -mona
 scrape OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vt aux

'He took off pieces.'

12 *Siri hineimatamona na hieimari ama*
 siri hi- na -himata -mona , ati na hi- to- ha -himari ama
 scrape OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M say AUX OC CH AUX FP.E+M SEC
 vt aux vt aux sec

'He used to say he took off pieces.'

13 *Siri hine Hima hawa toaka*
 siri hi- na+M , hima , hawa to- ha -ka
 scrape OC AUX let's go be finished CH AUX DECL+M
 vt aux interj vi aux

'He took off pieces. "Come on, it's ready."'

14 *E towakisamibeya*
 ee to- ka- ka -risa -ma -be -ya
 1IN.S away COMIT go/come down back IMMED+F now
 pron vi

""Let's go downstream.""

15 *Faya me behe hiwe tati*
 faya , me behe hi- na -waha+M , tati ,
 so 3PL.S turn over OC AUX change front end
 conj pron vt aux pn

bako ka ya yifo kawita yifo hime
 bako ka ya yifo ka- ita.LIST , yifo hime
 inner surface+M LOC ADJU fire COMIT be located fire smolder
 pn prt prt nf vi nf vi

tonaha faya harorise harorise tati
 to- na+F , faya haro -risa+M , haro -risa+M tati ,
 CH AUX so become soft down become soft down front end
 aux conj vi vi pn

tati ewenebona bere ahi hano bere
 tati ewene -bona bere.LIST , ahi , hano bere
 front end stick+M INT+M place across then DEM IP.N+M place across
 pn pn vt dem dem vt

Awa awa haha watarini mata
 , awa , awa haha wata -ra -ni mata
 wood wood this+F exist NEG BKG+F for now
 nf nf dem vi prt

THEY MADE A BARK CANOE

"They turned it over. There was a fire under the middle of the prow. The fire was coals. It got soft. He also put a stick across the prow. He also put this stick across. "This stick is not here yet."

16 *Awa bere hiniharisa tati wara*
 awa bere hi- niha- na -risa+F , tati wara
 wood be across OC CAUS AUX down front end grab
 nf vi aux pn vt

hinehimari ahi
 hi- na -himari ahi
 OC AUX FP.E+M then
 aux dem

'He also put the stick across. He got ahold of the prow.'

17 *Okobise tati wara hine mato ya*
 o- ka abise tati wara hi- na+M , mato ya
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle front end grab OC AUX vine ADJU
 nm pn vt aux nf prt

'My uncle held the prow, with a vine.'

18 *Tiwate awa sai sai sibo sibo titika*
 ti- awa -tee awa sai , sai , sibo sibo titika
 2SG.S see HAB seem+M epiphyte sp epiphyte sp vine vine sp
 vt sec nm nm nf nf

one ?
 one
 other+F
 adj

'Have you seen *sai*, similar to *cipó-titica*?'

19 *Sai ya sai ya okiti soki*
 sai ya , sai ya o- ka iti soki
 epiphyte sp ADJU epiphyte sp ADJU 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather tie up
 nm prt nm prt nm vt

hinaki okobise okobise soki
 hi- na -kI+M o- ka abise o- ka abise soki
 OC AUX coming 1SG.POSS POSS uncle 1SG.POSS POSS uncle tie up
 aux nm nm vt

hinaki fara kanawa tati boni nima
 hi- na -kI+M , fara kanawa tati boni nima
 OC AUX coming same+F canoe point+F like
 aux dem nf pn prt

'My grandfather pulled it tight with *sai*. My uncle pulled it tight, like a canoe prow.'³⁹

20 *Tati boni tati boni tiwibeya ahi*
 tati boni tati boni ti- awa -be -ya ahi
 point+F point+F 2SG.S see IMMED+F now there
 pn pn vt dem

""You will see the prow.""

21 *Faya mete ka hihawama*
 faya mete ka hi- to- iha -waha -ma.LIST ,
 so rear+M pertaining to OC away take in turn change back
 conj pn prt vt

39 Siko corrected himself, it was his uncle.

THEY MADE A BARK CANOE

faya mete ka hihawame ya
 faya mete ka hi- to- iha -waha -ma.NOM+M ya ,
 so rear+M pertaining to OC away take in turn change back ADJU
 conj pn prt vt prt

faya tati he hikatase ya tati he
 faya tati hee hi- ka- na -tasa.NOM+M ya , tati hee
 so front end heat OC COMIT AUX again ADJU front end heat
 conj pn vt aux prt pn vt

hikane ya tati ewenebona
 hi- ka- na.NOM+M ya , tati ewene -bona
 OC COMIT AUX ADJU front end stick+M INT+M
 aux prt pn pn

hiwatare ewene hiwatarerise
 hi- wata -rI , ewene hi- wata -rI -risa+M ,
 OC put raised surface stick+M OC put raised surface down
 vt pn vt

bono ewene watara ya wati hikanemari
 bono ewene wata -ra+M , ya , wati hikanemari
 point+M stick+M exist NEG ADJU go after OC COMIT AUX FP.E+M
 pn pn vi prt vt aux

fahi
 fahi
 then
 dem

'Then he made the stern. When he had made the stern, when he had heated the prow, he put the stick of the prow in place. He put the stick down in place. There was no stick for the prow, so he cut a stick.'

22 **Wati hikane Te nanao karahama na fahi**
 wati hi- ka- na+M , tee na- naho na -karahama na fahi
 go after OC COMIT AUX 2PL.S CAUS stay AUX only do AUX there
 vt aux pron vi aux aux dem

'He was cutting sticks. "Stay there."

23 **Yifo kawitine fero**
 yifo ka- ita -ne faaro
 fire COMIT sit CONT+F that+F
 nf vi dem

""There's fire there.""

24 **Faya okobi otara hora ne ota**
 faya o- ka abi , otara hora na+M , ota
 so 1SG.POSS POSS father 1EX.O scold AUX 1EX.S
 conj nm pron vt aux pron

naoria ota naoria ota ota
 naho -rI+F , otaa naho -rI+F otaa otaa
 sit raised surface 1EX.S sit raised surface 1EX 1EX.S
 vi pron vi pron pron

naoria ota okobi fara me
 naho -rI+F , otaa , o- ka abi , fara me ,
 sit raised surface 1EX 1SG.POSS POSS father same+F 3PL
 vi pron nm dem pron

Tikamake
 ti- ka -makI
 2SG.S go/come following
 vi

'My father scolded us. We sat on a log. "Come here."'

THEY MADE A BARK CANOE

25 *Tikamake*

ti- ka -makI
2SG.S go/come following
vi

"Come here."

26 *Okayaware toka , faya , tati okobi tama*
okayaware toka faya tati o- ka abi tama
so front end 1SG.POSS POSS father hold onto
conj pn nm vt

hinehimari ahi , mete
hi- na -himari ahi mete
OC AUX FP.E+M then rear+M
aux dem pn

'My father grabbed ahold of the base of the prow.'⁴⁰

27 *Mete okobi tama hine , okobise*
mete o- ka abi tama hi- na+M , o- ka abise
rear+M 1SG.POSS POSS father hold onto OC AUX 1SG.POSS POSS uncle
pn nm vt aux nm

soki hinaki , sosoki nakeraba kabote
soki hi- na -kI+M , so- soki na -kI -raba na -kabote
tie up OC AUX coming DUP tie up AUX coming a bit AUX quickly
vt aux vt aux aux

hine ya , soki nisa soki nisa hine
hi- na.NOM+M ya , soki na -risa soki na -risa hi- na.NOM+M
OC AUX ADJU tie up AUX down tie up AUX down OC AUX
aux prt vt aux vt aux aux

ya , amosemari amaka fahi
ya amosa -himari ama -ka fahi
ADJU be good FP.E+M SEC DECL+M then
prt vi sec dem

'My father grabbed ahold of the base of the prow. My uncle tied it. When he tightened it slowly, when he tightened it, it was good.'

28 *Okobi kewe hikane toeimarika ahi*
o- ka abi kewe hi- ka- na+M to- ha -himari -ka ahi
1SG.POSS POSS father open OC COMIT AUX CH be FP.E+M DECL+M then
nm vt aux vc dem

'My father opened it up more, and it was like that.'

29 *Faya , awa awa me ti na awa me so*
faya , awa awa me tii na+F awa me soo
so wood wood 3PL.S cut through AUX wood 3PL.S lie
conj nf nf pron vt aux nf pron vi

toniha me , awa ya ota naoria , Hima
to- niha- na+F me , awa ya otaa naho -rI+F , hima
CH CAUS AUX 3PL.S wood ADJU 1EX.S sit raised surface let's go
aux pron nf prt pron vi interj

e ori na mata
ee ori na mata
1IN.S paddle AUX for now
pron vi aux prt

'They cut some sticks. They lay the sticks on the ground. We sat on the sticks. "Come on, let's paddle."'

40 The phrase at the beginning of the sentence sounds like *okayaware toka*, but this has not possible meaning in the context.

THEY MADE A BARK CANOE

30 **Kanawa amosabisa amake , awa atari**
 kanawa amosa -bisa+F ama -ke , awa atari
 canoe be good also SEC DECL+F tree bark+F
 nf vi sec nf pn

"The canoe is good, of bark."

31 **Awa atari amosa amani bisa**
 awa atari amosa+F ama -ni bisa
 tree bark+F be good SEC BKG+F also
 nf pn vi sec prt

"Bark is good, too."

32 **Faya okobi , ota kibe okobi**
 faya o- ka abi , otaa kibI o- ka abi
 so 1SG.POSS POSS father 1EX.S be inside 1SG.POSS POSS father
 conj nm pron vi nm

ota kibe , faya okobi otara ori kane
 otaa kibI , faya o- ka abi otara ori ka- na+M
 1EX.S be inside so 1SG.POSS POSS father 1EX.O paddle COMMIT AUX
 pron vi conj nm pron vi aux

ota towakafarama Fa Biri ya
 otaa to- ka- ka -fara -ma+F , Faha Biri ya
 1EX.S away COMMIT go/come open space back (name of stream) ADJU
 pron vi npropf prt

"Then we got in. My father paddled us. We went out into the middle of the Faha Biri."⁴¹

33 **Ota towakimaro amake ahi , Bosao**
 otaa to- ka- ka.NOM+F -maro ama -ke ahi , Bosao
 1EX.S away COMMIT go/come FP.E+F be DECL+F there (name of place)
 pron vi vc dem npropf

ka ya ahi
 ka ya ahi
 LOC ADJU there
 prt prt dem

'We went toward Bosao.'

34 **Faya ota towakisama ota , kobo**
 faya otaa to- ka- ka -risa -ma+F otaa , kobo
 so 1EX.S away COMMIT go/come down back 1EX.S arrive
 conj pron vi pron vi

tokanisama , kanawa me awabone kanawa me ,
 to- ka- na -risa -ma+F , kanawa me awa -habone kanawa me ,
 away COMMIT AUX down back canoe 3PL.S see INT+F canoe 3PL.S
 aux nf pron vt nf pron

nakama me , wawasi me , wawasi me
 na- ka -ma+F me , wa- wasi me , wa- wasi me
 CAUS go/come back 3PL.S DUP get caught 3PL DUP get caught 3PL.S
 vt pron nf pron nf pron

kowani mati , wawasi me kowani aba me
 kowa -hani mati , wa- wasi me kowa -hani aba me
 weave IP.N+F 3PL.S DUP get caught 3PL.S weave IP.N+F fish 3PL.O
 vt pron nf pron vt nm pron

41 *okobi* is a false start (twice).

THEY MADE A BARK CANOE

me me nawasia mati
 me me na- wasi+F mati
 3PL.O 3PL.S CAUS get caught 3PL.S
 pron pron vt pron
 'They used to eat piranhas that they caught.'

40 *Ota , kakisama ota tokomisama*
 otaa , ka- ka -risa -ma+F otaa to- ka -misa -ma+F ,
 1EX.S COMIT go/come down back 1EX.S away go/come up back
 pron vi pron vi

oma me me nawasiabone me towaka
 oma me me na- wasi -habone me to- ka- ka+F
 piranha 3PL.O 3PL.S CAUS get caught INT+F 3PL.S away COMIT go/come
 nm pron pron vt pron vi

me , me kama me amo nama me , aba
 me me ka -ma+F me amo na -ma+F me , aba
 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S sleep AUX back 3PL.S fish
 pron pron vi pron vi aux pron nm

me me bosa kana me toka , me
 me me bosa ka- na+F me to- ka+F , me
 3PL.O 3PL.S get up early COMIT AUX 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S
 pron pron vi aux pron vi pron

toka me me toka me , aba me me
 to- ka+F me me to- ka+F me , aba me me
 away go/come 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S
 vi pron pron vi pron nm pron pron

yabahani me kama me , faya aba me me
 yaba -hani me ka -ma+F me , faya aba me me
 take out IP.N+F 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S so fish 3PL.O 3PL.S
 vt pron vi pron conj nm pron pron

kobo kanama me , me me kobo hikanama
 kobo ka- na -ma+F me , me me kobo hi- ka- na -ma+F
 arrive COMIT AUX back 3PL.S 3PL.O 3PL.S arrive OC COMIT AUX back
 vi aux pron pron pron vi aux

me , me ota kabimaro amake fahi , wasabi mati
 me me otaa kaba.NOM+F -maro ama -ke fahi , wasabi mati
 3PL.O 3PL.O 1EX.S eat FP.E+F be DECL+F then fish sp 3PL
 pron pron vt vc dem nm pron

oma mati sako fanarawaha
 oma mati sako fana -rawa -ha
 piranha 3PL fish sp F.PL DUP
 nm pron nf

'We came downstream. We went onto the shore. The others went to catch piranhas. They came back. They slept back at the village. They got up early to go fishing. They went. They took the fish out. They came back. They arrived back with the fish. They arrived back with them. We ate them, *wasabis*, piranhas, *sako fanas*.'

41 *Farina watari ya iyawa ya , iyawa*
 farina wata -ra.NOM+F ya iyawa ya , iyawa
 manioc meal exist NEG ADJU manioc mash ADJU manioc mash
 nf vi prt nf prt nf

ya me , ota kakaba toamaro
 ya me , otaa ka- kaba to- ha -hamaro
 ADJU 3PL.O 1EX.S DUP eat CH AUX FP.E+F
 prt pron pron vt aux

'Since there wasn't farinha, we always ate them with manioc mash.'

THEY MADE A BARK CANOE

42 *Oko* *kanawa* *te* , *kanawa* *te* *itariyahi* ,
 o- ka kanawa tee , kanawa tee ita -ra -yahi ,
 1SG.POSS POSS canoe 2PL canoe 2PL.S pierce NEG DIST.IMP+F
 prt nf pron nf pron vt

yimawa *ya* .
 yimawa ya
 knife ADJU
 nf prt

"Don't put a hole in my canoe with a knife."

43 *Kanawa* *te* *itariyahi* .
 kanawa tee ita -ra -yahi
 canoe 2PL.S pierce NEG DIST.IMP+F
 nf pron vt

"Don't put a hole in the canoe."

44 *Kanawa* *te* *itariyahi* *yimawa* .
 kanawa tee ita -ra -yahi yimawa
 canoe 2PL.S pierce NEG DIST.IMP+F knife
 nf pron vt nf

"Don't put a hole in the canoe with a knife."

45 *Faya* *ama* ?
 faya ama
 enough be
 adj vc

'Is that enough?'

Part II - Traditional Stories:

THE MOWARAS

Free Translation

Note: It's just a guess, but the Mowaras might possibly refer to the Muras, who were known historically to have unfriendly encounters with other tribes (for example, the Paumaris) in the area of the Purus River.

He was sleeping. As he slept, his mother heard something by him. The Mowara Indians had come in the night. He lay sleeping in his hammock, and his mother shook him. He awoke. "Someone has come," she said. "Someone is coming here."

Her son got out of his hammock. He went and opened the door. They were walking around the house. He came back and got his arrows. He increased the tension of his bow. He took the arrows out of the holder, and put them on the floor. He waited for them.

The Mowaras came. One of them started to take the door out. As he started to take the door out, he hit him with an arrow in the chest, and he fell over. Then they shot arrows at the house. "Botoriri," went their bamboo arrow shafts, as they went into the thatch. They shot arrows into the house, and he also shot them, in revenge, because the Mowaras had eaten his wife when she was pregnant, and he had grieved ever since. He had grieved a long time. He had put points on arrows, a lot of them, to kill the Mowaras with. He shot the Mowaras with arrows all night long, until morning. They all died.

He found a Mowara boy hiding, and he pulled out an arrow from a dead Mowara and shot him with it. "Aaa, aaa," he screamed. Then he became quiet.

His father, who had been hiding, jumped up. "He shot my son," he said. "Jaguar, Jaguar, come and get him when he is not expecting it." The Mowara man went running away.

After the Mowaras died, he left. When he was ready to leave, he called his mother. He took his mother. He arrived where others of their group lived. When he arrived, he told them about the Mowaras. "The Mowaras died. You don't need to go after them, because I killed them," he said. "They all died." Then he stayed with them.

After they lived there a long time, some other Mowaras came. They didn't kill anybody, because they shot them with arrows. They all died, because they shot them, because they were too many for them. After they shot them and they died, they didn't go after the other Mowaras. If they had, they would have died, too, but they didn't pay them back. Later other Mowaras died, all their women.

Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Amo</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>amo</i>	<i>nematamonaka</i>				
	amo	na+M	amo	na	-himata	-mona	-ka	
	sleep	AUX	sleep	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	
	vi	aux	vi	aux				

'He was sleeping.'

THE MOWARAS

2 *Amo ne* , *amo ne ni ya* , *mati narabi*
 amo na+M , amo na+M ni ya , mati narabi
 sleep AUX sleep AUX to ADJU 3SG.POSS.mother ear+F
 vi aux vi aux prt prt nf pn

hawimetemoneke ahi .
 hawi -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 work FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

'As he slept, his mother [who was] by him heard something.'

3 *Mowara* , *mowara me kakemetemoneke ahi* ,
 Mowara Mowara me ka -kI -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 Mowara Mowara 3PL.S go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 npropm npropm pron vi dem

yama soki ya .
 yama soki.NOM ya
 thing be dark ADJU
 nf vi prt

'The Mowaras came in the night.'

4 *Yama soki ya me kakemetemone ahi* .
 yama soki.NOM ya me ka -kI -hemete -mone ahi
 thing be dark ADJU 3PL.S go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F then
 nf vi prt pron vi dem

'They came in the night.'

5 *Ee amo ne wine* , *mati wiyi*
 ee amo na+M wina+M , mati wiyi
 (pause) sleep AUX lie in hammock 3SG.POSS.mother shake
 interj vi aux vi nf vt

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

'He lay sleeping in his hammock, and his mother shook him.'

6 *Mati wiyi hine* , *mati wiyi hine*
 mati wiyi hi- na+M , mati wiyi hi- na+M
 3SG.POSS.mother shake OC AUX 3SG.POSS.mother shake OC AUX
 nf vt aux nf vt aux

tafihi Me hinamati kakini ati nemetemoneke
 tafi+M , me hinamati ka -kI -ni ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 wake up people go/come coming BKG+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi nf vi vt aux

'His mother shook him. His mother shook him, and he awoke. "Someone has come," she said.'

7 *Me inamati kakine haro ati*
 me inamati ka -kI -ne haaro ati
 people go/come coming CONT+F that one+F say
 nf vi dem vt

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

'"Someone is coming here," she said.'

THE MOWARAS

8 *Biti* *kise* , *tokome* *nokobi* *se*
 biti ka -risa+M , to- ka -ma+M nokobi see
 3SG.POSS.son go/come down away go/come back door open
 nm vi vi nf vt

kane , *nokobi* *se* *kanematamonaka* *ahi* .
 ka- na+M , nokobi see ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 COMIT AUX door open COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux nf vt aux dem

'Her son got out of his hammock. He went and opened the door.'

9 *Me* *yaka* *nemetemone* *ahi* .
 me yaka na -hemete -mone ahi
 3PL.S walk AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron vi aux dem

'They were walking around.'

10 *Me* *yaka* *na* *me* , *kame* *wati*
 me yaka na+F me , ka -ma+M wati
 3PL.S walk AUX 3PL.S go/come back arrow
 pron vi aux pron vi nm

kakitimatamonaka , *wati* .
 ka- iti -himata -mona -ka , wati
 COMIT take out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M arrow
 vt nm

'They were walking around. He came back. He got arrows.'

11 *Wati* *kakiti* , *wati* , *titisa* *nabati*
 wati ka- iti+M , wati , ti- tisa nabati
 arrow COMIT take out arrow DUP shoot with arrow curve
 nm vt nm nf pn

kayabatimatamonaka .
 ka- yabati -himata -mona -ka
 COMIT pull down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'He got arrows. He increased the tension of the bow.'

12 *Titisa* *nabati* *kayabati* , *wati* *tafowe* *soba*
 ti- tisa nabati kayabati+M , wati tafowe soba
 DUP shoot with arrow curve pull tense arrow wrapped pull out
 nf pn vt nm pn vt

towiti , *wati*
 to- na -witI+M , wati
 away AUX out arrow
 aux nm

kakibarematamonaka *ahi* .
 ka- iba -rI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 COMIT set down raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt dem

'He increased the tension of bow. He took the arrows out of the holder. He lay the arrows on top of some poles.'

13 *Wati* *kakibare* , *mera* *noki* *ne* , *mowara*
 wati ka- iba -rI , mera noki na+M , Mowara
 arrow COMIT set down raised surface 3PL.O wait for AUX Mowara
 nm vt pron vt aux npropm

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me kakemetemone , **nokobi kakitibana** **ahi**
 me ka -kI -hemete -mone , nokobi ka- iti -hibana ahi
 3PL.S go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F door COMMIT take out FUT+M then
 pron vi nf vt dem

'He put the arrows on top of the poles, and waited for them. The Mowaras came. One of them wanted to take the door out.'

14 **Nokobi kakitibona** **bako sa**
 nokobi ka- iti -hibona bako saa
 door COMMIT take out INT+M chest+M shoot with arrow
 nf vt pn vt

hikanematamona **ahi** , **kasohibana** **ahi**
 hi- ka- na -himata -mona ahi , ka- sona -hibana ahi
 OC COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M then COMMIT fall FUT+M then
 aux dem vi dem

'As he started to take the door out, he hit him with an arrow in the chest, and he fell.'

15 **Kaso** **kasohimatamonaka** **ahi** , **bako**
 ka- sona+M ka- sona -himata -mona -ka ahi , bako
 COMMIT fall COMMIT fall FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then chest+M
 vi dem pn

sa **hikanari**
 saa hi- ka- na -haari
 shoot with arrow OC COMMIT AUX IP.E+M
 vt aux

'He fell, because he had hit him in the chest.'

16 **Faya yama me tisa** **nemetemoneke** **ahi** ,
 faya yama me tisa na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 so thing 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 conj nf pron vt aux dem

yobe me tisa **na mati ahi**
 yobe me tisa na+F mati ahi
 house 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.S then
 nm pron vt aux pron dem

'Then they shot arrows at the house.'

17 **Botoririri** **me ka hato moni**
 botoririri me ka hato moni
 (sound of many arrow shafts) 3PL POSS bamboo sp make sound
 sound pron prt nf vt

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

'"Botoririri," went their bamboo arrow shafts.'

18 **Faya yobe me tisa** **nemetemoneke**
 faya yobe me tisa na -hemete -mone -ke
 so house 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj nm pron vt aux

'They shot arrows at the house.'

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19 *Yobe me tisa na me , me tisa*
 yobe me tisa na+F me , me tisa
 house 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S shoot with arrow
 nm pron vt aux pron pron vt

hinehemetemone ahi , manakobisa , fati
 hi- na -hemete -mone ahi , manako -bisa , fati
 OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F then revenge also 3SG.POSS.wife
 aux dem nf nf

fati nabati , mowara me hekabemetemone ,
 fati nabati , Mowara me hi- ka- kaba -hemete -mone ,
 3SG.POSS.wife stomach Mowara 3PL.S OC COMIT eat FP.N+F REP+F
 nf pn npropm pron vt

yayawa toahari
 ya- yawa to- ha -haari
 DUP be upset CH AUX IP.E+M
 vi aux

'They shot arrows at the house. He also shot them with arrows, in revenge, because the Mowaras had eaten his wife when she was pregnant, and he had grieved ever since.'

20 *Yayawa toe , wati nanawari tohe*
 ya- yawa to- ha+M , wati na- na- waa -rI to- ha+M
 DUP be upset CH AUX arrow DUP CAUS stand raised surface CH AUX
 vi aux nm vt aux

wati nanawari toematamonaka wati
 wati na- na- waa -rI to- ha -himata -mona -ka wati
 arrow DUP CAUS stand raised surface CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M arrow
 nm vt aux nm

katamari ahi , mowara me tanibonehe
 ka- tama -haari ahi , Mowara me tani -bone -he
 COMIT be many IP.E+M then Mowara 3PL.POSS weapon against INT+F DUP
 vi dem npropm pron pn

'He had grieved a long time. He had put points on arrows. He put points on many arrows, to kill the Mowaras with.'

21 *Mowara me tisa nematamonaka ahi , me*
 Mowara me tisa na -himata -mona -ka ahi , me
 Mowara 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then 3PL.S
 npropm pron vt aux dem pron

tisa ni kawahaba mati , bahi biti ya
 tisa na.NFIN ka- waha -haba mati , bahi biti ya
 shoot with arrow AUX COMIT dawn FUT+F 3PL.POSS sun small+M ADJU
 result aux vi pron nm adj prt

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He shot the Mowaras with arrows all night long, until morning.'

22 *Me abemetemoneke , me nafi*
 me ahaba -hemete -mone -ke , me nafi
 3PL.S die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS all
 pron vi pron pn

'They all died.'

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23 *Me nafi abemetemoneke*
 me nafi ahaba -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.POSS all die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pn vi

'They all died.'

24 *Faya mowara biti waiyeno , hiwasi , fare me*
 faya Mowara biti wahiya -hino , hi- wasi+M , fare me
 so Mowara 3SG.POSS.son hide IP.N+M OC find same+M 3PL
 conj npropm nm vi vt dem pron

ka abi me tani ya , tani bete
 ka abi me tani ya , tani bete
 POSS father 3PL.POSS weapon against ADJU weapon against pull
 prt nm pron pn vt vt

hina me tani ya sa
 hi- na+F me tani ya saa
 OC AUX 3PL.POSS weapon against ADJU shoot with arrow
 aux pron pn prt vt

hikanematamonaka
 hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'He found a Mowara boy hiding, and he pulled out an arrow from the others and shot him with it.'

25 *Aaa , aaa ati nematamonaka ahi*
 aaa , aaa ati na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 (cry of pain) (cry of pain) say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 interj interj vt aux dem

'"Aaa, aaa," he said.'

26 *Ati ahaba , bati waiyeno yora*
 ati ahaba.LIST , bati wahiya -hino yora
 voice die 3SG.POSS.father hide IP.N+M jump
 pn vi nm vi vi

nariwematamona ahi
 na -riwaha -himata -mona ahi
 AUX across FP.N+M REP+M then
 aux dem

'He became quiet. His father, who was hiding, jumped up.'

27 *Okatao sa kane*
 okatao saa ka- na+M
 my son shoot with arrow COMIT AUX
 nm vt aux

'"He shot my son."

28 *Yomahi yomahi tiye watatiyahi yomahi , ati*
 yomahi yomahi ti- yehe wata -tee -yahi yomahi , ati
 jaguar jaguar 2SG.POSS hand exist HAB DIST.IMP+F jaguar say
 nm nm pn vi nm vt

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

'"Jaguar, Jaguar, come in the future and avenge [the death of my son]," he said.'

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29 **Mowara kana ni tokomematamonaka ahi**
 Mowara kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi
 Mowara run AUX away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 npropm vi aux vi dem
 'The Mowara man went running away.'

30 **Kana ni tokome , mowara me ahabi ya**
 kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma+M , Mowara me ahaba.NOM+F ya
 run AUX away go/come back Mowara 3PL.S end ADJU
 vi aux vi npropm pron vi prt
yana tonematamonaka
 yana to- na -himata -mona -ka
 start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux
 'He went running away. After the Mowaras died, he left.'

31 **Yana tone , mati ha ne , mati**
 yana to- na+M , mati haa na+M , mati
 start CH AUX 3SG.POSS.mother call AUX 3SG.POSS.mother
 vi aux nf vt aux nf
towakamakimatamonaka ahi
 to- ka- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 away COMIT go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt dem
 'He was ready to leave. He called his mother. He took his mother.'

32 **Towakamaki kobo**
 to- ka- ka -makI kobo
 away COMIT go/come following arrive
 vt vi
tonamakematamonane fara me one ni ya ,
 to- na -makI -himata -mona -ne fara me one ni ya
 away AUX following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M same+F 3PL other+F to ADJU
 aux dem pron adj prt prt
me one wina me ni ya
 me one wina+F me ni ya
 3PL other+F live 3PL to ADJU
 pron adj vi pron prt prt
 'He took her. He arrived where others of their group lived.'⁴³

33 **Kobo tonamake , faya mowara mera kamine , Mowara**
 kobo to- na -makI , faya Mowara mera kamina+M , Mowara
 arrive away AUX following so Mowara 3PL.O tell Mowara
 vi aux conj npropm pron vt npropm
me abarake
 me ahaba -hara -ke
 3PL.S die IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vi
 'He arrived. He told about the Mowaras. "The Mowaras died."'

34 **Me te towamene me te**
 me tee to- awa -ma -hene me tee
 3PL.O 2PL.S away see back IRR+F 3PL.O 2PL.S
 pron pron vt pron pron

43 The object NP *mati* 'his mother' is missing in the first clause.

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towamariyahi

to- awa -ma -ra -yahi
away see back NEG DIST.IMP+F
vt

"Don't go look at them."

35 *Me onahabiharake ati nematamonaka*
me o- na- ahaba -hara -ke ati na -himata -mona -ka
3PL.O 1SG.S CAUS die IP.E+F DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
pron vt vt aux

"I killed them," he said.'

36 *Me nafi ahabarake*
me nafi ahaba -hara -ke
3PL.POSS all die IP.E+F DECL+F
pron pn vi

"They all died."

37 *Faya sasawiwa toematamonaka me ni ya*
faya sa- sawi -waha to- ha -himata -mona -ka me ni ya
so DUP be present change CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL to ADJU
conj vi aux pron prt prt

'Then he stayed with them.'

38 *Sawi me wiwinawa toi ya faya mowara*
sawi+M me wi- wina -waha to- ha.NOM+F ya faya Mowara
be present 3PL.S DUP live change CH AUX ADJU so Mowara
vi pron vi aux prt conj npropm
me one kamakitasa me me ihi
me one ka -makI -tasa+F me me ihi
3PL other+F go/come following again 3PL.S 3PL.POSS victim of+F
pron adj vi pron pron pn

itiremetemoneke fero
iti -ra -hemete -mone -ke faaro
exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F
vi dem

'He stayed. After they lived there a long time, other Mowaras came. They didn't kill people.'

39 *Me me tisa nemetemoneke fero*
me me tisa na -hemete -mone -ke faaro
3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F
pron pron vt aux dem

'They shot them with arrows.'

40 *Me abemetemoneke fa mati me nafi*
me ahaba -hemete -mone -ke faa mati me nafi
3PL.S die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that 3PL 3PL.POSS all
pron vi dem pron pron pn

'Those people all died.'

41 *Me nafi abemetemoneke fero me me*
me nafi ahaba -hemete -mone -ke faaro me me
3PL.POSS all die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F 3PL.O 3PL.S
pron pn vi dem pron pron

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tisa *hina* *mati* , *me* *tami* *karo*
 tisa hi- na+F mati , me tama.NOM+F karo
 shoot with arrow OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S be many because
 vt aux pron pron vi prt
 'They all died, because they shot them with arrows, since there were many of them.'

42 *Faya* *me* *me* , *tisa* *hina* *me* *aba* *me*
 faya me me , tisa hi- na+F me ahaba+F me
 so 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX 3PL.S die 3PL.S
 conj pron pron vt aux pron vi pron
 , *me* *me* *tonakamaki*
 me me to- na- ka -makI
 3PL.O 3PL.S away CAUS go/come following
 pron pron vt

hiaremetemoneke

hi- to- ha -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 OC CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'They shot them with arrows, and they died. They didn't go after them.'

43 *Me* *ahababisene* , *me* *me* *aawa*
 me ahaba -bisa -hene , me me a- awa
 3PL.S die also IRR+F 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP see
 pron vi pron pron vt

hiaremeteni

hi- to- ha -ra -hemete -ni
 OC CH AUX NEG FP.N+F BKG+F
 aux

'They would have died, but they didn't pay them back.'

44 *Me* *mowara* *me* *me* , *ahabatasa* *me fanawi* *nafi* *ahabatasa*
 me Mowara me me , ahaba -tasa+F me fanawi nafi ahaba -tasa+F
 3PL Mowara 3PL 3PL.S die again women all die again
 pron npropm pron pron vi nf pn vi

'Other Mowaras died. All the women died.'

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Free Translation

This story is about the Yima Indians. This is the village [Santana, an old Jarawara village] where the Yimas killed people. They went and got the Bato Yafi [i.e. Banawá] people [to help them fight the Yimas] and came back and arrived back. They came back. "I used to eat my cousin's food. I'm going to get revenge for my cousin [who was killed by the Yimas]," he said. So he set out to get revenge for his cousin. He called the others to go along. He took them. They killed people far away, downstream.

Then the Yimas came to fight against them. Their weapons were spears. They didn't have arrows. The Yimas speared them with spears.

Then he [a Jarawara] went out hunting. He started back. He shot some animals with a blowgun. He covered up the animals in the forest. He went on and shot some more animals with the blowgun, and covered them up. He went on and shot some more animals. He tied them by their waists. He tied the animals along the trail as he came home. [The monkeys were tied in series by their waists, and the whole string was held on the man's back by a band around his forehead.] He came back.

He didn't like the woman, who he was to marry. [But he had to marry her, because they were the only two Jarawaras left.] She went after him in the forest. The Yimas had shot them with arrows. The Yima shot her with an arrow, and she fell. But she wasn't dead. She lay there alive. She smeared herself all over with her menstrual blood. The Yima looked at her as she lay there. She appeared to take a long time to die, but then appeared to die. He poked something into her nostril, so she would sneeze. He really poked her nostril. He poked her, but she just lay there as if she were dead. But she wasn't dead. He hit her repeatedly with a piece of wood [to see if she would cry out]. "I think she's dead," he said.

"Where is my knife?" he called to the others. It was to cut her up with.

"We are all carrying game," they said. [They were loaded down with dead Jarawaras, and didn't want to stop.]

"Bring a knife for me." He changed his mind and went. He looked at her [wondering whether she had really died], and then got some logs. He covered her with the logs. He held her down with the logs. He looked at her again, and then left.

He went. "Haloo," he said.

"We are going home. We got game," they said. They left.

He didn't bring the knife back. He came back. As he was coming back, she threw off the logs. She went running away. She went into a hole in the ground. She quickly got a leaf and put it over the mouth of the hole. She stayed inside.

He came back, and then cried out in anger. "Oh, no! I didn't realize my game was going to go away!" he said. "My game, that I was going to eat!" He stopped crying out.

Then he called the girl, making believe he was her mother. "Hata, Hata, the Yimas have gone." But it was the Yima himself who was calling.

He looked for her but couldn't find her. When it was getting dark, he went after the others. He argued with them. He criticized them. "You didn't bring a knife for me, and my game went

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away. I got mad and came after you," he said. He yelled at them.

Meanwhile, the one the Jarawara didn't like went to him. She waited for him at the place where the game were covered up. He came, carrying the other game. When he saw her, he averted his glance.

"Go ahead, don't look at me. Our parents are dead. The Yimas killed our parents," she said. "They killed and then went away," she said.

He grabbed some arrows, and went running back to the village. He arrived. He called out. He called the Yimas. He went after them and called. He came back. He went back to where the woman was in the forest.

"Bring my ball of twine for making hammocks. The ball of twine is hanging there where I always sit," she said. He heard what she said and went back and took down the twine. He came back carrying the ball of twine.

He cut up the game during the night after he got back. He roasted the game during the night. He roasted the game until they were done, and called his wife, his wife-to-be. He ate with her as her husband. "Dare I eat what you killed with your arrow poison?" she asked. [She was menstruating, and was afraid this would make the unused arrow poison ineffectual.]

"Go ahead and eat what the poison killed. That batch of poison is all gone," he said. [When he would make a new batch, there was no danger of her period ruining it.] So his wife ate. They ate. His wife weaved a hammock at night, they didn't have a hammock. They slept in it a little while. Morning came. They ate in the morning, and left.

They went and lived in another place. He had children. He had two sons. He had children again, two more sons. Then he had daughters. After his daughters came last, after he had their coming out feast, he told his sons to marry them. "Marry your younger sisters. There is no one to marry. Marry your younger sisters," he said, ordering his daughters also to marry. He told his own sons to marry. He told his sons to marry, and they married their sisters. After they had children, their children married each other. Then their numbers increased again. They all got married, and he had his sons marry, and they married.

Interlinear Presentation

1 *Yima mati* .
 yima mati
 Yima 3PL
 npropm pron
 'The Yimas.'

2 *Yima me ihi iti na toemetemone*
 yima me ihi iti.LIST , na to- ha -hemete -mone
 Yima 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 npropm pron pn vi aux aux
me tabori amake haro
 me tabori ama -ke haaro
 3PL.POSS place+F be DECL+F that one+F
 pron pn vc dem
 'This is the village where the Yimas killed people.'

3 *Ee , bato yafi me me me me , me me bato yafi me*
 ee , bato yafi me me me me , me me bato yafi me
 (pause) Banawá 3PL 3PL 3PL 3PL 3PL 3PL Banawá 3PL
 interj npropm pron pron pron pron pron pron npropm pron

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me , *me* *tokoma* *me* , *bato yafi* *me* *me* ,
 me , me to- ka -ma+F me , bato yafi me me ,
 3PL 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S Banawá 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron pron vi pron npropm pron pron
totiwite *me* *kama* *me* , *me* *kama*
 to- iti -witI me ka -ma+F me , me ka -ma+F
 away pick up out 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come back
 vt pron vi pron pron vi
me *kobo* *nama* *me* *kobo* *namemetemoneke*
 me kobo na -ma+F me kobo na -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S arrive AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux pron vi aux

'They went and got the Bato Yafis and came back and arrived back.'

4 *Kobo* *nama* *me* , *Okati* ,
 kobo na -ma+F me , o- ka ati ,
 arrive AUX back 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS older female parallel cousin
 vi aux pron nf

okati *tafe* *okobate* ,
 o- ka ati tafe o- kaba -tee ,
 1SG.POSS POSS older female parallel cousin food+F 1SG.S eat HAB
 nf pn vt

okati
 o- ka ati
 1SG.POSS POSS older female parallel cousin
 nf

okati *tafe* *okobate* *ama*
 o- ka ati tafe o- kaba -tee ama
 1SG.POSS POSS older female parallel cousin food+F 1SG.S eat HAB SEC
 nf pn vt sec

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

'They came back. "I used to eat my cousin's food. I used to eat my cousin's food.'"

5 *Okati* *manakone* *owabana*
 o- ka ati manakone o- awa -habana
 1SG.POSS POSS older female parallel cousin revenge 1SG.S avenge FUT+F
 nf pn vt

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

'"I am going to get revenge for my cousin," he said.'

6 *Faya* , *hinakati* *manakone* *awebona*
 faya , hinaka ati manakone awa -hibona
 so 3SG.POSS older female parallel cousin price avenge INT+M
 conj nf pn vt

yana *tonematamonane*
 yana to- na -himata -mona -ne
 start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi aux

'So he set out to get revenge for his cousin.'

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7 **Mera hima nematamonaka**
 mera hima na -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.O call to go AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt aux

'He called the others to go along.'

8 **Mera hima ne , mera hima ne mera**
 mera hima na+M , mera hima na+M mera
 3PL.O call to go AUX 3PL.O call to go AUX 3PL.O
 pron vt aux pron vt aux pron

towake , me ihi itimetemone
 to- ka- ka+M , me ihi iti.NOM -mete -mone
 away COMIT go/come 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist FP.N+F REP+F
 vt pron pn vi

amake ahi hike ya tokisami ya ahi
 ama -ke ahi hike ya to- ka -risa -ma.NOM+F ya ahi
 be DECL+F there far ADJU away go/come down back ADJU there
 vc dem nf prt vi prt dem

'He called them, and took them. They killed people far away, downstream.'

9 **Faya me ihi itimetemone fahi**
 faya me ihi iti -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron pn vi dem

'They killed people.'

10 **Haha , yima mebisa , yima mebisa me , me me**
 haaha , yima me -bisa , yima me -bisa me , me me
 this+F Yima 3PL also Yima 3PL also 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S
 dem npropm pron npropm pron pron pron pron

mowa nabone me kake me
 mowa na -habone me ka -kI me
 fight AUX INT+F 3PL.S go/come coming 3PL.S
 vt aux pron vi pron

wabisemetemoneke furo
 wabise -mete -mone -ke faaro
 spear FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F
 nf dem

'The Yimas came to fight against them. They were spears.'

11 **Wati amarematamonaka**
 wati ama -ra -himata -mona -ka
 arrow be NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vc

'They weren't arrows.'

12 **Wabise ya me me saka nemetemoneke**
 wabise ya me me saka na -hemete -mone -ke
 spear ADJU 3PL.O 3PL.S pierce repeatedly AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf prt pron pron vt aux

yima mati yima
 yima mati yima
 Yima 3PL Yima
 npropm pron npropm

'They speared them with spears, the Yimas.'

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13	Faya	me	,	i		itia	me	yama	,	yama	yete		
	faya	me		ih		iti+F	me	yama		yama	yete		
	so	3PL.POSS		victim of+F		exist	3PL.POSS	thing		thing	hunt		
	conj	pron		pn		vi	pron	nf		nf	vt		
	nebona			tokabise				toke		yama	yete	ne	
	na	-hibona		to- ka		-bisa+M		to- ka+M		yama	yete	na+M	
	AUX	INT+M		away go/come		also		away go/come		thing	hunt	AUX	
	aux			vi				vi		nf	vt	aux	
	kame			bani		me		fora		ne		bani	me
	ka	-ma+M		bani		me		fora		na+M		bani	me
	go/come	back		animal		3PL.O		shoot with blowgun		AUX		animal	3PL.O
	vi			nm		pron		vt		aux		nm	pron
	fora			ne		bani		me		yoto		kane	
	fora			na+M		bani		me		yoto		ka- na+M	
	shoot with blowgun			AUX		animal		3PL.O		cover		COMIT AUX	
	vt			aux		nm		pron		vt		aux	
	tokawe			bani		me		fora		tase		bani	
	to- ka			-waha+M		bani		me		fora		na	-tasa+M
	away go/come			change		animal		3PL.O		shoot with blowgun		AUX	again
	vi			nm		pron		vt		aux		aux	again
	me			yoto		katase		faya		tokawe		bani	me
	me			yoto		ka- na		-tasa+M		faya		to- ka	
	3PL.O			cover		COMIT		AUX		again		-waha+M	
	pron			vt		aux		so		away go/come		change	
								conj		vi		nm	3PL
	one			fora		ne		bani		me		tos	
	one			fora		na+M		bani		me		tos	
	other+F			shoot with blowgun		AUX		animal		3PL.POSS		waist	
	adj			vt		aux		nm		pron		pn	
	karabe			kame		bani		me		karaba			
	ka-			raba+M		ka		-ma+M		bani		me	
	COMIT			lash together		go/come		back		animal		3PL.O	
	vt			vi		nm		pron		vt		COMIT	lash together
	namahite					kamematamonaka							
	na			-ma		-hitI		ka		-ma		-himata	
	AUX			back		along the way		go/come		back		FP.N+M	
	aux							vi				REP+M	
												DECL+M	

'They killed people. He went out. He went out hunting. He came back. He shot some animals with a blowgun. He shot animals with a blowgun. He covered up the animals. He went on and shot some more animals with the blowgun, and covered them up. He went on and shot some more animals. He tied the animals by their waists as he came back. He tied the animals as he came along.'

14	Kame			haha		nonofa		hiara		nonofa			
	ka			-ma+M		haaha		no- nofa		hi- to- ha		-ra+F	
	go/come			back		this+F		DUP like		OC		CH	
	vi			dem		vt		aux		AUX		NEG	
	hiaremetemoneke							faro		hitihabonehe			
	hi-			to-		ha		-ra		-hemete		-mone	
	OC			CH		AUX		NEG		FP.N+F		REP+F	
	aux							DECL+F		that+F		OC	
								dem		vt		marry	
												INT+F	
												DUP	

'He came back. He didn't like the woman, who he was to marry.'

15	Nonofa			hiaremetemoneni									
	no-			nofa		hi-		to-		ha		-ra	
	DUP			like		OC		CH		AUX		NEG	
	vt			aux				FP.N+F		REP+F		BKG+F	

'He didn't like her.'

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16 *Hitihabone* *nonofa* *hiara* , *ee* , *nowati*
 hi- iti -habone no- nofa hi- to- ha -ra+F , ee , nowati
 OC marry INT+F DUP like OC CH AUX NEG (pause) after
 vt vt aux interj pn

ya , *tokomaketemoneke* *faro* .
 ya to- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke faaro
 ADJU away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F
 prt vi dem

'He didn't like the woman he was to marry. She went after him.'

17 *Me* *me* , *me* *me* *tisa* *hinemetemoneke*
 me me me me tisa hi- na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pron pron pron vt aux

'They had shot them with arrows.'

18 *Me* *me* *sa* *hikana* , *wati* *ya* *yima*
 me me saa hi- ka- na+F , wati ya yima
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX arrow ADJU Yima
 pron pron vt aux nm prt npropm

sa *hikana* , *yima* *sa* *hikana*
 saa hi- ka- na+F , yima saa hi- ka- na+F
 shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX Yima shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX
 vt aux npropm vt aux

, *sonehemetemoneke* *ahi* .
 , sona -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 fall FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

'They shot them. The Yima shot her with an arrow, and she fell.'

19 *Sonaha* *ahabaraharo* .
 sona+F ahaba -ra -haaro
 fall die NEG IP.E+F
 vi vi

'She fell, but she wasn't dead.'

20 *Ahabara* *yati* *yati* *homemetemoneke* *ahi* ,
 ahaba+F -ra+F yati yati homa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 die NEG alive alive lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi adj adj vi dem

hinaka *yama noko* *emene* *ya* *hine* *kese*
 hinaka yama noko emene ya hine kese
 3SG.POSS vagina blood+M ADJU 3.REFL spread something on
 pron nm pn prt pron vt

tonikimahabana *ahi* .
 to- na -kima -habana ahi
 CH AUX spread out FUT+F then
 aux dem

'She wasn't dead, she lay there alive. She smeared herself all over with the blood of her vagina.'

21 *Hine* *kese* *tonikimehemetemoneke* *hinaka*
 hine kese to- na -kima -hemete -mone -ke hinaka
 3.REFL spread something on CH AUX two FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3SG.POSS
 pron vt aux pron

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yama noko emene ya
 yama noko emene ya
 vagina blood+M ADJU
 nm pn prt

'She smeared herself all over with the blood of her vagina.'

22 *Homa yima ki hina yima ki hina*
 homa+F yima kii hi- na+F , yima kii hi- na+F
 lie on ground Yima look at OC AUX Yima look at OC AUX
 vi npropm vt aux npropm vt aux

abi watora abemetemoneke
 ahaba.NFIN wato -ra+F , ahaba -hemete -mone -ke
 die know NEG die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi vt vi

'The Yima looked at her as she lay there. He looked at her. She took a long time to die, but then died.'

23 *Witi hoti kawa hinehemetemoneke ahi hatisa*
 witi hoti kawa hi- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi , hatisa
 nose hole+F thrust OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then sneeze
 pn pn vt aux dem vi

nabonehe
 na -habone -he
 AUX INT+F DUP
 aux

'He poked something into her nostril, so she would sneeze.'

24 *Witi hoti kawakawa hinemetemone ahi*
 witi hoti kawa- kawa hi- na -hemete -mone ahi
 nose hole+F DUP thrust OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 pn pn vt aux dem

'He really poked her nostril.'

25 *Kawa hina ahaahaba homemetemoneke*
 kawa hi- na+F aha- ahaba , homa -hemete -mone -ke
 thrust OC AUX DUP die lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux vi vi

abaro ahi ahabaraharo ahabara ahi
 ahaba -haaro ahi , ahaba -ra -haaro , ahabara -ra+F ahi
 die IP.E+F then die NEG IP.E+F die NEG then
 vi dem vi vi dem

'He poked her, but she just lay there, as if dead. But she wasn't dead.'

26 *Awa ya awa ya baro hina baro hina baro*
 awa ya , awa ya baro hi- na+F baro hi- na+F baro
 wood ADJU wood ADJU beat OC AUX beat OC AUX beat
 nf prt nf prt vt aux vt aux vt

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

'He hit her with a piece of wood. He hit her. He hit her.'

27 *Baro hina Aba awineke*
 baro hi- na+F ahaba+F awine -ke
 beat OC AUX die seem+F DECL+F
 vt aux vi sec

'He hit her. "I think she's dead."'

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yafa
yafa
put something on top of
vt

hikana
hi- ka- na+F
OC COMIT AUX
aux

hekatomama
hi- ka- katoma -ma+F
OC COMIT look at back
vt

hekatomi
hi- katoma.NOM+F
OC look at
vt

ya
ya
ADJU
prt

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

'He held her down, he held her down with the logs. He looked at her again, and then left.'

35 **Tokomake**
to- ka -makI
away go/come following
vi

Eee
eee
yoohoo
interj

ati
ati
say
vt

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

'He went. "Haloo," he said.'

36 **Ati ne**
ati na+M
say AUX
vt

Ota tokomini
otaa to- ka -ma -ni
1EX.S away go/come back BKG+F
pron vi

'He said. "We are going home."'

37 **Ota tokomini**
otaa to- ka -ma -ni
1EX.S away go/come back BKG+F
pron vi

"We are going home."

38 **Ota hona**
otaa hona+F
1EX.S have something
pron vi

otani
otaa -ni
1EX.S BKG+F
pron

me
me
3PL.S
pron

ati nemetemoneke
ati na -hemete -mone -ke
say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vt aux

"We have game," they said.'

39 **Me tokoma**
me to- ka -ma+F
3PL.S away go/come back
pron vi

me
me
3PL.S
pron

yimawa
yimawa
knife
nf

kakamarematamonaka
ka- ka -ma -ra -himata -mona -ka
COMIT go/come back NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vt

'They left. He didn't bring the knife back.'

40 **Wete namematamonaka**
wete na -ma -himata -mona -ka
return AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi aux

'He turned back.'

41 **Wete name**
wete na -ma+M
return AUX back
vi

kame
ka -ma+M
go/come back
vi

kame
ka -ma+M
go/come back
vi

awa bote were
awa bote were
tree old throw
nf adj vt

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nemetemoneke

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

'He turned back. As he was coming back, she threw off the logs.'

42 *Awa* *bote* *were* *na* *kana* *ni* *toka* , *hoti* *waha*
 awa bote were na+F kana na.NFIN to- ka+F , hoti waa+F
 tree old throw AUX run AUX away go/come hole stand
 nf adj vt aux vi aux vi nf vi

ya tokiyometemoneke

ya to- ka -yoma -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 ADJU away go/come through FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 prt vi dem

'She threw off the logs and went running away. She went into a hole in the ground.'

43 *Tokiyoma* , *waso* , *waso* *itikabote* *na* *waso*
 to- ka -yoma+F , waso , waso iti -kabote na+F waso
 away go/come through leaf leaf pick up quickly AUX leaf
 vi nf nf vt aux nf

ibariemetemoneke

iba -rI -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 set down raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt dem

'She went in. She got a leaf quickly and put it on top.'

44 *Waso* *itikabote* *na* *waso* *ibaria* *foya*
 waso iti -kabote na+F waso iba -rI+F foya+F
 leaf pick up quickly AUX leaf set down raised surface be inside
 nf vt aux nf vt vi

foya kamehimatamonaka

foya+F , ka -ma -himata -mona -ka , hora *nebana*
 be inside go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M , hour exclam AUX FUT+M
 vi vi vi aux

'She got a leaf quickly and put it on top and stayed inside. He came back, and cried out in anger.'

45 *Kame* *hora* *tasematamonaka*
 ka -ma+M hora na -tasa -himata -mona -ka
 go/come back exclam AUX again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi aux

'He came back, and complained again.'

46 *Aha* , *oka* *bani* *fawa* *neba* *ama*
 aha , o- ka bani fawa na -hiba ama
 (unpleasant surprise) 1SG.POSS POSS animal disappear AUX FUT+M be
 interj prt nm vi aux vc

nanoho ati nematamonaka

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

'"Oh, no! I didn't realize my game was going to go away!" he said.'

47 *Oka* *bani* *okobebona* *one* *oka*
 o- ka bani o- kaba -hibona ati o- na+M o- ka
 1SG.POSS POSS animal 1SG.S eat INT+M say 1SG.S AUX 1SG.POSS POSS
 prt nm vt vt prt

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bani

bani
animal
nm

"My game, that I was going to eat."

48 **Faya hora ne ati fawa ne , ati fawa**
faya hora na+M ati fawa na+M , ati fawa
so exclaim AUX voice stop AUX voice stop
conj vi aux pn vi aux pn vi

nematamonaka

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

'He stopped crying out. He became quiet.'

49 **Ati fawa ne , matimone ha nebanoho**
ati fawa na+M , mati -mone haa na -hiba -no -ho ,
voice stop AUX 3SG.POSS.mother REP+F call AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
pn vi aux nf vi aux

ha hinabanihi

haa hi- na -haba -ni -hi
call OC AUX FUT+F IP.N+F DUP
vt aux

'He was quiet, and then he called the girl, making believe he was her mother.'

50 **Hata , Hata , Hata yima me**
Hata Hata Hata yima me
(woman's name) (woman's name) (woman's name) Yima 3PL.S
npropf npropf npropf npropm pron

tokomini

to- ka -ma -ni
away go/come back BKG+F
vi

"Hata, Hata, the Yimas have gone."

51 **Fare yima , fare yimamatamonaka ha nari**
fare yima , fare yima -mata -mona -ka , haa na -haari
same+M Yima same+M Yima FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M call AUX IP.E+M
dem npropm dem nm vi aux

'It was the Yima himself who was calling.'

52 **Fare yima ha ne , faya siba hina siba hina**
fare yima haa na+M , faya siba hi- na+F siba hi- na+F
same+M Yima call AUX so look for OC AUX look for OC AUX
dem npropm vi aux conj vt aux vt aux

hiwasira

hi- wasi -ra+F , bahi ahaba -mako bahi
OC find NEG sun end for this reason+M sun
vt nm vi nm

ahabamako

ahaba -mako faya tokomakematamonaka
end for this reason+M faya to- ka -maki -himata -mona -ka
vi conj vi so away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

'The Yima himself was calling. He looked for her. He looked for her but couldn't find her. When the sun went down, he went after the others.'

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53 *Tokomakematamonane*

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

'He went after the others.'

54 *Tokomake*

to- ka -makI , *mera* *katomebanoho*
away go/come following 3PL.O attack FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
vi pron vt

'He went after the others. He yelled at them.'

55 *Mera hora nematamonaka*

mera *hora* *na* -himata -mona -ka *ahi*
3PL.O scold AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
pron vt aux dem

'He criticized them.'

56 *Oko*

o- ka *yimawaba* *te* *kakamara* *oko*
1SG.POSS POSS knife FUT 2PL.S COMIT go/come back NEG 1SG.POSS POSS
prt nf pron vt prt

bani

bani , *fawa* *ne* *oyawa* *okomakine*
animal disappear AUX 1SG.S be upset 1SG.S go/come following CONT+F
nm vi aux vi vi

oke

o- ke , *ati* *nematamonaka*
1SG.S DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
prt vt aux

"You didn't bring a knife for me, and my game went away. I got mad and came after you," he said.'

57 *Faya*

mera *katome* *haha* , *haha* *nonofa* *hiara* *he*
faya *mera* *katoma*+M *haaha* , *haaha* *no- nofa* *hi- to- ha* -ra+F *hee*
so 3PL.O attack this+F this+F DUP like OC CH AUX NEG 3SG
conj pron vt dem dem vt aux pron

ni

tokomake , *bani* *me* *yoto* *kani* *ya*
ni to- ka -makI , *bani* *me* *yoto* *kani* *na*.NOM+F *ya*
to away go/come following animal 3PL.S cover COMIT AUX ADJU
prt vi nm pron result aux prt

he

noki *nemetemoneke* *ahi*
hee *noki* *na* -hemete -mone -ke *ahi*
3SG.O wait for AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
pron vt aux dem

'He yelled at them. The one he didn't like went to him. She waited for him at the place where the game were covered up.'

58 *He*

noki *na* , *kame* *kamematamonaka*
hee *noki* *na*+F , *ka* -ma+M *ka* -ma -himata -mona -ka
3SG.O wait for AUX go/come back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
pron vt aux vi vi

bani

me *one* *weye* *nari*
bani *me* *one* *weye* *na* -haari
animal 3PL other+F carry AUX IP.E+M
nm pron adj vt aux

'She waited for him. He came, carrying the other game.'

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59 *Kame* , *hiwaha* , *hiwaha* *sero*
 ka -ma+M , hi- awa+F , hi- awa+F sero
 go/come back OC see OC see avert one's glance from
 vi vt vt vt

hinemetemoneke

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

'He came. He saw her. He saw her, and averted his glance.'

60 *Sero* *hina* , *Owa* *sero*
 sero hi- na+F , owa sero
 avert one's glance from OC AUX 1SG.O avert one's glance from
 vt aux pron vt

tinahi

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

'He averted his glance. "Go ahead, avert your glance from me."'

61 *E e ka abi me watamara ereni*
 ee ee ka abi me wata -ma -ra+F ere -ni
 1IN 1IN POSS father 3PL.S exist back NEG 1IN.POSS BKG+F
 pron pron prt nm pron vi pron

""Our parents are not anymore.""

62 *E ka abi me yima me me hikatomaharani*
 ee ka abi me yima me me hi- katoma -hara -ni
 1IN POSS father 3PL Yima 3PL.O 3PL.S OC look at IP.E+F BKG+F
 pron prt nm pron npropm pron pron vt

ati nemetemoneke

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

""The Yimas killed our parents," she said.'

63 *Faya me , me ihi me ihi itiha me*
 faya me , me ihi me ihi itih+F me
 so 3PL 3PL.POSS victim of+F 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist 3PL.S
 conj pron pron pn pron pn vi pron

tokomarani

to- ka -ma -hara -ni ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come back IP.E+F BKG+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi vt aux

""They killed and went away," she said.'

64 *Faya wati kakiti kana ni tokomematamona*
 faya wati ka- iti+M kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma -himata -mona
 so arrow COMIT pick up run AUX away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M
 conj nm vt vi aux vi

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

'He grabbed some arrows, and went running.'

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65 *Kana ni tokome* , *kobo kobo*
 kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma+M , kobo kobo
 run AUX away go/come back arrive arrive
 vi aux vi vi vi

tonamematamonaka

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

'He went running. He arrived.'

66 *Kobo toname ha ne yima me ha ne* ,
 kobo to- na -ma+M haa na+M yima me haa na+M
 arrive away AUX back call AUX Yima 3PL.O call AUX
 vi aux vi aux npropm pron vt aux

tokomake ha tonamake wete name
 to- ka -makI haa to- na -makI wete na -ma+M
 away go/come following call away AUX following return AUX back
 vi vi aux vi aux vi aux

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

'He arrived, and called out. He called the Yimas. He went after them and called. He came back. He went back.'

67 *Tokome Oka yifo noko oka*
 to- ka -ma+M , o- ka yifo noko , o- ka
 away go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS hammock ball+M 1SG.POSS POSS
 vi prt nm pn prt

yifo noko tekamiyahi
 yifo noko ti- ka- ka -ma -yahi
 hammock ball+M 2SG.S COMIT go/come back DIST.IMP+F
 nm pn vt

'He went. "Bring my ball of twine for making hammocks."

68 *Oka yifo noko winaharene*
 o- ka yifo noko wina -hare -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS hammock ball+M hang IP.E+M BKG+M
 prt nm pn vi

"My ball of twine is hanging."

69 *Fara owitari onofi ya yifo noko*
 fara o- ita -rI o- nofa.NOM+F ya yifo noko
 same+F 1SG.S sit raised surface 1SG.S recently ADJU hammock ball+M
 dem vi prt nm pn

winarene ati nemetemoneke
 wina -hare -ne ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 hang IP.E+M BKG+M say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi vt aux

"The ball of twine is hanging there where I always sit," she said.'

70 *Faya ati na ati himita faya tokome*
 faya , ati na+F , ati , hi- mita+F faya to- ka -ma+M
 so say AUX voice OC hear so away go/come back
 conj vt aux pn vt conj vi

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yifo tise matamona
yifo tisa -himata -mona
hammock undo FP.N+M REP+M
nm vt

'He heard what she said and went back and untied the twine.'

71 **Yifo noko tise** , **yifo noko tama ne** ,
yifo noko tisa+M , yifo noko tama na+M
hammock ball+M undo hammock ball+M hold onto AUX
nm pn vt nm pn vt aux

tokomematamonaka

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

'He untied the ball of twine. He went carrying the ball of twine.'

72 **Tokome** , **bani me ahi**
to- ka -ma+M , bani me ahi
away go/come back animal 3PL.O work on
vi nm pron vt

nabebanoho kobo tonamari
na nahaba -hiba -no -ho kobo to- na -ma -haari
AUX at night FUT+M IP.N+M DUP arrive away AUX back IP.E+M
aux vi aux

'He went back. He cut up the game during the night after he got back.'

73 **Bani me tabasi** , **nabe** , **bani me**
bani me tabasi na nahaba+M , bani me
animal 3PL.O roast on grill AUX at night animal 3PL.O
nm pron vt aux nm pron

tabasi nabematamonaka

tabasi na nahaba -himata -mona -ka
roast on grill AUX at night FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vt aux

'He roasted the game during the night. He roasted the game during the night.'

74 **Bani me tabasi** , **ne bani me nakahe**
bani me tabasi na+M bani me na- kaha+M
animal 3PL.O roast on grill AUX animal 3PL.O CAUS be toasted
nm pron vt aux nm pron vt

fati ha ne , **fati ha fatibana**
fati haa na+M , fati haa fati -bana
3SG.POSS.wife call AUX 3SG.POSS.wife call 3SG.POSS.wife FUT
nf vt aux nf vt nf

fatibana

fati -bana
3SG.POSS.wife FUT
nf

'He roasted the game. He roasted the game until they were done, and called his wife, his wife-to-be.'

75 **Fatiba** , **ha ne maki** , **katafe** ,
fati -ba haa na+M maki ka- tafa+M
3SG.POSS.wife FUT call AUX 3SG.POSS.husband COMMIT eat
nf vt aux nm vt

THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

Tika		iha	ehene	okobaba	owa	awine
ti-	ka	iha	ehene	o- kaba -haba	owa	awine
2SG.POSS	POSS	plant sp	victim of+M	1SG.S eat FUT+F	1SG.S	seem+F
prt		nm	pn	vt	pron	sec

oni ?
o- ni
1SG.S BKG+F
prt

'He called his wife-to-be, and her husband ate with her. "Dare I eat what your arrow poison killed?'"

76 Ehene		tikabaho	
ehene	ti-	kaba -ho	
victim of+M	2SG.S	eat IMP+M	
pn		vt	

"Eat what it killed."

77 Iha		watamakara	
iha	wata -ma -ka -ra		
plant sp	exist back DECL+M NEG+M		
nm	vi		

"There is no more poison."

78 Iha	abe	amaka	ati	nematamonaka
iha	ahaba+M	ama -ka	ati	na -himata -mona -ka
plant sp	die	SEC DECL+M	say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nm	vi	sec	vt	aux

"The poison is all gone," he said.'

79 Ati	ne	na	fati	tafawemetemoneke	fahi
ati	na+M	na	fati	tafa -waha -hemete -mone -ke	fahi
say	AUX	AUX	3SG.POSS.wife	eat change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	then
vt	aux	aux	nf	vi	dem

'So his wife ate.'⁴⁵

80 Me	tafa	me	fati	yifo	yifo	tore
me	tafa+F	me	fati	yifo	yifo	tore
3PL.S	eat	3PL.S	3SG.POSS.wife	hammock	hammock	weave
pron	vi	pron	nf	nm	nm	vt

kanahaba		yifo	me	kiharettemoneke
ka-	na nahaba+F	yifo	me	kiha -ra -hemete -mone -ke
COMIT AUX	at night	hammock	3PL.S	have NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux		nm	pron	vt

'They ate. His wife weaved a hammock at night, they didn't have a hammock.'

81 Yifo	me	kihara	me	hinaka	yifobone	fati
yifo	me	kiha -ra+F	me	hinaka	yifo -bone	fati
hammock	3PL.S	have NEG	3PL.S	3SG.POSS	hammock INT+F	3SG.POSS.wife
nm	pron	vt	pron	pron	nm	nf

tore	hikane		yifo	me	amo
tore	hi- ka- na+M		yifo	me	amo
weave	OC COMIT AUX		hammock	3PL.S	sleep
vt	aux		nm	pron	vi

⁴⁵ This *na* is a mistake, it has no meaning in the context.

THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

tokasabani

to- ka- na -kosa -haba -ni mati
 away COMIT AUX middle FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S
 aux pron

'They didn't have a hammock, so his wife made him a hammock, and they slept a little while.'⁴⁶

82 **Faya** , **me** **amo** **kana** **yama** **we**
 faya , me amo ka- na+F yama wehe
 so 3PL.S sleep COMIT AUX thing light+F
 conj pron vi aux nf pn

kamakietemone

ka -makI -hemete -mone ama -ke
 go/come following FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 vi sec

'They slept. Morning came.'

83 **Yama** **we** **kamakia** , **yama** **we** **kamakia**
 yama wehe ka -makI+F , yama wehe ka -makI+F
 thing light+F go/come following thing light+F go/come following
 nf pn vi nf pn vi

me , **tafamina** **me** , **tafamina** **me** ,
 me , tafamina me , tafamina me ,
 3PL.S eat morning 3PL.S eat morning 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi pron

towaketemoneke

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

'Morning came. They ate in the morning. They ate in the morning, and left.'

84 **Towaka** **me** **totowatawiti** **toemetemone**
 to- ka- ka+F me to- to- wata -witi to- ha -hemete -mone
 away COMIT go/come 3PL.S DUP away exist out CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vi pron vi aux

'They went and lived in another place.'⁴⁷

85 **Faya** , **faya** **kahiwe** , **biti** , **biti** **me**
 faya , faya ka- hiwa+M , biti , biti me
 so so COMIT have children 3SG.POSS.son 3SG.POSS.son 3PL
 conj conj vi nm nm pron

, **biti** **ha** **me** **fama** ,
 , biti haa me fama.LIST ,
 3SG.POSS.son DEM 3PL.S be two
 nm dem pron vi

kahiwamakitase

ka- hiwa -makI -tasa.NOM+M ya ha **biti** **me**
 COMIT have children following again ADJU DEM 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S
 vi prt dem nm pron

famatasa

fama -tasa.LIST , **me** **fanawiri** **yoto** , **me**
 fama -tasa.LIST , me fanawiri -ri yoto.LIST , me
 be two again 3PL.POSS woman PN follow 3PL.POSS
 vi pron pn vi pron

46 I'm not sure why Siko said *yifobone* (f), it should be *yifobona* (m).

47 The subject pronominal *me* is missing.

THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

fanawiri fanawi -ri woman PN pn	yoto yoto.NOM follow vi	ya ya ADJU prt	bite bite 3SG.POSS.daughter nf	hawa hawa be ready vi
toniharawe to- niha- ha -rawa+M CH CAUS AUX F.PL aux	fare fare same+M dem	fare fare same+M dem	biti biti 3SG.POSS.son nm	mera mera 3PL.O pron
kahabanematamonaka ka- habana -himata -mona -ka COMIT order FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vt	ahi ahi then dem			

'He had children. He had two sons. He had children again, two more sons. Then he had daughters. After his daughters came last, after he had their coming out feast, he told his own two sons to get married.'

86 Te tee 2PL pron	ka ka POSS prt	asima asima younger sister nf	te tee 2PL.S pron	yabarawahi yaba -rawa -hi marry F.PL IMP+F vt
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"You marry your younger sisters."

87 E ee 1IN pron	e ee 1IN.S pron	itiba iti -haba marry FUT+F vt	watakere wata -ke -re exist DECL+F NEG+F vi
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"There is no one to marry."

88 Te tee 2PL pron	ka ka POSS prt	asima asima younger sister nf	te tee 2PL.S pron	yabarawahi yaba -rawa -hi marry F.PL IMP+F vt	ati ati say vt
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nematamonaka na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux	bite bite 3SG.POSS.daughter nf	kahabanarawahari ka- habana -rawa -haari COMIT order F.PL IP.E+M vt
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fare fare same+M dem	biti biti 3SG.POSS.son nm	me me 3PL pron	biti biti 3SG.POSS.son nm	me me 3PL.O pron	kahabanahari ka- habana -haari COMIT order IP.E+M vt
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"Marry your younger sisters," he said, ordering his daughters to marry. He told his own sons to marry.'

89 Biti biti 3SG.POSS.son nm	me me 3PL.O pron	kahabane ka- habana+M COMIT order vt	faya faya so conj	mera mera 3PL.O pron	me me 3PL pron	ka ka POSS prt
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asima asima younger sister nf	me me 3PL.S pron	yayaba ya- yaba DUP marry vt	toarawemetemoneke to- ha -rawa -hemete -mone -ke CH AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux
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'He told his sons to marry. They married their younger sisters.'

90 Me me 3PL.S pron	kahiwa ka- hiwa+F COMIT have children vi	me me 3PL.S pron	kahiwi ka- hiwa.NOM+F COMIT have children vi	ya ya ADJU prt	fara fara same+F dem	me me 3PL pron
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THE ORIGINAL COUPLE

, *fara me abe* , *me ka ehewe me me me ka ehewe*
 fara me abe me ka ehewe me me me ka ehewe
 same+F 3PL.POSS RECIP 3PL POSS child 3PL 3PL 3PL POSS child
 dem pron pn pron prt nm pron pron pron prt nm

me me yayaba toemetemoneni
 me me ya- yaba to- ha -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP marry CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron pron vt aux

'They had children. After they had children, their children married each other.'⁴⁸

91 *Faya me tokatamama toemetemoneke fahi*
 faya me to- ka- tama -ma to- ha -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 so 3PL.S CH COMIT be many back CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 conj pron vi aux dem

'Then their numbers increased again.'

92 *Me fanakanikima ni ka biti me*
 me fana -kanikima na.NOM+F ka biti me
 3PL.S be married scattered AUX which 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.O
 pron vi aux prt nm pron

kahabane biti me fafana toha me
 ka- habana+M biti me fa- fana to- ha+F me
 COMIT order 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S DUP be married CH AUX 3PL.S
 vt nm pron vi aux pron

'They all got married, and he had his sons marry, and they married.'

⁴⁸ *ehewe* is an archaic form for *inamatewe* 'child'.

YOTAWARO

Free Translation

Note: The Apurinã Indians are still neighbors of the Jarawaras today, but nowadays the two tribes are on friendly terms, cooperating regularly in the regional organization of indigenous peoples, FOCIMP (Federação das Organizações e Comunidades Indígenas do Médio Purus).

They spoke. "Let's kill Yotawaro [an Apurinã woman]," they said.

"Yes, Yotawaro will die. A couple of those vicious people have come and are living nearby," they said.

They got ready, and they slept and got up early. Yotawaro's husband went fishing, to spear *sako fana* fish. He speared *sako* fish, and came back. They arrived back and she cooked food for them on the fire. The *sako fana* fish that she was roasting were piled up at the edge of the fire. They ate the fish that she had roasted, which were piled up. When they were done eating, they drank water.

"Come on, she will die right now!" one of the Jarawaras, who were watching, said. They had sticks that they had cut in their hands, and one of them hit her on the head. They also killed her husband. They were dead.

"There aren't any others. There are only two of them," they said.

"There must be others hidden."

"There aren't any others hidden. That's all of them. There were only two of them," they said. "Come on, let's go home."

They decided to go. They left. After they bashed them, they were left lying on the ground inside the house. The vultures ate them, king vultures. They left them and came home.

They arrived, and told the people about her. "Did she die?" they asked.

"She died. We killed her, she is lying there. She filled our bellies. We ate *sako* fish. When we were full, we killed her," they said.

"They killed her after she filled their stomachs."

"They were living there quietly, so he is pitying her."

"I don't pity her. Go ahead and kill her," they said. He was chiding them.

"The Apurinãs are going to come. Take care of us."

"I will go right now and look at their village." He went to look at their village. There he saw a vulture eating Yotawaro. The vulture had taken out Yotawaro's eyes. He came back, and arrived.

"Is there anyone there?"

"There isn't anyone there."

"That must be all of them."

"I told you there were only two of them, you didn't believe me. There aren't many of them."

"Others of them will come after us."

"They will die, too."

"They killed many Jarawara women, along with their husbands. They are very bold."

"We will wait for them. When they come, they will die. I'm going to make arrow poison in the mortar. I'm going to put poison on arrows, to be used against the Apurinãs."

YOTAWARO

"Let's put poison on arrows. Let's wait for the Apurinās," they said.

He went out to get *iha* plant. He scraped the *iha* and came back. He pulverized the *iha* scrapings in a mortar.

"And the *bikafa* plant?"

"The *bikafa* is lying there on the ground."

You have seen the thing that goes with *iha*, it's *biyo yotohoti* plant. They pulverized the *iha* scrapings.

"I'm going to hit the Apurinã woman with an arrow. I'm going to hit the violent one with an arrow. They are going to carry arrows because of me. These are what I'm going to kill them with. I'm putting poison on the arrows I will kill them with. I'm putting poison on the arrow I'm going to hit her with. She's going to sit down when I hit her with my arrow. They are going to lie on the ground, all over. When they are lying on the ground, they will eat them. You eat them."

"After you shoot them with arrows, you can eat them," their wives said, after they got married. That's what they said after they were married.

Interlinear Presentation

1 *Me* *ati* *yana* *tonemetemoneke*
 me ati yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.POSS voice start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pn vi aux
 'They spoke.'

2 *Me* *ati* *yana* *tona* *me* , *ee* , *Yotawaro*
 me ati yana to- na+F me , ee , Yotawaro
 3PL.POSS voice start CH AUX 3PL.POSS (pause) (woman's name)
 pron pn vi aux pron interj npropf

e *nabowahi*
 ee na- aboha -hi
 1IN.S CAUS die IMP+F
 pron vt
 'They spoke. "Let's kill Yotawaro."'

3 *Yotawaro* *e* *nabowahi* *me* *ati*
 Yotawaro ee na- aboha -hi me ati
 (woman's name) 1IN.S CAUS die IMP+F 3PL.S say
 npropf pron vt pron vt

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

""Let's kill Yotawaro," they said.'

4 *Me* *ati* *na* *Ee* , *Yotawaro* *ababanake*
 me ati na+F ee , Yotawaro ahaba -habana -ke
 3PL.S say AUX yes (woman's name) die FUT+F DECL+F
 pron vt aux interj npropf vi

""Yes, Yotawaro will die.""

5 *Me* *hamate* *me* *ka* , *me* *one* ,
 me hama -tee me ka , me one
 3PL.S be mean HAB 3PL POSS 3PL other+F
 pron vi pron prt pron adj

YOTAWARO

watakineni , **me** **ati** **nemetemone**
 wata -kI -ne -ni , me ati na -hemete -mone
 live coming BKG+M BKG+F 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vi pron vt aux

'"A couple of those vicious people have come and are living nearby," they said.'

6 **Me** **yana** **tona** **me** **amo** **na** **me** **bosa**
 me yana to- na+F me amo na+F me bosa
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S get up early
 pron vi aux pron vi aux pron vi

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

'They got ready, and they slept and got up early.'

7 **Faa**
 faa
 hey
 interj

'Hey!'

8 **Me** , **me** **bosa** **namina**
 me , me bosa na -mina+F
 3PL 3PL.S get up early AUX morning
 pron pron vi aux

'They got up early.'

9 **Inamatewe** **yama** **noko** **tonihaka**
 inamatewe yama noko to- niha- ha -ka
 child thing attraction CH CAUS be DECL+M
 nm nf pn vt

'The child want to mess with that thing [the tape recorder].'

10 **Me** , **me** **bosa** **nemetemoneni**
 me , me bosa na -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL 3PL.S get up early AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron pron vi aux

'They got up early.'

11 **Me** **bosa** **na** **me** , **maki** , **maki**
 me bosa na+F me , maki , maki
 3PL.S get up early AUX 3PL.S 3SG.POSS.husband 3SG.POSS.husband
 pron vi aux pron nm nm

fa **ki** **nematamonaka** , **sako fana** **me**
 faha kii na -himata -mona -ka , sako fana me
 water look at AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M fish sp 3PL.O
 nf vt aux nf pron

tisa **nebonaha**
 tisa na -hibona -ha
 shoot with arrow AUX INT+M DUP
 vt aux

'They got up early. Her husband went fishing, to spear *sako fanas*.'

YOTAWARO

aba me , fa me fawemetemone
 ahaba+F me , faha me fawa -hemete -mone
 end 3PL.POSS water 3PL.S drink FP.N+F REP+F
 vi pron nf pron vt

"They ate. When they were done eating, they drank water."⁵⁰

18 *Fa me fawa me Hima , hima , abakabote*
 faha me fawa+F me hima , hima , ahaba -kabote
 water 3PL.S drink 3PL.S let's go let's go die quickly
 nf pron vt pron interj interj vi

nibeya

na -be -ya
 AUX IMMED+F now
 aux

"They drank water. "Come on, she will die right now."

19 *Awa me , awa me ti hina me ibori na ,*
 awa me , awa me tii hina na+F me ibori na+F
 tree 3PL tree 3PL.S cut through OC AUX 3PL.S carry AUX
 nf pron nf pron vt aux pron vt aux

owa tati ba hiremetemoneke
 owa tati baa hi- na -rI -hemete -mone -ke
 one+M head hit OC AUX raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 adj pn vt aux

"They carried sticks that they had cut, and one of them hit her on the head."

20 *Tati ba hiremetemoneke ahi*
 tati baa hi- na -rI -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 head hit OC AUX raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pn vt aux dem

"He hit her on the head."

21 *Maki me hinabowa hinematamonaka*
 maki me hi- na- aboha hi- na -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS.husband 3PL.S OC CAUS die OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm pron vt aux

"They also killed her husband."

22 *Me me waka hina me , faya me aba me ,*
 me me waka hi- na+F me , faya me ahaba+F me
 3PL.O 3PL.S kill OC AUX 3PL.O so 3PL.S die 3PL.S
 pron pron vt aux pron conj pron vi pron

Me one watakere
 me one wata -ke -re
 3PL other+F exist DECL+F NEG+F
 pron adj vi

"They killed them. They died. "There aren't any others."

23 *Fara me famineke , me ati*
 fara me fama -ne -ke , me ati
 same+F 3PL.S be two CONT+F DECL+F 3PL.S say
 dem pron vi pron vt

nemetemoneke

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

50 *me tafe* is a false start.

YOTAWARO

"There are only two of them," they said.'

24 *Me* , *me* *one* *wahiyibe*
 me , me one wahiya -be
 3PL 3PL other+F hide IMMED+F
 pron pron adj vi

"There must be others hidden."

25 *Me* *one* *wahiyarahaba* *me* *amake*
 me one wahiya -ra -haba me ama -ke
 3PL other+F hide NEG FUT+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F
 pron adj vi pron sec

"There aren't any others hidden."

26 *Fara* *me* *amake*
 fara me ama -ke
 same+F 3PL.S be DECL+F
 dem pron vc

"That's all of them."

27 *Fara* *me* *fami* *nofa* *me* *famineni* , *me* *ati*
 fara me fama nofa+F me fama -ne -ni , me ati
 same+F 3PL.S be two recently 3PL.S be two CONT+F BKG+F 3PL.S say
 dem pron vi prt pron vi pron vt

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

"There were only two of them," they said.'

28 *Faya* *me* *ati* *na* *me* , *Hima* , *e*
 faya me ati na+F me , hima , ee
 so 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.S let's go 1IN.S
 conj pron vt aux pron interj pron

tokomahi
 to- ka -ma -hi
 away go/come back IMP+F
 vi

"Come on, let's go home."

29 *Me* , *yana* *tonemetemoneke*
 me , yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

"They decided to go.'

30 *Me* *yana* *tona* *me* , *me* *yana* *tona* *me*
 me yana to- na+F me , me yana to- na+F me
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron pron vi aux pron

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

"They decided to go, and left.'

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31 *Me me baro hina me , so*
 me me baro hi- na+F me , soo
 3PL.O 3PL.S beat OC AUX 3PL.S lie
 pron pron vt aux pron vi

tosemetemoneke , yobe toro ya
 to- na -kosa -hemete -mone -ke , yobe toro ya
 CH AUX middle FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F house inside+M ADJU
 aux nm pn prt

'After they bashed them, they were left lying on the ground inside the house.'

32 *Faya me so tosa me me hekanakosa*
 faya me soo to- na -kosa+F me me hi- ka- kana -kosa+F
 so 3PL.S lie CH AUX middle 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMMIT leave middle
 conj pron vi aux pron pron vt

me , boko me me hikabemetemoneke , boko ,
 me boko me me hi- kaba -hemete -mone -ke , boko ,
 3PL.O vulture 3PL.O 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vulture
 pron nf pron pron vt nf

boko sawi
 boko sawi
 king vulture
 nm

'They were left lying on the ground. They left them behind, and the vultures ate them, king vultures.'

33 *Boko sawi me , faya me me hekanakosa me*
 boko sawi me , faya me me hi- ka- kana -kosa+F me
 king vulture 3PL so 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMMIT leave middle 3PL.S
 nm pron conj pron pron vt pron

kama me , me kama me kobo nama
 ka -ma+F me , me ka -ma+F me kobo na -ma+F
 go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive AUX back
 vi pron pron vi pron vi aux

me , me kobo namemetemoneke
 me me kobo na -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pron vi aux

'They left them behind and came home.' 'They came home and arrived.'

34 *Me kobo nama me ya , faya me*
 me kobo na -ma+F me ya , faya me
 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S ADJU so 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron prt conj pron

hikaminametemoneke fahi
 hi- kamina -ma -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 OC tell back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt dem

'They arrived back, and told the people about her.'⁵¹

35 *Fara abini ?*
 fara ahaba -ni
 same+F die BKG+F
 dem vi

""Did she die?""

51 *ya* is a mistake; and there is a *me* missing, it should be *me me hikaminametemoneke*.

YOTAWARO

36 *Abarake*

ahaba -hara -ke
die IP.E+F DECL+F
vi

"She died."

37 *Ota nabowarani*

otaa na- aboha -hara -ni
1EX.S CAUS die IP.E+F BKG+F
pron vt

"We killed her."

38 *Homi*

homa.NOM+F
lie on ground
vi

ahi

ahi
then
dem

'She is lying there.'

39 *Ota*

otaa bako ibemata haro
1EX.POSS chest fill short time that one+F
pron pn vt dem

"She filled our bellies."

40 *Sako*

sako me ota kabini
fish sp 3PL.O 1EX.S eat BKG+F
nf pron pron vt

"We ate sakos."

41 *Ota*

otaa akariha ota nabowa narake
1EX.S be full 1EX.S CAUS die na -hara -ke
pron vi pron vt aux IP.E+F DECL+F

"When we were full, we killed her."

42 *Me*

me hinabowa awineni me baki
3PL.S OC CAUS die seem+F BKG+F 3PL.POSS chest+F
pron vt sec pron pn

ibenihi

ibI -hani -hi
fill IP.N+F DUP
vt

"They killed her after she filled their stomachs."

43 *Me*

me ati watari me winati makoni
3PL.POSS voice exist NEG 3PL.S live HAB for this reason
pron pn vi pron vi conj

hikayawaba

hi- ka- yawa -haba awineni
OC COMIT be upset FUT+F seem+F BKG+F
vt sec

"They were living there quietly, so he is pitying her."

YOTAWARO

- 44 **Okayawa** *okere*
 o- ka- yawa o- ke -re
 1SG.S COMIT be upset 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F
 vt prt
 "I don't pity her."
- 45 **Te nabowahi** , **me ati nemetemoneke**
 tee na- aboha -hi me ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 2PL.S CAUS die IMP+F 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vt pron vt aux
 "Kill her," they said.'
- 46 **Mera hora ne atimatamona amane**
 mera hora na+M ati -mata -mona ama -ne
 3PL.O scold AUX voice FP.N+M REP+M be BKG+M
 pron vt aux pn vc
 'He was chiding them.'
- 47 **Faya me** , **Yati me kamakiba amake**
 faya me yati me ka -ma -kI.NOM -ba ama -ke
 so 3PL Apurinã 3PL.S go/come back coming FUT be DECL+F
 conj pron npropm pron vi vc
 "The Apurinãs are going to come."
- 48 **Yati me kamakiba amani**
 yati me ka -ma -kI.NOM -ba ama -ni
 Apurinã 3PL.S go/come back coming FUT be BKG+F
 npropm pron vi vc
 "The Apurinãs are going to come."
- 49 **E te kakatomahi**
 ee tee ka- katoma -hi
 1IN.O 2PL.S COMIT look at IMP+F
 pron pron vt
 "Take care of us."
- 50 **Hiba me tabori owawitemate**
 hiba me tabori o- to- awa -witI -mate
 wait 3PL.POSS place+F 1SG.S away see out short time.IMP+F
 interj pron pn vt
 "Wait, I will go and look at the place where they were."
- 51 **Me tabori awebona tokematamonaka**
 me tabori awa -hibona to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.POSS place+F see INT+M away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron pn vt vi
 'He went to look at the place where they were.'⁵²
- 52 **Toke toke toke toke toke ni**
 to- ka+M to- ka+M to- ka+M to- ka+M to- ka+M ni
 away go/come away go/come away go/come away go/come away go/come to
 vi vi vi vi vi prt
ya , **boko tafahani** , **boko tafahani**
 ya boko tafa -hani boko tafa -hani
 ADJU vulture eat IP.N+F vulture eat IP.N+F
 prt nf vi nf vi

52 There is an unclear phrase at the end of this sentence, that sounds something like *yawa mati* 'the enemy Indians'.

YOTAWARO

59 *Me tami nofara me amake*
 me tama nofa -ra+F me ama -ke
 3PL.S be many recently NEG 3PL.S SEC DECL+F
 pron vi prt pron sec

"There aren't many of them."

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

"Others of them will come."

61 *Me abamakiabanake*
 me ahaba -makI -habana -ke
 3PL.S die following FUT+F DECL+F
 pron vi

"Others of them will die."

62 *Me fanawi tamara ra me me nabiemete me*
 me fanawi tama -ra+F ra me me na- ahaba -hemete me
 women be many NEG O 3PL.O 3PL.S CAUS die FP.N+F 3PL
 nf vi prt pron pron vt pron

one amani
 one ama -ni
 other+F be BKG+F
 adj vc

"They killed many women."

63 *Me fanawi tama me , me fanawi tama me ka yibote ya*
 me fanawi tama+F me , me fanawi tama+F me ka yibote ya
 women be many 3PL.S women be many 3PL POSS husband ADJU
 nf vi pron nf vi pron prt nm prt

me taba me me nabiemete me amake
 me taba+F me me na- ahaba -hemete me ama -ke
 3PL.S be together 3PL.O 3PL.S CAUS die FP.N+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F
 pron vi pron pron vt pron sec

"They killed many women along with their husbands."

64 *Me habi bayite me amani*
 me habi bayi -tee me ama -ni
 3PL.POSS courage+F be thick HAB 3PL.POSS SEC BKG+F
 pron pn vi pron sec

"They are bold."

65 *Me habi bayite me amake*
 me habi bayi -tee me ama -ke
 3PL.POSS courage+F be thick HAB 3PL.POSS SEC DECL+F
 pron pn vi pron sec

"They are bold."

66 *Faya me , Me e noki nabanake*
 faya me me ee noki na -habana -ke
 so 3PL 3PL.O 1IN.S wait for AUX FUT+F DECL+F
 conj pron pron pron vt aux

"We will wait for them."

YOTAWARO

67 *Me* , *me* *kamaki* *ya* *me* *ababanake* *ahi*
 me , me ka -makI.NOM ya me ahaba -habana -ke ahi
 3PL 3PL.S go/come following ADJU 3PL.S end FUT+F DECL+F then
 pron pron vi prt pron vi dem

"When they come, they will die."

68 *Ia* , *ia* *to* *okomatibe*
 iha , iha too o- ka- na -mata -be
 plant sp plant sp pulverize 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time IMMED+F
 nm nm vt aux

"I'm going to make arrow poison in the mortar."

69 *Wati* *were* *okobe*
 wati were o- ka- na -be
 arrow coat 1SG.S COMIT AUX IMMED+F
 nm vt aux

"I'm going to put poison on arrows."

70 *Yati* *me* *taniba* , *yati* *me*
 yati me tani -ba , yati me
 Apurinã 3PL.POSS weapon against FUT Apurinã 3PL.POSS
 npropm pron pn npropm pron

taniba *wati* *were* *okomatibe*
 tani -ba wati were o- ka- na -mata -be
 weapon against FUT arrow coat 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time IMMED+F
 pn nm vt aux

"I'm going to put poison on arrows, to be used against Apurinãs."

71 *Wati* *e* *were* *nahi*
 wati ee were na -hi
 arrow 1IN.S coat AUX IMP+F
 nm pron vt aux

"Let's put poison on arrows."

72 *Yati* *me* *e* *noki* *nibeya* , *me* *ati*
 yati me ee noki na -be -ya , me ati
 Apurinã 3PL.O 1IN.S wait for AUX IMMED+F now 3PL.S say
 npropm pron pron vt aux pron vt

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

"Let's wait for the Apurinãs," they said.'

73 *Faya* , *ia* , *ia* *tonakematamonaka*
 faya , iha , iha to- na- ka -himata -mona -ka
 so plant sp plant sp away CAUS go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj nm nm vt

'He went out to get *iha*.'

74 *Ia* *tonake* *toke* *ia* , *ia* *siri*
 iha to- na- ka+M to- ka+M iha , iha siri
 plant sp away CAUS go/come away go/come plant sp plant sp scrape
 nm vt vi nm nm vt

YOTAWARO

kaneno **kame** **ia** **to**
ka- na -hino ka -ma+M iha too
COMIT AUX IP.N+M go/come back plant sp pulverize
aux vi nm vt

kanamematamonaka **ahi** .
ka- na -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi
COMIT AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
aux dem

'He went to get *iha*. He scraped the *iha* and came back. He came back and pulverized the *iha* in a mortar.'

75 **Bikafara** ?
bikafa -ra
vine sp NPQ
nm

""And the *bikafa*?""

76 **Bikafa** , **bikafa** **home** **ahi** .
bikafa bikafa homa.NOM+M ahi
vine sp vine sp lie on ground there
nm nm vi dem

""The *bikafa* is lying there on the ground.""

77 **Ia** , **ia** **tehene** **ra** , **ee** ,
iha iha tehene ra ee
plant sp plant sp additive+M O (pause)
nm nm pn prt interj

tiwateharake , **biyo** , **biyo yotohoti** ,
ti- awa -tee -hara -ke biyo biyo yotohoti
2SG.S see HAB IP.E+F DECL+F spider monkey tree sp
vt nf nf

biyo yotohoti **toateharo** , **ia** **tene**
biyo yotohoti to- ha -tee -haaro iha tehene
tree sp CH be HAB IP.E+F plant sp additive+M
nf vc nm pn

toateharo .
to- ha -tee -haaro
CH be HAB IP.E+F
vc

'You have seen the thing that goes with *iha*, it's *biyo yotohoti*.'

78 **Faya ia** **me** **to** **nemetemone** **fahi** .
faya iha me too na -hemete -mone fahi
so plant sp 3PL.S pulverize AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
conj nm pron vt aux dem

'They pulverized the *iha*.'

79 **Ia** **me** **to** **na** **me** , **yati** **fana**
iha me too na+F me yati fana
plant sp 3PL.S pulverize AUX 3PL.S Apurinã female
nm pron vt aux pron npropm nf

sa **okoba** **ama** **ahi** .
saa o- ka- na.NOM -ba ama -ke ahi
shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT SEC DECL+F then
vt vt sec dem

'They pulverized the *iha*. "I'm going to hit the Apurinã woman with an arrow."'

YOTAWARO

80 *Katoma* *hihiri* , *katoma* *hihiri* *sa*
 katoma hi- hiri , katoma hi- hiri saa
 violent act DUP do violent act DUP do shoot with arrow
 nf pn nf pn vt

okobeya

o- ka- na -be -ya
 1SG.S COMIT AUX IMMED+F now
 aux

"I'm going to hit the violent one with an arrow."

81 *Wati* *me* *weyeri* *kawahaba* *me* *amake* ,
 wati me weye -ri ka- na -waha -haba me ama -ke
 arrow 3PL.S carry DISTR COMIT AUX change FUT+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F
 nm pron vt aux pron sec

owehene

o- ehene *ahi*
 1SG.POSS because of then
 pn dem

"They are going to carry arrows because of me."

82 *Me* *taniba* *amake* *haro*
 me tani -ba ama -ke haaro
 3PL.POSS weapon against FUT be DECL+F that one+F
 pron pn vc dem

"These are the things that will kill them."

83 *Me* *taniba* *were* *okine* *oke*
 me tani -ba were o- ka- na -ne o- ke
 3PL.POSS weapon against FUT coat 1SG.S COMIT AUX CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron pn vt aux prt

"I'm putting poison on the things that will to kill them."

84 *Taniba* *were* *okine* *oke* ,
 tani -ba were o- ka- na -ne o- ke
 weapon against FUT coat 1SG.S COMIT AUX CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 pn vt aux prt

sa

okanabana
 saa o- ka- na -habana
 shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+F
 vt aux

"I'm putting poison on the arrow I'm going to hit her with."

85 *Towitamakiaba* *amake* *ahi*
 to- ita -makI -haba ama -ke ahi
 away sit following FUT+F SEC DECL+F then
 vi sec dem

'She is going to sit down.'

86 *Me* *so* *kanikimabanake*
 me soo ka- na -kima -habana -ke
 3PL.S lie COMIT AUX two FUT+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

"They are going to lie on the ground, all over."

YOTAWARO

87 *Me so kanikimi ya me me*
 me soo ka- na -kima.NOM+F ya me me
 3PL.S lie COMMIT AUX two ADJU 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron vi aux prt pron pron

hikababanake

hi- kaba -habana -ke
 OC eat FUT+F DECL+F
 vt

"When they are lying on the ground, they will eat them."

88 *Me te kakaba rima nahi*
 me tee ka- kaba na -rima na -hi
 3PL.O 2PL.S DUP eat AUX NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F
 pron pron vt aux aux

"You eat them."

89 *Hine ya me te tisa nahi , me te*
 hine ya me tee tisa na -hi , me tee
 only ADJU 3PL.O 2PL.S shoot with arrow AUX IMP+F 3PL.O 2PL.S
 pron prt pron pron vt aux pron pron

kabara mati , me ka yibote ati narawemetemoneke
 kaba -ra+F mati , me ka yibote ati na -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 eat NEG 3PL.O 3PL POSS wife say AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt pron pron prt nf vt aux

, *me fana mati*
 me fana+F mati
 3PL.S be married 3PL.S
 pron vi pron

"After you shoot them with arrows, you can eat them," their wives said, after they got married.'

90 *Me fana me atimetemone amake*
 me fana+F me ati -mete -mone ama -ke
 3PL.S be married 3PL.POSS voice FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F
 pron vi pron pn vc

'That's what they said after they were married.'

EYIYI

Free Translation

Eyiyi was hungry, and he called his mother. "Mother, I'm hungry."

"Go hunting and kill a tapir with an arrow."

He went out hunting, but didn't see any game. He came back.

"Mother, I'm hungry."

"Be hungry. You haven't gone out hunting. Go hunting."

"I didn't see a tapir. Just a minute, I will toast some manioc mash."

He toasted some manioc mash. "Mother, can I eat you?"

"He's not going to eat me. Go ahead and eat me. I'm not a tapir."

He grabbed his mother's throat with his hands. He strangled her, and she died. His older brothers didn't see what he did. They were out in the forest. He killed his mother and cut her up and ate her. He ate one leg, and left the other leg on the roasting grate.

He ate his mother, but afterwards he was to turn into an animal. He is the one who became the ocelot. He ate his mother.

His older brothers came back. "Oof," they said.

"Where is it?" one of them said. "Where is the tapir?"

"I didn't see any tapir. I have eaten, and I am in my hammock."

"What did you eat? I stayed here waiting for you, so I could eat some tapir. Then I went out, too, so I didn't see when you arrived back, and here you are in your hammock."

"I ate my mother."

"He says he ate my mother. Why did you eat my mother?"

"I ate my mother because I was hungry. Don't be mad at me."

His older brother didn't say anything more. When the others were sleeping, the older brother took his mother's leg off the roasting grate, and took it away.

He came back, and they took snuff and went to sleep. "He ate my mother, and he is sleeping. He is sleeping with a full stomach. I'm going to tell him to go out hunting tomorrow."

When morning came, he got up and spoke. "Eyiyi, Eyiyi."

"Huh?"

"Go kill a tapir."

"All right, in a little while I will kill a tapir."

"Go right now. Don't eat. You have already eaten."

He got ready, and went. He found a tapir. He attacked it. He went to grab the tapir around the neck, and it threw him over to the other side, and he fell to the ground. He went after the tapir. He jumped on top of the tapir and sat on top of it, and rode on it. A tree caught him, and he fell on the ground. He went with the tapir again, and the tapir took him. He couldn't kill the tapir. The tapir didn't die, and he was tired out.

He got lost out there, far away. He started back. He slept in the forest. He got up early and searched all day for the way back. He slept again, and didn't come home. He was out two nights. After searching some more, he found the trail, and came home.

"I told Eyiyi to kill a tapir. I sent him out and he went, and he is taking a long time to come

EYIYI

back. He ate my mother."

He wasn't coming back. Then he appeared. "Whew, I'm hungry. I got hungry and came back. The tapir threw me off its trail."

"I told you to kill a tapir."

"The tapir got away. It got me lost. I got lost. I searched for the trail and found it, and have come back. I was out for two nights. I searched for the trail in the morning, and found it, and have come back."

He was hungry, but they didn't give him any food. He was hungry, so he got ready in the morning.

"Eyiya, go hunting in the morning. You ate my mother. I want to eat tapir, to pay for the eating of my mother."

"I went hunting for tapir, but I couldn't kill a tapir."

He went. His older brother ordered him, and he went. He disappeared into the forest. They waited for him, but he didn't come back. He turned into an animal. He is the one who is now the margay, the ocelot. He got lost, and turned into an animal. He turned into an animal, and went up in a tree, the place that became his home. He sat on a limb. It got dark, and he slept. He didn't come back.

"Eyiya ate my mother. I wanted to eat something he killed, so I ordered him, but he has not come back."

He didn't come back. Ten days later he came back. He arrived, and he was angry at them. He wanted to kill one of them, and he circled around them.

They ordered him. "Go away. You turned into an animal." They sent him back, and he went away. He disappeared. "You turned yourself into an animal, and you are alone now." He turned into an animal, and he didn't come back.

Interlinear Presentation

1 *Eyiya*
Eyiya
(man's name)
npropm
'Eyiya.'

2	<i>Eyiya</i> Eyiya (man's name) npropm	<i>mati</i> mati 3SG.POSS.mother nf	,	<i>fimihi</i> fimi+M be hungry vi	<i>mati</i> mati 3SG.POSS.mother nf	<i>ha</i> haa call vt	<i>ne</i> na+M AUX aux
	<i>mati</i> mati 3SG.POSS.mother nf	,	<i>mati</i> mati 3SG.POSS.mother nf	<i>ha</i> haa call vt	<i>nematamonaka</i> na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux		

'Eyiya was hungry, and he called his mother.'

3	<i>Mati</i> mati 3SG.POSS.mother nf	<i>ha</i> haa call vt	<i>ne</i> na+M AUX aux	,	<i>Ami</i> ami mother nf	<i>ofimi</i> o- fimi 1SG.S be hungry vi	<i>oke</i> o- ke 1SG.S DECL+F prt
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'He called his mother. "Mother, I'm hungry."'

EYIYI

4 **Yama yete tinahi**
 yama yete ti- na -hi
 thing hunt 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 nf vt aux

"Go hunting."

5 **Awi sa tikibeya**
 awi saa ti- ka- na -be -ya
 tapir shoot with arrow 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMMED+F now
 nm vt aux

"Kill a tapir with an arrow."

6 **Eyiyi toke tokematamonaka**
 Eyiyi to- ka+M to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 (man's name) away go/come away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 npropm vi vi

'Eyiyi went out.'

7 **Toke toke noko honare kame**
 to- ka+M to- ka+M noko hona -ra+M ka -ma+M
 away go/come away go/come eye+M have something NEG go/come back
 vi vi pn vi vi
 , **kamematamonaka**
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He went out, but didn't see anything. He came back.'

8 **Kame Ami ofimi oke**
 ka -ma+M ami o- fimi o- ke
 go/come back mother 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi nf vi prt

'He came back. "Mother, I'm hungry."

9 **Tifimihi**
 ti- fimi -hi
 2SG.S be hungry IMP+F
 vi

"Be hungry."

10 **Yama yete tira ama tini**
 yama yete ti- na -ra+F ama ti- ni
 thing hunt 2SG.S AUX NEG SEC 2SG.S BKG+F
 nf vt aux sec prt

"You haven't gone out hunting."

11 **Yama yete tina**
 yama yete ti- na
 thing hunt 2SG.S AUX
 nf vt aux

"Go hunting."

12 **Awi kobo orahara oke**
 awi kobo o- na -ra -hara o- ke
 tapir meet 1SG.S AUX NEG IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 nm vt aux prt

"I didn't see a tapir."

EYIYI

13 **Hiba** , **iyawa** **osiramate**
 hiba , iyawa o- sira -mate
 wait manioc mash 1SG.S toast short time.IMP+F
 interj nf vt

"Just a minute, I will toast some manioc mash."

14 **Iyawa** **sirematamonaka**
 iyawa sira -himata -mona -ka
 manioc mash toast FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf vt

'He toasted some manioc mash.'

15 **Iyawa** **sire** , **iyawa** **siri** **hawa** **toe**
 iyawa sira+M , iyawa sira.NFIN hawa to- ha+M
 manioc mash toast manioc mash toast be finished CH AUX
 nf vt nf vt vi aux

Ami , **ami** **tiwa** **okobibana** ?
 ami , ami tiwa o- kaba+F -bana
 mother mother 2SG.O 1SG.S eat FUT
 nf nf pron vt

'He toasted some manioc mash. He finished toasting the manioc mash. "Mother, can I eat you?"'

16 **Owa** **kabahari** **he**
 owa kaba -haari haa+M
 1SG.O eat look+M DEM
 pron vt dem

"He's not going to eat me."

17 **Owa** **tikabahi**
 owa ti- kaba -hi
 1SG.O 2SG.S eat IMP+F
 pron vt

"Eat me."

18 **Awi** **ama** **oni**
 awi ama o- ni
 tapir be 1SG.S BKG+F
 nm vc prt

"I'm not a tapir."

19 **Mati** , **mati** **namiti** **wara** **tonematamona**
 mati , mati namiti wara to- na -himata -mona
 3SG.POSS.mother 3SG.POSS.mother throat grab CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nf nf pn vt aux

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He grabbed his mother's throat with his hands.'

20 **Namiti** **niki** **hikana** **ahabemetemoneke** **fahi**
 namiti niki hi- ka- na+F ahaba -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 throat press on OC COMIT AUX die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pn vt aux vi dem

'He strangled her, and she died.'

EYIYI

21 *Anoti* *me* *hiwarematamonane*
 anoti me hi- awa -ra -himata -mona -ne
 3SG.POSS older brother 3PL.S OC see NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 nm pron vt

'His older brothers didn't see him.'

22 *Anoti* *me* *tokemetemoneke*
 anoti me to- ka -hemete -mone -ke
 3SG.POSS older brother 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron vi

'His older brothers were in the forest.'

23 *Anoti* *me* *hiware* , *mati*
 anoti me hi- awa -ra+M , mati
 3SG.POSS older brother 3PL.S OC see NEG 3SG.POSS.mother
 nm pron vt nf

nabowe *mati* *bobi* *ne* *mati* *kabe* ,
 na- aboha+M mati bobi na+M mati kaba+M ,
 CAUS die 3SG.POSS.mother slit AUX 3SG.POSS.mother eat
 vt nf vt aux nf vt

mati *mate* *tone* , *haha* *kanawa*
 mati mate tone , haaha ka- na- waa.LIST ,
 3SG.POSS.mother rear+F bone this+F COMIT CAUS stand
 nf pn pn dem vt

mati *mate* *tone* *kanawematamonaka*
 mati mate tone ka- na- waa -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS.mother rear+F bone COMIT CAUS stand FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf pn pn vt

'His older brothers had not seen him. He killed his mother and cut her up and ate her. He ate one leg, and left the other leg on the roasting grate.'

24 *Tafematamonaka* *ahi* , *mati* *kabahari* *ahi* ,
 tafa -himata -mona -ka ahi , mati kabahari ahi ,
 eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then 3SG.POSS.mother eat IP.E+M then
 vi dem nf vt dem

nabati , *toiyatehibana* , *toiyatehibana*
 nabati to- hiya -tee -hibana , to- hiya -tee -hibana
 stomach CH be different HAB FUT+M CH be different HAB FUT+M
 pn vi

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He ate, eating his mother. His stomach was to turn into the stomach of an animal.'

25 *Efe* *efematamona* *amaka* *hari* *yome* ,
 efe efe -mata -mona ama -ka haari yomee ,
 this+M this+M FP.N+M REP+M be DECL+M that one+M jaguar
 dem dem vc dem nm

yome wikiraba , *marakasa* , *marakasa* *toatehibana*
 yome wikiraba , marakasa , marakasa to- ha -tee -hibana
 ocelot ocelot ocelot CH be HAB FUT+M
 nm nm nm vc

'He is the one who became the ocelot.'

EYIYI

26 **Marakasa toateba** , **mati** **kabematamonane**
 marakasa to- ha -tee -hiba , mati kaba -himata -mona -ne
 ocelot CH be HAB FUT+M 3SG.POSS.mother eat FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 nm vc nf vt

'He was to become the ocelot. He ate his mother.'

27 **Mati** **kabe** , **faya anoti** **me**
 mati kaba+M , faya anoti me
 3SG.POSS.mother eat so 3SG.POSS older brother 3PL.S
 nf vt conj nm pron

kama **me** , **Oof** , **anoti** **owa** **kobo**
 ka -ma+F me , oof , anoti owa kobo
 go/come back 3PL.S hoo 3SG.POSS older brother one+M arrive
 vi pron interj nm adj vi

name , **kobo** **namematamonaka**
 na -ma+M , kobo na -ma -himata -mona -ka
 AUX back arrive AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux vi aux

'He ate his mother. His older brothers came back. "Oof," they said. One of his other older brothers arrived back.'

28 **Fera** ?
 fee -ra
 that+M NPQ
 dem

""Where is it?""

29 **Awira** ?
 awi -ra
 tapir NPQ
 nm

""Where is the tapir?""

30 **Aw** **me** **kobo** **rarake**
 awi me kobo na -ra -hara -ke
 tapir 3PL.S meet AUX NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
 nm pron result aux

""The tapirs weren't met.""

31 **Otafa** **owinine** **oni**
 o- tafa+F o- wina -ne o- ni
 1SG.S eat 1SG.S lie in hammock CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi vi prt

""I have eaten, and I am in my hammock.""

32 **Otafara** **oke**
 o- tafa -hara o- ke
 1SG.S eat IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt

""I ate.""

33 **Himata** **tikabari** ?
 himata ti- kaba -ri
 what? 2SG.S eat CQ+F
 interrog vt

""What did you eat?""

EYIYI

34 *Awi okobabone ona tiwa noki ona*
 awi o- kaba -habone ati o- na+F , tiwa noki o- na+F
 tapir 1SG.S eat INT+F say 1SG.S AUX 2SG.O wait for 1SG.S AUX
 nm vt vt pron vt aux
okawa owa ni tiwinamine
 o- to- ka -waha+F , owa ni ti- wina -ma -ne
 1SG.S away go/come change 1SG to 2SG.S lie in hammock back CONT+F
 vi pron prt vi

tiwenihi

ti- we -ni -hi
 2SG.S IP.N+F DUP
 prt

"I waited for you, so I could eat some tapir. I went out, so I didn't see when you arrived back, and here you are in your hammock."

35 *Okomi okobara oke*
 o- ka ami o- kaba -hara o- ke
 1SG.POSS POSS mother 1SG.S eat IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 nf vt prt

"I ate my mother."

36 *Okomi kabehino ati ama hari*
 o- ka ami kaba -hino ati ama haari
 1SG.POSS POSS mother eat IP.N+M voice be that one+M
 nf vt pn vc dem

"He says he ate my mother."

37 *Himatabiyo okomi tikabarini* ?
 himatabiyo o- ka ami ti- kaba -ri -ni
 why 1SG.POSS POSS mother 2SG.S eat CQ+F IP.N+F
 interrog nf vt

"Why did you eat my mother?"

38 *Aa okomi okobara*
 aa o- ka ami o- kaba -hara
 (clearing throat) 1SG.POSS POSS mother 1SG.S eat IP.E+F
 sound nf vt

oke ofimimakoni
 o- ke o- fimi -makoni
 1SG.S DECL+F 1SG.S be hungry for this reason+F
 prt vi

"I ate my mother because I was hungry."

39 *Owa kakorima tinahi*
 owa kaako -rima ti- na -hi
 1SG.O be angry with NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 pron vt aux

"Don't be mad at me."

40 *Owa kakorima tinahi*
 owa kaako -rima ti- na -hi
 1SG.O be angry with NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 pron vt aux

"Don't be mad at me."

EYIYI

41 *Hine* , *hine* *okomi* *okoba* *oke*
 hine , hine o- ka ami o- kaba o- ke
 only only 1SG.POSS POSS mother 1SG.S eat 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron pron nf vt prt

"Just let me eat my mother."

42 *Faya* *ati* *fawa* *nematamona* *fahi*
 faya ati fawa na -himata -mona fahi
 so voice stop AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj pn vi aux dem

'He stopped talking.'

43 *Anoti* *ati* *fawa* *ne* , *ati* *fawa*
 anoti ati fawa na+M , ati fawa
 3SG.POSS older brother voice stop AUX voice stop
 nm pn vi aux pn vi

nematamonaka

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

'His older brother stopped talking.'

44 *Ati* *fawa* *ne* , *faya* *me* *amo* *ni* *ya* ,
 ati fawa na+M , faya me amo na.NOM+F ya ,
 voice stop AUX so 3PL.S sleep AUX ADJU
 pn vi aux conj pron vi aux prt
mati *mate* *tone* *kawa* *mate* *tone* *kakiti*
 mati mate tone ka- waa+F mate tone ka- iti+M
 3SG.POSS.mother rear+F bone COMIT stand rear+F bone COMIT take out
 nf pn pn vi pn pn vt

mate *tone* *towakematamona*
 mate tone to- ka- ka -himata -mona
 rear+F bone away COMIT go/come FP.N+M REP+M
 pn pn vt

'He stopped talking. When they were sleeping, he took his mother's leg off the roasting grate, and took it away.'

45 *Faya* *mati* *mate* *tone* *towake* , *kame*
 faya mati mate tone to- ka- ka+M , ka -ma+M
 so 3SG.POSS.mother rear+F bone away COMIT go/come go/come back
 conj nf pn pn vt vi

sina *me* *hisi* *na* *me* *amo* *nemetemoneke*
 sina me hisi na+F me amo na -hemete -mone -ke
 snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf pron vt aux pron vi aux

'He took away his mother's leg. He came back, and they took snuff and slept.'

46 *Me* *amo* *na* *me* *Okomi* *kabehino* *amo*
 me amo na+F me o- ka ami kaba -hino amo
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS mother eat IP.N+M sleep
 pron vi aux pron nf vt vi

nane

na.CONT+M -ne
 AUX BKG+M
 aux

"They slept. "He ate my mother, and he is sleeping."

EYIYI

47 *Nabati amo kanane*

nabati amo ka- na.CONT+M -ne
stomach sleep COMIT AUX BKG+M
pn vi aux

"He is sleeping with a (full) stomach."

48 *Okomi kabehino nabati amo kanaka*

o- ka ami kaba -hino nabati amo ka- na -ka
1SG.POSS POSS mother eat IP.N+M stomach sleep COMIT AUX DECL+M
nf vt pn vi aux

"He ate my mother, and he is sleeping with a (full) stomach."

49 *Tokaminabanahareka*

to- ka -mina+M -bana -hare -ka owati ihi
away go/come morning FUT IP.E+M DECL+M 1SG.POSS voice because of+F
vi pn post

"I'm going to tell him to go out hunting tomorrow."

50 *Faya ati yana ne , yama we*

faya ati yana na+M , yama wehe
so voice start AUX thing light+F
conj pn vi aux nf pn

kamakiemetemoneke

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

'He spoke. Morning came.'

51 *Yama we kamakia , faya yana tonematamona*

yama wehe ka -makI+F , faya yana to- na -himata -mona
thing light+F go/come following so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
nf pn vi conj vi aux

ahi

ahi
then
dem

'Morning came, and he got up.'

52 *Eyiyi , Eyiyi*

Eyiyi Eyiyi
(man's name) (man's name)
npropm npropm

"Eyiyi, Eyiyi."

53 *Haa*

haa
huh?
interj

"Huh?"

54 *Awi tinabohahi*

awi ti- na- aboha -hi
tapir 2SG.S CAUS die IMP+F
nm vt

"Kill a tapir."

EYIYI

- 55 **Hiba** , **awi** **onabohehiba** **awaka**
 hiba , awi o- na- aboha -hiba awa -ka
 wait tapir 1SG.S CAUS die FUT+M seem+M DECL+M
 interj nm vt sec
 "Wait, I will kill a tapir."
- 56 **Tokakabote** **tinahi**
 to- ka -kabote ti- na -hi
 away go/come quickly 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux
 "Go quickly."
- 57 **Tafarima** **tinahi**
 tafa -rima ti- na -hi
 eat NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux
 "Don't eat."
- 58 **Titafani** **ama tini**
 ti- tafa -hani ama ti- ni
 2SG.S eat IP.N+F SEC 2SG.S BKG+F
 vi sec prt
 "You have already eaten."
- 59 **Faya yana tonematamona fahi**
 faya yana to- na -himata -mona fahi
 so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj vi aux dem
 'He got ready.'
- 60 **Yana tone tokematamonaka**
 yana to- na+M to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 start CH AUX away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux vi
 'He got ready, and went.'
- 61 **Toke awi wasi awi wasimatamona fahi**
 to- ka+M , awi wasi+M , awi wasi -himata -mona fahi
 away go/come tapir find tapir find FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi nm vt nm vt dem
 'He went. He found a tapir.'
- 62 **Aw** **wasi** **awi** **fito** **kane** , **awi** **fito** **kane** **awi**
 awi wasi+M awi fito ka- na+M , awi fito ka- na+M awi
 tapir find tapir rush COMIT AUX tapir rush COMIT AUX tapir
 nm vt nm vi aux nm vi aux nm
awi **namiti** **wara** **tonehibona** **ati** **ne** , **awi** **weye**
 awi namiti wara to- na -hibona ati na+M , awi weye
 tapir neck grab CH AUX INT+M say AUX tapir carry
 nm pn vt aux vt aux nm vt
hiriwe **ba** **nise** , **awi**
 hi- na -riwaha+M bao na -risa+M , awi
 OC AUX across come down AUX down tapir
 aux vi aux nm

EYIYI

kiyomatamonaka **ahi** .
 kiyō -himata -mona -ka ahi
 chase FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt dem

'He found a tapir, and attacked it. He went to grab the tapir around the neck, and it threw him over to the other side, and he fell on the ground. He went after the tapir.'

63 **Kiyo** , **awi** **mese** **ya** **yora** **tomise** **awi** **mese**
 kiyō+M , awi mese ya yora to- na -misa+M awi mese
 chase tapir surface ADJU jump away AUX up tapir surface
 vt nm pn prt vi aux nm pn

ya **itari** , **awi** **kana** **hikane** **awa**
 ya ita -rI+M , awi kana hi- ka- na+M awa
 ADJU sit raised surface tapir run OC COMMIT AUX tree
 prt vi nm vi aux nf

hitibase **bao** **nisematamonaka** **fahi** .
 hi- iti -basa+M bao na -risa -himata -mona -ka fahi
 OC pick up edge come down AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt vi aux dem

'He went after it. He jumped on top of the tapir and sat on top of it, and rode on it. A tree caught him and he fell on the ground.'⁵³

64 **Awī** **towakamatase** , **awī**
 awi to- ka- ka -ma -tasa+M , awi
 tapir away COMMIT go/come back again tapir
 nm vt nm

hiwakame **awī** **nabowī** **watore** , **awī**
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma+M awi na- aboha.NFIN wato -ra+M , awi
 OC away COMMIT go/come back tapir CAUS die know NEG tapir
 vt nm vt vt nm

nabowī **watore** , **awī** **nabowī**
 na- aboha.NFIN wato -ra+M , awi na- aboha.NFIN
 CAUS die know NEG tapir CAUS die
 vt vt nm vt

watorematamonaka .
 wato -ra -himata -mona -ka
 know NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'He went with the tapir again, and the tapir took him. He couldn't kill the tapir.'

65 **Awī** **nabowī** **watore** , **awī** **nabowī**
 awi na- aboha.NFIN wato -ra+M , awi na- aboha.NFIN
 tapir CAUS die know NEG tapir CAUS die
 nm vt vt nm vt

watorematamonane .
 wato -ra -himata -mona -ne
 know NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vt

'He couldn't kill the tapir.'

66 **Awī** **ahabare** **ehene** **ma** **tohe** , **hike** **hike** **ya**
 awi ahaba -ra+M ehene maa to- ha+M , hike hike ya
 tapir die NEG because of+M be tired CH AUX far far ADJU
 nm vi post vi aux nf nf prt

53 The object NP *awi* 'tapir' is missing in the first clause.

EYIYI

tosawari , **kame** , **kamematamonaka**
 to- sawari , ka -ma+M , ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 CH get lost go/come back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi vi

'The tapir didn't die, and he was tired out. He got lost out there, far away. He came back.'

67 **Kame** , **kamematamonaka** **ahi**
 ka -ma+M , ka -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi
 go/come back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi vi dem

'He came back.'

68 **Faya yama kabani ya amo nematamona fahi**
 faya yama kabani ya amo na -himata -mona fahi
 so forest ADJU sleep AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj nf prt vi aux dem

'He slept in the forest.'

69 **Yama kabani ya amo ne bosa ne yama siba**
 yama kabani ya amo na+M , bosa na+M yama siba
 forest ADJU sleep AUX get up early AUX thing look for
 nf prt vi aux vi aux nf vt

nati , **amo namatasa**
 na nahatI+M , amo na -ma -tasa.LIST ,
 AUX daytime sleep AUX back again
 prt vi aux

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

'He slept in the forest. He got up early and searched all day (for the way back). He slept again, and didn't come home.'

70 **Amo ni famematamonaka**
 amo na.NFIN fama -himata -mona -ka
 sleep AUX be two FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux vi

'He was out two nights.'

71 **Faya yama siba ne hawi wasi kamematamona**
 faya yama siba na+M hawi wasi+M , ka -ma -himata -mona
 so thing look for AUX trail find go/come back FP.N+M REP+M
 conj nf vt aux nf vt vi

fahi

fahi
 then
 dem

'He searched and found the trail, and came home.'

72 **Kame Eyiyi awi nabowehibona one**
 ka -ma+M , Eyiyi awi na- aboha -hibona ati o- na+M
 go/come back (man's name) tapir CAUS die INT+M say 1SG.S AUX
 vi npropm nm vt vt

oyosewiti toke kakama ra
 o- to- yose -witI+M to- ka+M ka- ka -ma na -ra.CONT+M ,
 1SG.S away command out away go/come DUP go/come back AUX NEG
 vt vi vi aux

EYIYI

80 *Osawariha* , *hawi siba ona* , *hawi owasia*
 o- to- sawari+F , hawi siba o- na+F , hawi o- wasi+F
 1SG.S CH get lost trail look for 1SG.S AUX trail 1SG.S find
 vi nf vt aux nf vt

okomawahine *o waha*
 o- ka -ma -waha -ne o- waha
 1SG.S go/come back change CONT+F 1SG.S now
 vi prt prt

"I got lost. I searched for the trail and found the trail, and have come back."

81 *Oko amo ni famara oke*
 o- ka amo na.NFIN fama -hara o- ke
 1SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX be two IP.E+F 1SG.POSS DECL+F
 prt vi aux vi prt

"I was out for two nights."

82 *Oko amo ni famara oni*
 o- ka amo na.NFIN fama -hara o- ni
 1SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX be two IP.E+F 1SG.POSS BKG+F
 prt vi aux vi prt

"I was out for two nights."

83 *Faya hawi siba onamina* , *faya hawi owasia*
 faya hawi siba o- na -mina+F , faya hawi o- wasi+F
 so trail look for 1SG.S AUX morning so trail 1SG.S find
 conj nf vt aux conj nf vt

okomawahine *oke waha*
 o- ka -ma -waha -ne o- ke waha
 1SG.S go/come back change CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F now
 vi prt prt

"I searched for the trail in the morning, and found the trail, and have come back."

84 *Faya fimi tefeba me*
 faya fimi+M tefe -ba me
 so be hungry food FUT 3PL.S
 conj vi pn pron

hekawarematamonane

hi- ka- kawa -ra -himata -mona -ne
 OC COMIT give something to NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vt

'He was hungry, but they didn't give him any food.'

85 *Fimi* , *faya yana tonaminabisebanoho*
 fimi+M , faya yana to- na -mina -bisa -hiba -no -ho
 be hungry so start CH AUX morning also FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vi conj vi aux

'He was hungry, and he got ready in the morning.'

86 *Eyiyi yama yeyete tinaminahi*
 Eyiyi yama ye- yete ti- na -mina -hi
 (man's name) thing DUP hunt 2SG.S AUX morning IMP+F
 npropm nf vt aux

"Eyiyi, go hunting in the morning."

EYIYI

87 **Okomi** **tikabani** **ama tini**
 o- ka ami ti- kaba -hani ama ti- ni
 1SG.POSS POSS mother 2SG.S eat IP.N+F SEC 2SG.S BKG+F
 nf vt sec prt

"You ate my mother."

88 **Okomi** **tikabani** **okomi** **kabi**
 o- ka ami ti- kaba -hani o- ka ami kaba.NFIN
 1SG.POSS POSS mother 2SG.S eat IP.N+F 1SG.POSS POSS mother eat
 nf vt nf result

manakone awi okobabone ona
 manakone awi o- kaba -habone ati o- na+F
 price tapir 1SG.S eat INT+F say 1SG.S AUX
 pn nm vt vt

"You ate my mother, and I want to eat tapir, to pay for the eating of my mother."

89 **Awi yama yete ona awi nabowi**
 awi yama yete o- na+F awi na- aboha.NFIN
 tapir thing hunt 1SG.S AUX tapir CAUS die
 nm nf vt aux nm vt

owatorahara oke
 o- wato -ra -hara o- ke
 1SG.S know NEG IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vt prt

"I went hunting, but I couldn't kill a tapir."

90 **Faya toke** , **anoti** **me hiyose**
 faya to- ka+M anoti me hi- yose
 so away go/come 3SG.POSS older brother 3PL.S OC command
 conj vi nm pron vt

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

'He went. His older brothers ordered him, and he went.'

91 **Toke** , **toke** , **fawa** **tosawite** , **me**
 to- ka+M to- ka+M fawa to- na -kosa -witI me
 away go/come away go/come disappear away AUX middle out 3PL
 vi vi vi aux pron
 , **me** **noki** **hine** , **kamarematamona** **fahi**
 me noki hi- na+M ka -ma -ra -himata -mona fahi
 3PL.S wait for OC AUX go/come back NEG FP.N+M REP+M then
 pron vt aux vi dem

'He went, and disappeared into the forest. They waited for him, but he didn't come back.'

92 **Faya** , **faya** **tohiyematamonaka** **fahi**
 faya faya to- hiya -himata -mona -ka fahi
 so so CH be different FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj conj vi dem

'He turned into an animal.'

93 **Tohiyematamonane**
 to- hiya -himata -mona -ne
 CH be different FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi

'He turned into an animal.'

EYIYI

94 *Efematamona* *yome wakasi* *amaka* , *yome* *yome wikiraba* .
 efe -mata -mona yome wakasi ama -ka , yomee yome wikiraba
 this+M FP.N+M REP+M margay be DECL+M jaguar ocelot
 dem nm vc nm nm

'He is the one who is now the margay, the ocelot.'

95 *Faya tosawari* , *faya tohiye* ,
 faya to- sawari+M , faya to- hiya+M ,
 so CH get lost so CH be different
 conj vi conj vi

tohiyematamona *fahi* .
 to- hiya -himata -mona fahi
 CH be different FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi dem

'He got lost, and turned into an animal.'

96 *Faya tohiye* *ya tokomisematamonaka*
 faya to- hiya.NOM+M ya to- ka -misa -himata -mona -ka
 so CH be different ADJU away go/come up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi prt vi

awa ya .
 awa ya
 tree ADJU
 nf prt

'He turned into an animal, and went up in a tree.'

97 *Tokomisawitematamonaka* *fare* *taboroteba*
 to- ka -misa -witI -himata -mona -ka fare taboro -tee -ba
 away go/come up out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M same+M place+M HAB FUT
 vi dem pn

ya .
 ya
 ADJU
 prt

'He went up into the place that became his home.'

98 *Fare taboroteba* *ya tokomisawite* ,
 fare taboro -tee -ba ya to- ka -misa -witI ,
 same+M place+M HAB FUT ADJU away go/come up out
 dem pn prt vi

itari *kakayome* *amo* *ne* ,
 ita -rI+M ka- kayoma+M amo na+M ,
 sit raised surface COMMIT darken sleep AUX
 vi vi vi aux

kakayomematamona *fahi* , *faya kamarebanoho*
 ka- kayoma -himata -mona fahi , faya ka -ma -ra -hiba -no -ho
 COMMIT darken FP.N+M REP+M then so go/come back NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vi dem conj vi

'He went up into the place that became his home. He sat on a limb. Darkness came on him, and he slept. Darkness came on him. He didn't come back.'

99 *Eyiyi* , *okomi* *kabehino* *na* , *ehene*
 Eyiyi o- ka ami kaba -hino na , ehene
 (man's name) 1SG.POSS POSS mother eat IP.N+M AUX victim of+M
 npropm nf vt aux pn

EYIYI

okobebona		oyose		kakama		nati		ra
o- kaba -hibona		o- yose+M		ka- ka -ma		nahatI		na -ra.CONT+M
1SG.S eat INT+M		1SG.S command		DUP go/come back		daytime		AUX NEG
vt		vt		vi		prt		aux

"Eyiya ate my mother. I wanted to eat what he killed, so I ordered him, but he has not come back."⁵⁴

100	Faya kamare		faya
	faya ka -ma -ra+M		faya
	so go/come back NEG		so
	conj vi		conj

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

'He didn't come back.'

101	Kamare		ha	yama	we	one	ya		amo	ni
	ka -ma -ra+M		haa yama	wehe	one	ya		amo	na.NFIN	
	go/come back NEG		DEM thing	light+F	other+F	ADJU		sleep	AUX	
	vi		dem nf	pn	adj	prt		vi	aux	

	e	ye	kafami		nima	nemata	ahi
	ee yehe ka-		fama.NFIN		nima na -himata		ahi
	1IN.POSS	hand	COMIT be two		like AUX FP.N+M		then
	pron	pn	vi		prt aux		dem

'He didn't come back. Another day, ten days later (he came back).'

102	Yiya tei		nemetemoneke
	yiya tei		na -hemete -mone -ke
	day be ten		AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
	nf vi		aux

'It was ten days later.'

103	Faya kame		kobo	name	mera
	faya ka -ma+M		kobo na -ma+M	mera	
	so go/come back		arrive AUX back	3PL.O	
	conj vi		vi aux	pron	

kakomatamonane
kaako -himata -mona -ne
be angry with FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
vt

'He came back. He arrived, and he was angry with them.'

104	Mera kako		me ka	owa	nabowebona	mera
	mera kaako+M		me ka owa	na- aboha -hibona	mera	
	3PL.O be angry with		3PL POSS man	CAUS die INT+M	3PL.O	
	pron vt		pron prt nm	vt	pron	

kakaraka	ne		me	hiyosematamonane
kakaraka na+M			me hi- yose -himata -mona -ne	
circle around AUX			3PL.S OC command FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M	
vt	aux		pron vt	

'He was angry with them. He wanted to kill one of them, and he circled around them. They ordered him.'

54 I am uncertain of the function of *na* after *kabehino*, today people would not include this.

EYIYI

105 *Tikamahi*

ti- to- ka -ma -hi
 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
 vi

"Go away."

106 *Tihiyani*

ti- to- hiya -hani ama tini
 2SG.S CH be bad IP.N+F SEC 2SG.S BKG+F
 vi sec prt

"You turned into an animal."

107 *Tiwa*

tiwa owa oke
 2SG.O 1SG.S see 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron vt prt

"I see you."

108 *Faya*

me hiyoseme
 faya me hi- to- yose -ma+M
 so 3PL.S OC away command back
 conj pron vt

tokomematamonaka

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

'They sent him back, and he went away.'

109 *Tokome*

to- ka -ma+M , tokomematamona fahi
 away go/come back away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi vi dem

'He went away.'

110 *Faya*

fafawa toematamona fahi
 faya fa- fawa to- ha -himata -mona fahi
 so DUP disappear CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj vi aux dem

'He disappeared.'

111 *Tiwahari*

tinofa tiwa tinahiyine
 ti- ohari ti- nofa+F tiwa ti- to- na- hiya -ne
 2SG.S be alone 2SG.S recently 2SG.O 2SG.S CH CAUS be different CONT+F
 vi prt pron vt

tiwenihi

ti- we -ni -hi
 2SG.S IP.N+F DUP
 prt

"You turned yourself into an animal, and you are alone now."

112 *Faya*

tohiye , kamarematamona fahi
 faya to- hiya+M ka -ma -ra -himata -mona fahi
 so CH be different go/come back NEG FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj vi vi dem

'He turned into an animal, and he didn't come back.'

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Free Translation

Toto Abono wanted to get married, so he asked for a wife. He called on his father's sister. "Aunt, I want to marry your daughter. I don't have anyone to cook my food, and my manioc is sitting in the field without being grated."

Then the girl's father came home. "Your nephew asked for your daughter. He's standing there."

"Did he really ask for my daughter? Let him take my daughter." So he gave away his daughter, but she didn't have any children.

Toto Abono went to his own home. He arrived. His new wife toasted manioc meal. Then they ate, but she didn't eat again. The two of them slept. He didn't sleep in the same hammock with her. He just lay beside her hammock in his. He didn't want to have sex with her.

"My manioc meal is all gone. I want you to pull up some manioc. Then you grate the manioc, too. When the manioc is grated, there will be a lot of manioc meal."

So she pulled up manioc. She carried the manioc. She peeled the manioc, which became the starch eaten with herself. She made the starch that was eaten with herself. She grated the manioc. When the manioc was finished being grated, she put the manioc through the sieve. The manioc was finished being put through the sieve.

"Toto Abono, aren't you a fisherman?"

"I don't have any arrows to spear fish with. The fish are there in the water, but I don't have any arrows. Because I don't have any equipment, I am always hungry."

So Toto Abono didn't go fishing. She pestered him. She ate manioc meal by herself. "I don't want to eat manioc meal by myself." She ate manioc meal by herself, before the two of them slept. She slept.

When the sun was this high, Hato Abono had cut firewood. He had put the firewood in a pile. He was planning to kill his bride, who he had brought.

While she was sleeping, he hit her on the head, at dawn. She died.

He got up early. He cut her up in the morning. He ate her in the morning. He roasted her. After he roasted her, he ate her. He ate her with the starch that she herself had grated.

When he was done eating his wife, he decided to leave. He was hungry. He went back to his mother-in-law. He arrived.

"Aha, there comes your older sister's husband."

"Whew, I have come back. Whew, my wife called for you. I came because she told me to, so you can grate manioc together."

"I guess my daughter is tired, because she is grating manioc."

"She wants you all to grate manioc together. I have come because she told me to."

"You take them. Let the two of them be together again."

He got ready to leave. "Mother-in-law, I'm going. Let your other daughter go back with me, to help her older sister, so they will grate manioc together."

She agreed. "You go back with your older sister's husband. The two of you go. You stay

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with your older sister."

So he took her. He went back. He disappeared into the forest.

"He said my daughter is grating manioc, and now Toto Abono has taken her younger sister, too, because he said she is tired."

The two of them arrived. He was married, but he didn't have sex with his wives. He was carrying them off and eating them. He ate them. He killed her, also. He ate her. After he finished eating her, his manioc meal ran out.

"Whew, I don't have any more manioc meal. The manioc meal is all gone. I'll go get someone to grate manioc meal."

She died. He ate her. He hit her on the head. He strangled her as she slept in her hammock. He killed her. He cut her up in the morning. Then he roasted her. He ate her belly. After he ate, he lay in his hammock during the day.

"Oh, my meat. Oh, I need to roast my meat some more." So he roasted her. He ate her all day. He ate more of her the next day again. He ate another piece the next day again, and then she was all gone. He was done eating her.

Then he went back again. "I'm going to go after them, others of them, for them to grate manioc for me." He went after his father-in-law's daughters, for them to grate manioc. He went and asked for others.

"Look, Toto Abono has come again."

"Whew! I have come back. They keep pestering me. I came again because they told me to. 'Let's all process manioc together. We will all process manioc. Go get our younger sisters,' they said. I have come because they told me to."

There were two of them. He took the two of them.

"You will peel your sisters' manioc. You squeeze the poison juice out of more manioc. Don't just look at each other. My daughters must be tired."

"They are tired and they don't stop pestering me. I came because they told me to. It wasn't my idea to come."

So he went home. They arrived when the sun was this high.

"Whew! I'm going to get myself some firewood. I didn't realize I had no firewood." He was planning to kill them, too.

"Where are my older sisters? They must have gone out to pull up manioc. Sister, sister." They called their older sisters, calling, "Sister."

Their older sisters didn't call out. They looked around. They looped around. Their sister's skulls had been strung with a line of inner bark, and were hanging on the split *basioba* palm wall. They found their skulls.

"Hato Abono has been eating my older sisters."

The sound of him cutting firewood could be heard in the distance, "Teo, teo, teo, teo."

"Sister, let's go." So they got ready to go, quickly grabbing their rolled up hammocks. They went running away because they had seen their sisters' skulls.

He came back carrying the firewood. He threw the firewood on the ground. "Whew, where is some water? They said they were going to bathe, are they bathing? They aren't here. They went away."

They had gone, and he called after them. He called them. "Yoohoo, are you bathing?"

They had disappeared. They didn't call. He came back. He looked around. "What, their things aren't here. Where did they take the things?"

Toto Abono decided to leave. He went running after them. Darkness overtook him.

He came back. He arrived back. "Oh boy, because I wasn't hungry they disappeared. Now

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I'm hungry, and they aren't here. I'm hungry now."

He lit a fire, and later did something bad.

He went to sleep hungry. He could be heard in the night. "Now I'm going to be hungry.

When I was going to eat my meat, they went away. I was going to eat them, and they went away."

Morning came. "I'll eat my belly. Look, it's thick. I'm going to eat it. I'm hungry."

It was a circular cut. He cut his belly out. Then he roasted the belly. It was ready. He licked his fingers. He toasted manioc meal. He ate some manioc meal. He ate his belly.

After he was done eating his belly, he covered the middle of his body with a wild banana leaf. He got water ready. His water was in the vessel. He drank water. He drank all the water. His water came out, "Ssssss".

"Oh no, my water came out. Look, my water came out."

So he tied inner bark around the middle of his body. He placed wild banana leaves in. He tied the middle of his body. Then he lay in his hammock, on his back.

"Hoo, I'm thirsty, because I couldn't drink water." He drank some more water.

His water came pouring out. "Oh no, it doesn't stop."

So he went back and lay in his hammock again. "Whew!"

His gut started to hurt. He lay sick in the hammock. He rotted right where he lay.

His brother-in-law came. "Toto Abono, the people eater, lives here."

He smelled him from far out. "Peeoo, is that him? He has started to rot." He was rotting because of his guts. He was dead, lying in the hammock.

He yelled at his brother-in-law, who he had found lying dead in his hammock. "Why did Toto Abono cut himself open? He didn't hunt. He was always hungry. Now he has cut himself open. He was eating my sisters. He didn't want to have children. He was strangling my sisters. Let him lie there dead in his hammock."

He left him there. He went home.

So the vultures ate him. So Toto Abono died. He lay dead in the hammock. He left him there.

He told about him back home. "Toto Abono is lying there in the hammock. He had cut himself up. Toto Abono had died. My two sisters didn't wait, they came home. He would have eaten them."

"Toto Abono had eaten our older sisters, and we found their skulls. We didn't like him. We left him behind, looking for us."

They left him behind. He ate himself. Then he died. The vultures ate him, the king vultures. But his manioc was still there, with no one to grate it.

They didn't see him anymore. "Don't go after Toto Abono anymore. Toto Abono is lying dead in a hammock. Let him be dead. He cut up his belly. He ate his belly, it tasted really good. The liquid from inside him spilled out, the water which he had drunk."

So he came home. He arrived home. "Mother, your son-in-law ate himself and he died and is lying there in the hammock."

"He was my son-in-law, but I didn't eat his game; he ate my daughters. This is what he asked for. Let him be dead. He is dead. He is no more. He has rotted. Why did he hurt himself? He has rotted. He can't be touched. He is lying rotten in his hammock."

"We will go back there and see his bones."

After three days they went after their brother-in-law. A king vulture had cut off his head and had taken his head far away from the body, and it was on the ground. "There is the head on the ground."

The vultures ate him. They came upon a vulture on the ground eating him during the day at

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the place where he died. It ate a lot as it ate Hato Abono.

"There is a vulture sitting on a branch. His rotted hammock is hanging there. His skin is in the hammock."

They came home. They arrived home.

"Well?"

"Well, he isn't living there anymore. He isn't there. His bones are in a pile. Why did he cut into himself and eat himself? Now he is dead. There is game in the forest. Toto Abono didn't want to make my sisters pregnant, but he married them. In the end he ate himself. Now he is dead."

Interlinear Presentation

1	Toto Abono Toto Abono (man's name) npropm	faneibona fana be married vi	-hibona INT+M	fati fati 3SG.POSS.wife nf	kanike ka- nika+M COMIT ask for vt	
	hinakaso hinaka aso 3SG.POSS father's nf	sister sister 3SG.POSS.son nm	biti biti 3SG.POSS.son nm	hinakaso hinaka aso 3SG.POSS father's nf	sister sister 3SG.POSS father's nf	ha haa call vt
	ne na+M AUX aux	hinakaso hinaka aso 3SG.POSS father's nf	sister sister 3SG.POSS father's nf	Aso aso father's sister nf	aso aso father's sister nf	
	aso aso father's sister nf	tikoto tikoto 2SG.POSS.daughter nf	ota otaa 1EX.S pron	famabone fama -habone be two INT+F vi		
	onara ati o- say 1SG.S vt	na -hara AUX IP.E+F prt	oke o- ke 1SG.S DECL+F prt			

"Toto Abono wanted to get married, so he asked for a wife. He called his father's sister. "Aunt, I want to be with your daughter."⁵⁵

2	Otefe o- 1SG.POSS pn	tefe tefe food pn	wawasi wa- wasi DUP cook pn	wawata wa- wata DUP exist vi	nofara na nofa AUX recently prt	-ra+F NEG	oko o- ka 1SG.POSS POSS prt
	fowa fowa manioc nm	hiti hiti grate nm	re na -ra+M AUX NEG aux	kawita ka- ita.LIST COMIT sit vi			

"There is no one to cook my food, and my manioc is sitting in the field without being grated."

3	Faya faya so conj	bati bati 3SG.POSS.father nm	kamematamona ka -ma -himata -mona go/come back FP.N+M REP+M vi	fahi fahi then dem
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'Then her father came home.'

⁵⁵ *biti* 'her son' is a mistake.

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4 **Tikoto** **bitimi** **kanike** , **wa** **fari**
tikoto bitimi ka- nika+M , waa.CONT+M faari
2SG.POSS.daughter nephew COMMIT ask for stand that one+M
nf nm vt vi dem

"Your nephew asked for your daughter. He's standing there."

5 **Okoto** **kanikanoho** ?
okoto ka- nika -no -ho
my daughter COMMIT buy IP.N+M DUP
nf vt

"Did he really ask for my daughter?"

6 **Okoto** **hiwakamahi**
okoto hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hi
my daughter OC away COMMIT go/come back IMP+F
nf vt

"Let him take my daughter."

7 **Hiwakamahi**
hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hi
OC away COMMIT go/come back IMP+F
vt

"Let him take her."

8 **Faya** **bite** **ta** **nematamona** **fahi** ,
faya bite taa na -himata -mona fahi
so 3SG.POSS.daughter give AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
conj nf vt aux dem

bite **kaiwarabanihi**
bite ka- hiwa -ra -haba -ni -hi
3SG.POSS.daughter COMMIT have children NEG FUT+F IP.N+F DUP
nf vi

'So he gave away his daughter, but she didn't have any children.'

9 **Faya** **Toto Abono** **tokomematamonane**
faya Toto Abono to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ne
so (man's name) away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
conj npropm vi

'So Toto Abono went home.'

10 **Tokome** **fare** **taboro** **ya** **tokome** , **kobo**
to- ka -ma+M fare taboro ya to- ka -ma+M , kobo
away go/come back same+M place ADJU away go/come back arrive
vi dem pn prt vi vi

toname , **kobo** **tonamematamonaka**
to- na -ma+M , kobo to- na -ma -himata -mona -ka
away AUX back arrive away AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux vi aux

'He went home. He went to his own home. He arrived back home.'

11 **Kobo** **toname** **ama**
kobo to- na -ma+M ama
arrive away AUX back SEC
vi aux sec

'He arrived back home.'

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12	Yama	,	iyawa		fati		siremetemone		fahi	.
	yama		iyawa		fati		sira -hemete -mone		fahi	
	thing		manioc mash		3SG.POSS.wife		toast FP.N+F REP+F		then	
	nf		nf		nf		vt		dem	

'His wife toasted manioc mash.'

13	Iyawa		fati		sira	,	fatibonehe		.
	iyawa		fati		sira+F		fati -bone -he		
	manioc mash		3SG.POSS.wife		toast		3SG.POSS.wife INT+F DUP		
	nf		nf		vt		nf		

'His wife toasted manioc mash, his bride.'

14	Faya		iyawa		siremetemone		fahi	.
	faya		iyawa		sira -hemete -mone		fahi	
	so		manioc mash		toast FP.N+F REP+F		then	
	conj		nf		vt		dem	

'She toasted manioc mash.'

15	Faya		me		tafemetemone		fahi	,	tafamarabanihi	.
	faya		me		tafa -hemete -mone		fahi		tafa -ma -ra -haba -ni -hi	
	so		3PL.S		eat FP.N+F REP+F		then		eat back NEG FUT+F IP.N+F DUP	
	conj		pron		vi		dem		vi	

'Then they ate, but she didn't eat again.'

16	Faya		me		tafa		me		amo		kana		me	,
	faya		me		tafa+F		me		amo		ka- na+F		me	
	so		3PL.S		eat		3PL.S		sleep		COMIT AUX		3PL.S	
	conj		pron		vi		pron		vi		aux		pron	

hitakoraremetemoneke

hi- takora -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 OC be in hammock with NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'They ate. The two of them slept. He didn't sleep in the same hammock with her.'

17	Hitakorara					,	hine	ya	winaha		ni	ya
	hi- takora				-ra+F		hine	ya	wina+F		ni	ya
	OC				NEG		only	ADJU	lie in hammock		to	ADJU
	vt						pron	prt	vi		prt	prt

winabase

wina -basa+M , **ai** **ni**
 lie in hammock edge have sex with na.NFIN
 vi vt aux

hinofaremetemoneke

hi- nofa -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 OC want NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'He didn't sleep in the same hammock with her. He just lay in the hammock beside where she was lying. He didn't want to have sex with her.'

18	Ai		ni		hinofara	,	faya	Toto Abono	,
	ahi		na.NFIN		hi- nofa -ra+F		faya	Toto Abono	
	have sex with		AUX		OC want NEG		so	(man's name)	
	vt		aux		vt		conj	npropm	

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Oko , **oko** **iyawa** **abarake**
 o- ka , o- ka iyawa ahaba -hara -ke
 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS manioc mash end IP.E+F DECL+F
 prt prt nf vi
 'He didn't want to have sex with her. "My manioc mash is all gone.'"

19 **Iyawa** **abarake**
 iyawa ahaba -hara -ke
 manioc mash end IP.E+F DECL+F
 nf vi
 ""The manioc mash is all gone.""

20 **Fowa** **bore** **tikanabone** **onara**
 fowa bore ti- ka- na -habone ati o- na -hara
 manioc pull out 2SG.S COMIT AUX INT+F say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F
 nm vt aux vt

oke
 o- ke
 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt
 ""I want you to pull up some manioc.""

21 **Fowa** **bore** **tikana** **fowa** **hiti**
 fowa bore ti- ka- na.LIST fowa hiti.LIST
 manioc pull out 2SG.S COMIT AUX manioc grate
 nm vt aux nm vt
 ""When you have pulled up the manioc, grate the manioc, too.""

22 **Fowa** **hiti** **tinisahi**
 fowa hiti ti- na -risa -hi
 manioc grate 2SG.S AUX down IMP+F
 nm vt aux
 ""Grate the manioc.""

23 **Fowa** **hiti** **tinisa** **iyawa** **nanafi** **nama**
 fowa hiti ti- na -risa+F iyawa na- nafi na -nama
 manioc grate 2SG.S AUX down manioc mash DUP be big AUX SUPER
 nm result aux nf vi aux

nabanake
 na -habana -ke
 AUX FUT+F DECL+F
 aux
 ""When you grate the manioc, there will be a lot of manioc meal.""

24 **Faya** **fowa** **bore** **na** , **fowa** **iso** **na** **fowa** **sowe**
 faya fowa bore na+F , fowa iso na+F fowa sowe
 so manioc pull out AUX manioc carry off AUX manioc scrape
 conj nm vt aux nm vt aux nm result

nemetemoneke
 na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux
 'So she pulled up manioc. She carried the manioc. She peeled the manioc.'

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25 *Fowa* *sowe* *na* , *fowa* *sowe* *na* *fara*
 fowa sowe na+F , fowa sowe na+F fara
 manioc scrape AUX manioc scrape AUX same+F
 nm result aux nm result aux dem

kawiabanihi

kawia -ba -ni -hi
 accompanying food FUT IP.N+F DUP
 pn

'She peeled the manioc. She peeled the manioc that was to be the starch eaten with herself.'

26 *Fara* *kawiabani* *ra* *ai* *nemetemoneni*
 fara kawia -ba -ni ra ahi na -hemete -mone -ni
 same+F accompanying food FUT IP.N+F O work on AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 dem pn prt vt aux

'She made the starch that was eaten with herself.'

27 *Fowa* *hiti* *nemetemoneke*
 fowa hiti na -hemete -mone -ke
 manioc grate AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm vt aux

'She grated the manioc.'

28 *Fowa* *hiti* *na* , *fowa* *hiti* *nemetemoneke*
 fowa hiti na+F , fowa hiti na -hemete -mone -ke
 manioc grate AUX manioc grate AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm vt aux nm vt aux

'She grated the manioc.'

29 *Fowa* *hiti* *ni* *ahabe* *ya* , *iyawa* , *fowa*
 fowa hiti na.NFIN ahaba.NOM+M ya , iyawa , fowa
 manioc grate AUX end ADJU manioc mash manioc
 nm result aux vi prt nf nm

nano *na* , *fowa* *nano* *nemetemoneke* *fahi*
 nano na+F , fowa nano na -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 squeeze AUX manioc squeeze AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt aux nm vt aux dem

'When the manioc was finished being grated, she put the manioc through the sieve.'

30 *Fowa* *nano* *ni* *abematamonaka*
 fowa nano na.NFIN ahaba -himata -mona -ka
 manioc squeeze AUX end FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm result aux vi

'The manioc was finished being put through the sieve.'

31 *Toto Abono* *aba* , *aba* *me* *tani* *tihara* *tiwa*
 Toto Abono aba , aba me tani ti- to- ha -ra+F tiwa
 (man's name) fish fish 3PL.POSS killer 2SG.S CH be NEG 2SG.S
 npropm nm nm pron pn vc pron

awine *tini* ?
 awine ti- ni
 seem+F 2SG.S BKG+F
 sec prt

""Toto Abono, aren't you a fisherman?""

TOTO ABONO

32 *Aba me sasa kana wati okia*
 aba me sa- saa ka- na wati o- kiha
 fish 3PL.POSS DUP shoot with arrow COMIT AUX arrow 1SG.S have
 nm pron pn nm vt

okere

o- ke -re
 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F
 prt

"I don't have any arrows to spear fish with."

33 *Aba me kaya ke*
 aba me kaya na -ke
 fish 3PL.S lie AUX DECL+F
 nm pron vi prt

"The fish are there in the water."

34 *Aba me kaya na me wati okiarihi*
 aba me kaya na+F me wati o- kiha -rihi
 fish 3PL.S lie AUX 3PL.S arrow 1SG.S have NEG.LIST
 nm pron vi aux pron nm vt

"The fish are there in the water, but I don't have any arrows."

35 *Oye honarimakoni ofimi*
 o- yehe hona -ra -makoni o- fimi
 1SG.POSS hand have something NEG for this reason+F 1SG.S be hungry
 pn vi vi

onofa ama oni
 o- nofa+F ama o- ni
 1SG.S recently SEC 1SG.S BKG+F
 prt sec prt

"Because I don't have any equipment, I am always hungry."

36 *Faya Toto Abono tokare kasiro hikane*
 faya Toto Abono to- ka -ra+M kasiro hi- ka- na+M
 so (man's name) away go/come NEG complain about OC COMIT AUX
 conj npropm v vt aux
 , *iyawa hinita kaba iyawa hinita*
 iyawa hinita kaba+F iyawa hinita
 manioc mash alone eat manioc mash alone
 nf pn vt nf pn

kabemetemoneni

kaba -hemete -mone -ni
 eat FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vt

'So Toto Abono didn't go out. She pestered him. She ate manioc meal by itself.'

37 *Iyawa hinita kabi onofarini*
 iyawa hinita kaba.NFIN o- nofa -ra -ni
 manioc mash alone eat 1SG.S want NEG BKG+F
 nf pn result vt

"I don't want to eat manioc meal by itself."

38 *Iyawa hinita kabemetemoneke me amo*
 iyawa hinita kaba -hemete -mone -ke me amo
 manioc mash alone eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S sleep
 nf pn vt pron vi

TOTO ABONO

kanabone **me** **fama** **mati**
ka- na -habone me fama+F mati
COMIT AUX INT+F 3PL.S be two 3PL.S
aux pron vi pron
'She ate manioc meal by itself, before the two of them slept.'

39 **Faya** **amo** **na** , **amo** **nemetemone** **fahi**
faya amo na+F , amo na -hemete -mone fahi
so sleep AUX sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
conj vi aux vi aux dem
'She slept.'

40 **Hato Abono** **ai** **bai** **ite** **ya** **yifo** **tafa**
Hato Abono ahi bahi ita.NOM+M ya yifo tafa
(man's name) there sun be located ADJU firewood split
npropm dem nm vi prt nf vt

nematamonaka
na -himata -mona -ka
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux
'When the sun was this high Hato Abono cut firewood.'

41 **Faya** **yifo** **tafa** **ne** , **yifo** **tafa** **nematamonane**
faya yifo tafa na+M , yifo tafa na -himata -mona -ne
so firewood split AUX firewood split AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
conj nf vt aux nf vt aux

'He cut firewood.'

42 **Yifo** **ta** **toniharematamonaka**
yifo taa to- niha- na -rI -himata -mona -ka
firewood be piled up CH CAUS AUX raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nf vi aux

, **fati** , **fatitebone** , **hiwakama**
fati , fati -tee -bone , hi- ka- ka -ma+F
3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife HAB INT+F OC COMIT go/come back
nf nf vt

wati **kanehinoho**
wati ka- na -hino -ho
plan against COMIT AUX IP.N+M DUP
vt aux

'He put the firewood in a pile. He was planning against his bride, who he had brought.'

43 **Wati** **hikanani** , **amo** **na** , **amo** **ni**
wati hi- ka- na -hani , amo na+F , amo na.NFIN
plan against OC COMIT AUX IP.N+F sleep AUX sleep AUX
vt aux vi aux vi aux

tati **ba** **hiremetemoneke** , **amo** **naro**
tati baa hi- na -rI -hemete -mone -ke , amo na -haaro
head hit OC AUX raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F sleep AUX IP.E+F
pn vt aux vi aux

ahi , **yama** **we** **kamaki** **ya**
ahi , yama wehe ka -makI.NOM ya
then thing light+F go/come following ADJU
dem nf pn vi prt

'He was planning against her. She was sleeping. While she was sleeping, he hit her on the head, at dawn.'

TOTO ABONO

44 *Faya tati ba hiremetemone ahi*
 faya tati baa hi- na -ra -hemete -mone ahi
 so head hit OC AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pn vt aux dem

'He hit her on the head.'

45 *Faya ahaba bosa hikana bobi hinamina*
 faya ahaba+F bosa hi- ka- na+F bobi hi- na -mina+F
 so die get up early OC COMIT AUX slit OC AUX morning
 conj vi vi aux vt aux

hikabaminemetemoneke

hi- kaba -mina -hemete -mone -ke
 OC eat morning FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'She died. He got up early with respect to her. He cut her up in the morning. He ate her in the morning.'

46 *Tabasi hina tabasi hini ya*
 tabasi hi- na+F tabasi hi- na.NOM+F ya
 roast on grill OC AUX roast on grill OC AUX ADJU
 vt aux vt aux prt
hikaba fara kakawiabone hiti hinaha ya
 hi- kaba+F fara ka- kawia -bone hiti hi- na+F ya
 OC eat same+F DUP eat with something INT+F grate OC AUX ADJU
 vt dem pn vt aux prt

kakawi

hinemetemoneke

ka- kawi hi- na -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT eat with something OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux

'He roasted her. After he roasted her, he ate her. He ate her with the starch that she herself had grated.'

47 *Faya kakawi hina faya abi ya*
 faya ka- kawi hi- na+F faya ahaba.NOM+F ya
 so DUP eat with something OC AUX so die ADJU
 conj vt aux conj vi prt
faya fati kabi abi ya yana tone
 faya fati kaba.NFIN ahaba.NOM+F ya yana to- na+M
 so 3SG.POSS.wife eat end ADJU start CH AUX
 conj nf result nm prt vi aux
fimihi yana tone tokomematamonaka
 fimi+M yana to- na+M to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 be hungry start CH AUX away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi aux vi

'He ate her with starch. When he was done eating his wife, he got ready to leave. He was hungry, and he got ready to leave. He went back.'

48 *Tokome hinaka koma ni ya hinaka*
 to- ka -ma+M hinaka koma ni ya hinaka
 away go/come back 3SG.POSS son-in-law to ADJU 3SG.POSS
 vi pron nm prt prt pron
koma ni ya tokome kobo toname kobo
 koma ni ya to- ka -ma+M kobo to- na -ma+M kobo
 son-in-law to ADJU away go/come back arrive away AUX back arrive
 nm prt prt vi vi aux vi

tonamematamonaka

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

TOTO ABONO

'He went back. He went back to his mother-in-law. He arrived.'⁵⁶

49 *Aa* , *ati* *maki* *kame*
aa , ati maki ka -ma+M
aha 2SG.POSS.older sister 3SG.POSS.husband go/come back
interj nf nm vi

"Aha, there comes your older sister's husband."

50 *Oof* , *okomine* *oke*
oof , o- ka -ma -ne o- ke
hoo 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
interj vi prt

"Whew, I have come back."

51 *Hoo* , *oko* *yibote* *tera* *ati* *na* *ati*
hoo , o- ka yibote tera ati na+F ati
whew 1SG.POSS POSS wife 2PL.O call for AUX voice
interj prt nf pron vt aux pn

ihi *okomine* *oni* , *fowa* *te* *hiti*
ihi o- ka -ma -ne o- ni , fowa tee hiti
because of+F 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F manioc 2PL.S grate
post vi prt nm pron vt

nabone *te*
na -habone tee
AUX INT+F 2PL.S
aux pron

"Whew, my wife called for you. Because of what she said I have come, so you can grate manioc together."

52 *Okoto* *ma* *toa* *awineni* , *fowa* *hiti*
okoto maa to- ha+F awine -ni , fowa hiti
my daughter be tired CH AUX seem+F BKG+F manioc grate
nf vi aux sec nm vt

naro
na -haaro
AUX IP.E+F
aux

"I guess my daughter is tired, because she is grating manioc."

53 *Fowa* *te* *hiti* *nabone* *ati* *na* *ati* *ihi*
fowa tee hiti na -habone ati na+F ati ihi
manioc 2PL.S grate AUX INT+F say AUX voice because of+F
nm pron vt aux vt aux pn post

okomine *o*
o- ka -ma -ne o-
1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S
vi prt

"She wants you all to grate manioc together. Because of what she said I have come."

54 *Me* *tekamiya*
me ti- to- ka- ka -ma -yahi
3PL.O 2SG.S away COMMIT go/come back DIST.IMP+F
pron vt

"You take them."

56 *hinaka koma* appears to be a mistake, since this means 'his daughter/son-in-law'; it should be *hinakaso* 'his mother-in-law'.

TOTO ABONO

55 *Me famamiyahi*
 me fama -ma -yahi
 3PL.S be two back DIST.IMP+F
 pron vi

"Let the two of them be together again."

56 *Yana tonematamona fahi*
 yana to- na -himata -mona fahi
 start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi aux dem

'He got ready to leave.'

57 *Yana toneibona Aso aso*
 yana to- na -hibona aso aso
 start CH AUX INT+M mother-in-law mother-in-law
 vi aux nf nf

okoma oke
 o- to- ka -ma o- ke
 1SG.S away go/come back 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt

'He got ready to leave. "Mother-in-law, I'm going."

58 *Tikoto one ota tofamamibana*
 tikoto one otaa to- fama -ma.NOM+F -bana
 2SG.POSS.daughter other+F 1EX.S away be two back FUT
 nf adj pron vi

hinakati asota nabonehe fowa me hiti
 hinaka ati asota na -habone -he fowa me hiti
 3SG.POSS older sister help AUX INT+F DUP manioc 3PL.S grate
 nf vt aux nm pron vt

nabone mati
 na -habone mati
 AUX INT+F 3PL.S
 aux pron

"Let your other daughter go back with me, to help her older sister, so they will grate manioc together."⁵⁷

59 *Ati amosematamonaka*
 ati amosa -himata -mona -ka
 voice be good FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pn vi

'What he said was acceptable to her.'

60 *Ati maki te tofamamahi*
 ati maki tee to- fama -ma -hi
 2SG.POSS.older sister 3SG.POSS.husband 2PL.S away be two back IMP+F
 nf nm pron vi

"You go back with your older sister's husband."

61 *Ati maki te tofamamahi*
 ati maki tee to- fama -ma -hi
 2SG.POSS.older sister 3SG.POSS.husband 2PL.S away be two back IMP+F
 nf nm pron vi

"You go back with your older sister's husband."

57 The recording sounds like *tofamibana*, but the correct word is *tofamamibana*.

TOTO ABONO

62 *Te towakamahi*

tee to- ka- ka -ma -hi
 2PL.S away COMIT go/come back IMP+F
 pron vt

"The two of you go."

63 *Ati*

ati tee *te* *fafamawa* *na*
 2SG.POSS.older sister 2PL.S DUP be two change AUX
 nf pron vi aux

toharima

to- ha -rima *nahi*
 CH AUX intermittent AUX IMP+F
 aux aux

"You stay with your older sister."

64 *Faya hiwakamemetemone*

faya hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone *amake*
 so OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 conj vt sec

'So he took her.'

65 *Hiwakama*

hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F
 OC away COMIT go/come back
 vt

hiwakamemetemoneke

hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'He took her.'

66 *Tokome*

to- ka -ma+M *fawa* *tosame* , *fawa*
 away go/come back disappear CH AUX middle back disappear
 vi vi aux vi

tonakosamematamonaka

to- na -kosa -ma -himata -mona -ka
 CH AUX middle back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'He went back. He disappeared into the forest.'

67 *Okoto*

okoto *fowa* *hiti* *namone* *hinakasima*
 my daughter manioc grate AUX REP+F 3SG.POSS younger sister
 nf nm vt aux nf

Toto Abono

Toto Abono *towakama* *ne* , *ma* *toamone*
 (man's name) away COMIT go/come back AUX , maa to- ha -hamone
 npropm vt aux vi aux be tired CH AUX REP+F

ati ihimonehe

ati ihi -mone -he
 voice because of+F REP+F DUP
 pn pn

"My daughter is said to be grating manioc, and now Toto Abono has taken her younger sister, too, because she is said to be tired."

TOTO ABONO

68 *Faya me kobo tokanama* , *fanahi mera*
 faya me kobo to- ka- na -ma+F , fana+M mera
 so 3PL.S arrive away COMIT AUX back be married 3PL.O
 conj pron vi aux vi pron

yori rari
 yori na -ra -haari
 have sex with AUX NEG IP.E+M
 vt aux

'The two of them arrived. He was married, but he didn't have sex with them.'

69 *Mera yori re* , *mera iiso tohe mera*
 mera yori na -ra+M , mera i- iso to- ha+M mera
 3PL.O have sex with AUX NEG 3PL.O DUP carry off CH AUX 3PL.O
 pron vt aux pron vt aux pron

kakaba toemata
 ka- kaba to- ha -himata
 DUP eat CH AUX FP.N+M
 vt aux

'He didn't have sex with them. He was carrying them off. He was eating them.'

70 *Mera kabe* , *faya hinabowamake*
 mera kaba+M , faya hi- na- aboha -makI
 3PL.O eat so OC CAUS die following
 pron vt conj vt

hikabemetemoneke fahi
 hi- kaba -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 OC eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt dem

'He ate them. He killed her, also. He ate her.'

71 *Hikaba* , *kabi abi ya hinaka iyawa*
 hi- kaba+F , kaba.NFIN ahaba.NOM+F ya hinaka iyawa
 OC eat eat end ADJU 3SG.POSS manioc mash
 vt result vi prt pron nf

ahaba , *faya hinaka iyawa* , *hinaka iyawa aba*
 ahaba+F , faya hinaka iyawa , hinaka iyawa ahaba+F
 end so 3SG.POSS manioc mash 3SG.POSS manioc mash end
 vi conj pron nf pron nf vi

Oof , *iyawa okiamari*
 oof , iyawa o- kiha -ma -ra.NOM+F
 hoo manioc mash 1SG.S have back NEG
 interj nf vt

'He ate her. After he finished eating her, his manioc mash ran out. "Whew, I don't have any more manioc mash."'

72 *Iyawa abake*
 iyawa ahaba -ke
 manioc mash end DECL+F
 nf vi

'"The manioc mash is all gone."'

73 *Iyawa hihiti nisaba*
 iyawa hi- hiti na -risa -ba
 manioc mash DUP grate AUX down FUT
 nf pn

TOTO ABONO

onakamamate

o- to- na- ka -ma -mate
 1SG.S away CAUS go/come back short time.IMP+F
 vt
 "I'll go get someone to grate manioc mash."

74 *Faya abemetemone amani*
 faya ahaba -hemete -mone ama -ni
 so die FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
 conj vi sec
 'She died.'

75 *Hikabemetemone amake*
 hi- kaba -hemete -mone ama -ke
 OC eat FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 vt sec
 'He ate her.'

76 *Tati ba hiremetemone*
 tati baa hi- na -rI -hemete -mone
 head hit OC AUX raised surface FP.N+F REP+F
 pn vt aux
 'He hit her on the head.'

77 *Tati ba hire , namiti , namiti niki*
 tati baa hi- na -rI , namiti , namiti niki
 head hit OC AUX raised surface neck neck press on
 pn vt aux pn pn vt
hikanemetemoneke , amo naro
 hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke , amo na -haaro
 OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F sleep AUX IP.E+F
 aux vi aux
 'He hit her on the head. He strangled her as she slept.'

78 *Amo ni winaha ra namiti niki*
 amo na.NFIN wina+F ra namiti niki
 sleep AUX lie in hammock O neck press on
 vi aux vi prt pn vt

kanematamonaka
 ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux
 'He strangled her as she slept in her hammock.'

79 *Faya namiti niki hikana , hinahabiha , bobo*
 faya namiti niki hi- ka- na+F , hi- na- ahaba+F , bobo
 so neck press on OC COMIT AUX OC CAUS die slit
 conj pn vt aux vt vt
hinamina , bobo hinamina faya tabasi hina
 hi- na -mina+F , bobo hi- na -mina+F faya tabasi hi- na+F
 OC AUX morning slit OC AUX morning so roast on grill OC AUX
 aux vt aux conj vt aux
sobori hikabemetemoneke ahi
 sobo -ri hi- kaba -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 belly PN OC eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pn vt dem
 'He strangled her. He killed her. He cut her up in the morning. Then he roasted her. He ate her belly.'

TOTO ABONO

80 *Sobori hikaba tafe ya wina nati*
 sobo -ri hi- kaba+F , tafa.NOM+M ya wina na nahatI+M
 belly PN OC eat eat ADJU lie in hammock AUX daytime
 pn vt vi prt vi prt

, *Aa oko bani*
 aa , o- ka bani
 oh yes 1SG.POSS POSS animal
 interj prt nm

'He ate her belly. After he ate, he lay in his hammock during the day. "Oh, my meat."'

81 *Aa oko bani tabatabasi*
 aa , o- ka bani taba- tabasi
 oh yes 1SG.POSS POSS animal DUP roast on grill
 interj prt nm vt

okowamate

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

"Oh, I need to roast my meat some more."

82 *Faya tabasi hina hikaba hinate*
 faya tabasi hi- na+F , hi- kaba+F hi- nahatI ,
 so roast on grill OC AUX OC eat OC daytime
 conj vt aux vt prt

hikabaminatasa one hikabaminatasi ya
 hi- kaba -mina -tasa+F , one hi- kaba -mina -tasa.NOM+F ya
 OC eat morning again other+F OC eat morning again ADJU
 vt adj vt prt

aba faya abemetemoneke
 ahaba+F , faya ahaba -hemete -mone -ke
 end so end FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi conj vi

'So he roasted her. He ate her all day. He ate her the next day again. He ate another piece the next day again, and then she was all gone.'

83 *Kabi aba kabi abemetemone fahi*
 kaba.NFIN ahaba+F , kaba.NFIN ahaba -hemete -mone fahi ,
 eat end eat end FP.N+F REP+F then
 result nm result vi dem

tokomatasebanoho

to- ka -ma -tasa -hiba -no -ho
 away go/come back again FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vi

'The eating of her was done. Then he went back again.'

84 *Me onakamamatibe me one*
 me o- to- na- ka -ma -mata -be , me one ,
 3PL.O 1SG.S away CAUS go/come back short time IMMED+F 3PL other+F
 pron vt pron adj

oko fowa me hiti naba mati
 o- ka fowa me hiti naba -haba mati
 1SG.POSS POSS manioc 3PL.S grate AUX FUT+F 3PL.S
 prt nm pron vt aux pron

"I'm going to go after them, others of them, for them to grate my manioc."

TOTO ABONO

85	Oof	,	fowa	me	hiti	nabone	mera	,
	oof		fowa	me	hiti	na -habone	mera	
	hoo		manioc	3PL.S	grate	AUX INT+F	3PL.O	
	interj		nm	pron	vt	aux	pron	
	kokori				biterawa			
	kokori				bite	-rawa		
	3SG.POSS.father-in-law				3SG.POSS.daughter	F.PL		
	nm				nf			
	tonakamatasarawe						mera	tonakame
	to- na- ka		-ma	-tasa	-rawa+M		mera	to- na- ka
	away CAUS go/come		back	again	F.PL		3PL.O	away CAUS go/come
	vt						pron	vt
	mera	tokanikamatase					Hiya	aa
	mera	to- ka-	nika	-ma	-tasa+M		hiya	aa
	3PL.O	away COMIT	buy	back	again		come on	aha
	pron	vt					interj	interj
	kamatasari				hari			Toto Abono
	ka	-ma	-tasa	-haari	haari			Toto Abono
	go/come back		again	look+M	that one+M			(man's name)
	vi				dem			npropm

'He went after his father-in-law's daughters, for them to grate manioc. He went after them. He went and asked for others. "Look, Toto Abono has come again."

86	Oof	,	okomine			oke	.
	oof		o- ka	-ma	-ne	o- ke	
	hoo		1SG.S go/come	back	CONT+F	1SG.S DECL+F	
	interj		vi			prt	

"Whew! I have come back."

87	Me	ati	kakasiro	ra	me	ati	ihi
	me	ati	ka- kasiro	na -ra+F	me	ati	ihi
	3PL.POSS	voice	DUP persist	AUX NEG	3PL.POSS	voice	because of+F
	pron	pn	vi	aux	pron	pn	post
	okomatasine				oni		.
	o- ka	-ma	-tasa	-ne	o- ni		
	1SG.S go/come		back	again	CONT+F	1SG.S BKG+F	
	vi				prt		

"They keep pestering me. Because of what they said I have come again."

88	Fowa	e	nafi	ahi	nibeya	.
	fowa	ee	nafi	ahi	na -be -ya	
	manioc	1IN.POSS	all	work on	AUX IMMED+F	now
	nm	pron	pn	vt	aux	

"Let's all process manioc together."

89	Ota	nafi	fowa	ahi	nabanani	.
	otaa	nafi	fowa	ahi	na -habana -ni	
	1EX.POSS	all	manioc	work on	AUX FUT+F	BKG+F
	pron	pn	nm	vt	aux	

"We will all process manioc."

90	Ota	ka	asima	tinakamarawahi	
	otaa	ka	asima	ti- to- na- ka	-ma -rawa -hi
	1EX	POSS	younger sister	2SG.S away CAUS	go/come back F.PL IMP+F
	pron	prt	nf	vt	

TOTO ABONO

me ati narake
 me ati na -hara -ke
 3PL.S say AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vt aux
 "'Go get our younger sisters,' they said."

91 *Faya me ati na me ati ihi*
 faya me ati na+F me ati ihi
 so 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.POSS voice because of+F
 conj pron vt aux pron pn post

okomine oke
 o- ka -ma -ne o- ke
 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt
 "'I have come because of what they said.'"

92 *Faya me , me famarawemetemoneke*
 faya me , me fama -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 so 3PL 3PL.S be two F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj pron pron vi
 "There were two of them.'

93 *Famarawa , towakame me*
 fama -rawa+F , to- ka- ka -ma+M , me
 be two F.PL away COMIT go/come back 3PL.O
 vi vt pron

hekamemetemoneke
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt
 'He took the two of them. He took them.'

94 *Me hekama , Ati ka*
 me hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F , ati ka
 3PL.O OC away COMIT go/come back 2SG.POSS.older sister POSS
 pron vt nf prt

fowa te sowe na fowa owa te nano niyahi
 fowa tee sowe na+F fowa owa tee nano na -yahi
 manioc 2PL.S scrape AUX manioc owa other+M 2PL.S squeeze AUX DIST.IMP+F
 nm pron result aux nm adj pron vt aux

'He took them. "You will peel your older sister's manioc. You squeeze the poison juice out of more manioc.'"

95 *Fowa te nano niyahi*
 fowa tee nano na -yahi
 manioc 2PL.S squeeze AUX DIST.IMP+F
 nm pron vt aux

"'You squeeze the poison juice out of the manioc.'"

96 *Te ebe kakatomariyahi*
 tee ebe ka- katoma -ra -yahi
 2PL.POSS RECIP COMIT look at NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron pn vt

"'Don't just look at each other.'"

TOTO ABONO

'They arrived back. They arrived back when the sun was this high.'

106 *Oof oko yifoba owamatibe*
 oof o- ka yifo -ba o- awa -mata -be
 hoo 1SG.POSS POSS firewood FUT 1SG.S see short time IMMED+F
 interj prt nf aux

"Whew! I'm going to get myself some firewood."

107 *Yifo okia okereni , mera wati*
 yifo o- kiha o- ke -re -ni , mera wati
 firewood 1SG.S have 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F IP.N+F 3PL.O plan against
 nf vt prt pron vt

kanenoho tasa
 ka- na -hino -ho , tasa
 COMIT AUX IP.N+M DUP again
 aux prt

"I didn't realize I had no firewood." He was planning against them, too.'

108 *Hibaka okati toaha ?*
 hibaka o- ka ati to- ha+F ?
 where 1SG.POSS POSS older sister CH be
 interrog nf vc

"Where are my older sisters?"

109 *Me towaka me awineke , fowa me*
 me to- ka- ka+F me awine -ke , fowa me
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F manioc 3PL.S
 pron vi pron sec nm pron

bore naba mati
 bore na -haba mati
 pull out AUX FUT+F 3PL.S
 vt aux pron

"They must have gone out to pull up manioc."

110 *Ati , ati , ati ya me ka*
 ati ati ati ya me ka
 older sister older sister older sister ADJU 3PL POSS
 nf nf nf prt pron prt

ati me ha na me , me ka ati haha
 ati me haa na+F me , me ka ati haha
 older sister 3PL.S call AUX 3PL.S 3PL POSS older sister DUP call
 nf pron vt aux pron pron prt nf vi

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

"Sister, sister." They called their older sisters, calling, "Sister." Their older sisters didn't call out.'

111 *Yama me siba na me , me moto tokanama*
 yama me siba na+F me , me moto to- ka- na -ma+F
 thing 3PL.S look for AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S loop away COMIT AUX back
 nf pron vt aux pron pron vi aux

, me , hinakati tati tone ra , hinakati
 me hinaka ati tati tone ra hinaka ati
 3PL.S 3SG.POSS older sister head bone O 3SG.POSS older sister
 pron nf pn pn prt nf

TOTO ABONO

tati	tone	tasi	tokasani		mato	ya	tasi
tati	tone	tasi	to- ka- na -kosa -hani	,	mato	ya	tasi
head	bone	emerge	CH COMIT AUX middle IP.N+F		inner bark	ADJU	emerge
pn	pn	vi	aux		nf	prt	vi
tokasa			watehemetemoneni	,	basioba		
to- ka- na -kosa+F	wata -hemete -mone -ni		hang FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F		basioba		
CH COMIT AUX middle	aux		vi		palm sp		
					nf		

kawari
ka- waa -rI.NOM
COMIT stand raised surface
vi

ya
ya
ADJU
prt

'They looked around. They looped around. Her sister's skulls had been strung with a line of inner bark, and were hanging with a line of inner bark through them, on the basioba palm wall.'

112	Faya	tati	tone	me	hiwasia	Hato Abono
	faya	tati	tone	me	hi- wasi+F	Hato Abono
	so	head	bone	3PL.S	OC find	(man's name)
	conj	pn	pn	pron	vt	npropm

okati
o- ka ati
1SG.POSS POSS older sister
nf

me
me
3PL.O
pron

kakaba
ka- kaba
DUP eat
vt

toeino
to- ha -hino
CH AUX IP.N+M
aux

awane
awa -ne
seem+M BKG+M
sec

'They found their skulls. "Hato Abono has been eating my older sisters."'

113	Yifo	,	yifo	ti	ne	moni	saiba
	yifo		yifo	tii	na+M	moni	sai -baa
	firewood		firewood	cut through	AUX	sound	be heard at a distance
	nf		nf	vt	aux	pn	vi

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

hike
hike
far
nf

ya
ya
ADJU
prt

ahi
ahi
then
dem

teo
teo
(sound of hitting)
sound

teo
teo
(sound of hitting)
sound

teo
teo
(sound of hitting)
sound

'The sound of him cutting firewood could be heard in the distance, "Teo, teo, teo, teo."'

114	Ati	e	towakamahi
	ati	ee	to- ka- ka -ma -hi
	older sister	1IN.S	away COMIT go/come back IMP+F
	nf	pron	vt

'"Sister, let's go."'

115	Faya	me	yana	tokanemetemone	fahi	,	yifo
	faya	me	yana	to- ka- na -hemete -mone	fahi		yifo
	so	3PL.S	start	CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F	then		hammock
	conj	pron	vi	aux	dem		nm

tabo
tabo
bunch+M
pn

me
me
3PL.S
pron

itikimakabote
iti -kima -kabote
pick up two quickly
vt

'So they got ready to go, quickly grabbing their rolled up hammocks.'

TOTO ABONO

116 *Me kana ni towakamemetemoneke ahi*
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S run AUX away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi aux vi dem
 , *me ka ati , tati me awa mati , tati tone*
 me ka ati , tati me awa+F mati , tati tone
 3PL POSS older sister head 3PL.S see 3PL.S head bone
 pron prt nf pn pron vt pron pn pn

'They went running away because they had seen their sisters' skulls.'

117 *Me kana ni towakamemetemoneke*
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S run AUX away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux vi

'They went running away.'

118 *Me kana ni towakama me*
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka- ka -ma+F me
 3PL.S run AUX away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 pron vi aux vi pron
kamatamonaka yifo tiwa ni
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ka yifo tiwa na.NFIN
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M firewood carry AUX
 vi nf vt aux

'They went running away. He came back carrying the firewood.'

119 *Yifo tiwa ni kame , yifo koro*
 yifo tiwa na.NFIN ka -ma+M yifo koro
 firewood carry AUX go/come back firewood throw
 nf vt aux vi nf vt

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

'He came back carrying the firewood. He threw the firewood down.'

120 *Oof , oof , oof , haa , fahara ?*
 oof oof oof haa faha -ra
 hoo hoo hoo (expression of exhaustion) water NPQ
 interj interj interj interj nf

""Whew, where is some water?""

121 *Me afi kanabone me afi kana me awine*
 me afi ka- na -habone me afi ka- na+F me awine
 3PL.S bathe COMIT AUX INT+F 3PL.S bathe COMIT AUX 3PL.S seem+F
 pron vi aux pron vi aux pron sec

?

""They said they were going to bathe, are they bathing?""

122 *Me watariya*
 me wata -ra+F -ya
 3PL.S exist NEG now
 pron vi

""They aren't here.""

TOTO ABONO

123 *Me towakamiya*
 me to- ka- ka -ma+F -ya
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back now
 pron vi

"They went away."

124 *Me towakama me nowati ra ha ne mera*
 me to- ka- ka -ma+F me nowati ra haa na+M mera
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S after O call AUX 3PL.O
 pron vi pron pn prt vi aux pron

ha ne Hii , hii , te afi kini ?
 haa na+M hii , hii , tee afi ka- na -ni
 call AUX yoo-hoo yoo-hoo 2PL.S bathe COMIT AUX BKG+F
 vt aux interj interj pron vi aux

"They had gone, and he called after them. He called them. "Yoo-hoo, are you bathing?"

125 *Yama fafawa*
 yama fa- fawa
 thing DUP disappear
 nf vi

"They had disappeared."

126 *Yama fafawa nemetemoneke ahi*
 yama fa- fawa na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 thing DUP disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf vi aux dem

"They had disappeared."

127 *Me ha remetemoneke*
 me haa na -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S call AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

"They didn't call."

128 *Me ha ra me , me ha*
 me haa na -ra+F me , me haa
 3PL.S call AUX NEG 3PL.S 3PL.S call
 pron vi aux pron pron vi

remetemoneni
 na -ra -hemete -mone -ni
 AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 aux

"They didn't call."⁵⁸

129 *Kame , yama siba nematamonaka ahi*
 ka -ma+M , yama siba na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 go/come back thing look for AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi nf vt aux dem

"He came back. He looked around."

130 *Hika , me ka yama watakare*
 hika , me ka yama wata -ka -re
 where 3PL POSS thing exist DECL NEG+F
 interrog pron prt nf vi

"What, their things aren't here."

58 The next sentence in the recording is unintelligible.

TOTO ABONO

131 **Hika yama me towakamarini** ?
 hika yama me to- ka- ka -ma -ri -ni
 where thing 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back CQ+F IP.N+F
 interrog nf pron vt

"Where did they take the things?"

132 **Toto Abono yana tonematamonaka**
 Toto Abono yana to- na -himata -mona -ka
 (man's name) start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 npropm vi aux

'Toto Abono was ready to leave.'

133 **Yana tone , yana tone kana ni**
 yana to- na+M , yana to- na+M kana na.NFIN
 start CH AUX start CH AUX run AUX
 vi aux vi aux vi aux

tokomakematamona ahi
 to- ka -makI -himata -mona ahi
 away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi dem

'He was ready to leave. He went running after them.'

134 **Kana ni tokomake , yama soki , yama**
 kana na.NFIN to- ka -makI , yama soki.NFIN , yama
 run AUX away go/come following thing be dark thing
 vi aux vi nf vi nf

soki bata hikane , wete name , kobo
 soki.NFIN bata hi- ka- na+M , wete na -ma+M , kobo
 be dark surprise OC COMIT AUX return AUX back arrive
 vi vt aux vi aux vi

name , Hoo , ofimirimakoni me
 na -ma+M , hoo o- fimi -ra -makoni me
 AUX back humph 1SG.S be hungry NEG for this reason+F 3PL.S
 aux interj vi pron

fawa kineni
 fawa ka- na -ne -ni
 disappear COMIT AUX CONT+F BKG+F
 vi aux

'He went running after them. Darkness overtook him. He came back. He arrived back. "Oh boy, because I wasn't hungry they disappeared."'

135 **Ofimi ya owa ni me fawa kineke**
 o- fimi.NOM ya owa ni me fawa ka- na -ne -ke
 1SG.S be hungry ADJU 1SG to 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX CONT+F DECL+F
 vi prt pron prt pron vi aux

"Now I'm hungry, and they aren't here."

136 **Ofimi oke haro**
 o- fimi o- ke haaro
 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F that one+F
 vi prt dem

"I'm hungry now."

TOTO ABONO

137 *Faya yifo afo kane* , *ene hiyarebanoho*
 faya yifo afo ka- na+M , ehene hiya -ra -hiba -no -ho
 so fire light COMMIT AUX deed+M be bad NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 conj nf vt aux pn vi

'He lit a fire, and then did something bad.'

138 *Faya fimi amo kane* , *ati sai nabe* ,
 faya fimi amo ka- na+M , ati sai nahaba+M ,
 so hunger sleep COMMIT AUX voice be heard at night
 conj nf vi aux pn vi prt

Ofimiaba ama okanani , *oko bani*
 o- fimi -haba ama o- ka na -hani , o- ka bani
 1SG.S be hungry FUT+F SEC 1SG.S DECL AUX IP.N+F 1SG.POSS POSS animal
 vi sec aux prt nm

me okobabone me ona me
 me o- kaba -habone me ati o- na+F me
 3PL.O 1SG.S eat INT+F 3PL.O say 1SG.S AUX 3PL.S
 pron vt pron vt pron

towakamani me me okobabone me
 to- ka- ka -ma -hani me me o- kaba -habone me
 away COMMIT go/come back IP.N+F 3PL.S 3PL.O 1SG.S eat INT+F 3PL.O
 vi pron pron vt pron

ona me towakamine ninthi
 ati o- na+F me to- ka- ka -ma -ne na.NOM+F -ni -hi
 say 1SG.S AUX 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come back CONT+F AUX IP.N+F DUP
 vt pron vi aux

'He went to sleep hungry. He could be heard in the night. "Now I'm going to be hungry. When I was going to eat my meat, they went away. I was going to eat them, and they went away."

139 *Faya yama wamini ya* , *yama waminemetemone*
 faya yama waha -mina.NOM+F ya , yama waha -mina -hemete -mone
 so thing dawn morning ADJU thing dawn morning FP.N+F REP+F
 conj nf vi prt nf vi

amake
 ama -ke
 SEC DECL+F
 sec

'In the morning it dawned.'

140 *Faya Oko sobo okobamakoni* , *sobo*
 faya o- ka sobo o- koba -makoni , sobo
 so 1SG.POSS POSS belly 1SG.S hit for this reason+F belly
 conj prt nf vt nf

haro
 haaro
 that one+F
 dem

'"I'll eat my belly."⁵⁹

141 *Hoho bayikene* , *bayikene*
 hoho , bayi -ke -ne , bayi -ke -ne
 look be thick DECL+F IRR+F be thick DECL+F IRR+F
 interj vi vi

'"Look, it's thick."

59 *okobamakoni* apparently is an error, it should be *okobimakoni*.

TOTO ABONO

142 *Okobabanake*

o- kaba -habana -ke
1SG.S eat FUT+F DECL+F
vt

"I'm going to eat it."

143 *Ofimi*

o- fimi o- ke
1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F
vi prt

"I'm hungry."

144 *Kero*

o- kero na -waha -ma -hemete -mone ahi
1SG.S make with circular motion AUX change back FP.N+F REP+F then
vt result aux dem

'It was circular.'

145 *Wisi*

o- wisi hi- na -kosa -hemete -mone ahi
1SG.S cut up OC AUX middle FP.N+F REP+F then
vt aux dem

'He cut it out.'

146 *Wisi*

o- wisi hi- na -kosa.LIST yoto
1SG.S cut up OC AUX middle intestines+M
vt aux pn

'He cut his belly out.'⁶⁰

147 *Faya*

o- faya tabasi hi- na -hemete -mone -ke sobori
1SG.S so roast on grill OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F belly PN
conj vt aux pn

'Then he roasted the belly.'

148 *Sobori*

o- sobo -ri tabasi hina , tabasi hina
1SG.S belly PN roast on grill OC AUX roast on grill OC AUX
pn vt aux vt aux

kaha

o- kaha.LIST , ye sobosi hina iyawa
1SG.S be toasted hand DUP lick AUX at same time manioc mash
vi pn vt aux nf

sisirihina

o- si- sira -hina.LIST , iyawa sisirihina
1SG.S DUP toast at same time manioc mash DUP toast at same time
vt nf vt

nematamonaka

o- na -himata -mona -ka
1SG.S AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux

'He roasted the belly. He roasted it. It was ready. He licked his fingers. He toasted manioc mash.'

60 *yoto* probably begins a new clause that was left unfinished.

TOTO ABONO

ora *owa*
 o- na -ra+F owa
 1SG.S AUX NEG 1SG.S
 aux pron

"Hoo, I'm thirsty, because I couldn't drink water."

162 *Fa* *fawarama* *ora* *bakasi* *owine*
 faha fawa -rama o- na -ra+F bakasi o- awa -ne
 water drink unusual 1SG.S AUX NEG thirst 1SG.S feel CONT+F
 nf vt aux nf vt

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

"I couldn't drink water and I'm thirsty."

163 *Faya* *fa* *fawamatase* *hinaka* *fa* *taha* *tona*
 faya faha fawa -ma -tasa+M hinaka faha taha to- na+F
 so water drink back again 3SG.POSS water scatter CH AUX
 conj nf vt pron nf vi aux

tasi *tona* , *See* , *kasiroarake*
 tasi to- na+F , see , kasiro -hara -ke
 emerge CH AUX oh no persist IP.E+F DECL+F
 vi aux interj vi

'He drank some more water. His water came pouring out. It came out. "Oh no, it doesn't stop."

164 *Faya* *towiname*
 faya to- wina -ma+M
 so away lie in hammock back
 conj vi

towinamematamonaka
 to- wina -ma -himata -mona -ka
 away lie in hammock back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'So he went back and lay in his hammock again.'

165 *Hoo*
 hoo
 whew
 interj

"Whew!"

166 *Faya* *toro* *komene* *yana* *ne* , *toro* *komene* *yana*
 faya toro komene yana na+M , toro komene yana
 so guts+M pain+M start AUX guts+M pain+M start
 conj pn pn vi aux pn pn vi

nematamona *fahi*
 na -himata -mona fahi
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 aux dem

'His gut started to hurt.'

167 *Faya* *kawine* *fare* *wine* *ya* , *fare*
 faya ka- wina+M fare wina.NOM+M ya , fare
 so COMMIT lie in hammock same+M lie in hammock ADJU same+M
 conj vi dem vi prt dem

TOTO ABONO

batematamonaka

bata -himata -mona -ka
 be rotten FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi
 'He was rotting because of his guts.'

175 **Batehino** **abowi** **winematamona** **fahi**
 bata -hino abohi wina -himata -mona fahi
 be rotten IP.N+M dead body lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi pn vi dem
 'He was rotting. He was dead, lying in the hammock.'

176 **Faya** **abowi** **winehino** **hiwasimaki**
 faya abohi wina -hino hi- wasi -makI+M
 so dead body lie in hammock IP.N+M OC find following
 conj pn vi vt

wabori **hora** **ne** , **Toto Abono** **himatabiyo** **hiwa**
 wabori hora na+M , Toto Abono himatabiyo hiwa
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law scold AUX (man's name) why 3SG.REFL.M
 nm vt aux npropm interrog pron

wisi **nenō** **yama** **yete** **re** **nanako** **raba**
 wisi na -hino yama yete na -ra+M na- nako na -raba
 cut up AUX IP.N+M thing hunt AUX NEG CAUS be famished AUX a bit
 vt aux nf vt aux vi aux

nofe **hiwa** **wisi** **nawa** **nano**
 na nofa+M hiwa wisi na -waha.LIST na.NOM+M -no
 AUX recently 3SG.REFL.M cut up AUX change AUX IP.N+M
 prt pron vt aux aux

'He yelled at his brother-in-law, who he had found lying dead in his hammock. "Why did Toto Abono cut himself open? He didn't hunt. He was always hungry. Now he has cut himself open."'

177 **Okasima** **kabi** **nofarawenoho**
 o- ka asima kaba nofa -rawa -hino -ho
 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister eat recently F.PL IP.N+M DUP
 nf vt prt

'"He was eating my sisters."'

178 **Okasima** **kabi** **nofaraweno**
 o- ka asima kaba nofa -rawa -hino
 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister eat recently F.PL IP.N+M
 nf vt prt

kakahiwa **reba** **okasima**
 ka- ka- hiwa na -ra -hiba o- ka asima
 DUP COMIT have children AUX NEG FUT+M 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister
 vi aux nf

niki **nofarawahari**
 niki na nofa -rawa -haari
 press on AUX recently F.PL IP.E+M
 vt prt

'"He was eating my sisters. He didn't want to have children. He was strangling my sisters."'

179 **Hiwa** **kawinaka**
 hiwa ka- wina -ka
 only.M COMIT lie in hammock DECL+M
 pron vi

'"Let him lie dead in his hammock."'

TOTO ABONO

180 **Hekanakosematamonaka**

hi- ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ka
 OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'He left him there.'

181 **Tokomematamonaka**

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

'He went home.'

182 **Faya boko** , **boko yome hirawematamona fahi**
 faya boko boko yome hi- na -rawa -himata -mona fahi
 so vulture vulture swallow OC AUX F.PL FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj nf nf vt aux dem

'So the vultures ate him.'

183 **Boko yome hirawe** , **faya Toto Abono abe**
 boko yome hi- na -rawa+M faya Toto Abono ahaba+M
 vulture swallow OC AUX F.PL so (man's name) die
 nf vt aux conj npropm vi

abowi wine hekanakose hikaminame
 abohi wina+M hi- ka- kana -kosa+M hi- to- kamina -ma+M
 dead body lie in hammock OC COMIT leave middle OC away tell back
 pn vi vt vt

Toto Abono winaka ahi , **hiwa bobi**
 Toto Abono wina -ka ahi hiwa bobi
 (man's name) lie in hammock DECL+M there 3SG.REFL.M slit
 npropm vi dem pron vt

nenoho

na -hino -ho
 AUX IP.N+M DUP
 aux

'The vultures ate him. So Toto Abono died. He lay dead in the hammock. He left him there. He told about him back home. "Toto Abono is lying there in the hammock. He had cut himself up."'

184 **Toto Abono abareka**
 Toto Abono ahaba -hare -ka
 (man's name) die IP.E+M DECL+M
 npropm vi

""Toto Abono died.""

185 **Abawahe**
 ahaba -waha+M
 die change
 vi

""He had died.""

186 **Me ferene me kakamani me amake**
 me fere -hene me ka- ka -ma -hani me ama -ke
 3PL.S wait IRR+F 3PL.S COMIT go/come back IP.N+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F
 pron vi pron vi pron sec

haro

haaro
 that one+F
 dem

TOTO ABONO

"They didn't wait, the two of them came home."

187 *Me hikabene me amake*
 me hi- kaba -hene me ama -ke
 3PL.O OC eat IRR+F 3PL.O SEC DECL+F
 pron vt pron sec

"He would have eaten them."

188 *Toto Abono okati kabi nofaraweno*
 Toto Abono o- ka ati kaba nofa -rawa -hino
 (man's name) 1SG.POSS POSS older sister eat recently F.PL IP.N+M
 npropm nf vt prt

okati tati tone ota wasirawarani
 o- ka ati tati tone otaa wasi -rawa -hara -ni
 1SG.POSS POSS older sister head bone 1EX.S find F.PL IP.E+F BKG+F
 nf pn pn pron vt

"Toto Abono had eaten our older sisters, and we found their skulls."

189 *Ota nofare ota kakose yama siba*
 otaa nofa -ra+M otaa ka- kana -kosa+M yama siba
 1EX.S like NEG 1EX.S COMIT leave middle thing look for
 pron vt pron vt nf vt

na nanoho
 na.CONT+M na.NOM+M -no -ho
 AUX AUX IP.N+M DUP
 aux aux

"We didn't like him. We left him behind, looking for us."

190 *Me abe me hekanakose me hiwa*
 me ahaba+M me hi- ka- kana -kosa+M me hiwa
 3PL die 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle 3PL 3SG.REFL.M
 pron vi pron vt pron pron

kabe abawahematamonaka fahi
 kaba+M ahaba -waha -himata -mona -ka fahi
 eat die change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt vi dem

'He died. They left him behind. He ate himself. Then he died.'⁶¹

191 *Faya abe faya abematamonaka ahi*
 faya ahaba+M faya ahaba -himata -mona -ka ahi
 so die so die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj vi conj vi dem

'He died.'

192 *Aabe boko hikabarawematamonaka boko*
 ahaba+M boko hi- kaba -rawa -himata -mona -ka boko
 die vulture OC eat F.PL FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vulture
 vi nf vt nf

boko sawi
 boko sawi
 king vulture
 nm

'He died. The vultures ate him, the king vultures.'

61 *Me* at the beginning is a mistake, also the *me* after *hekanakose*.

TOTO ABONO

193 *Boko sawi me hikabematamonane*
 boko sawi me hi- kaba -himata -mona -ne
 king vulture 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 nm pron vt

'The king vultures ate him.'

194 *Hinaka fowa ta kawita , hihiti*
 hinaka fowa taa ka- ita.LIST , hi- hiti
 3SG.POSS manioc contrast COMIT be located DUP grate
 pron nm prt vi pn

watarari

wata -ra -haari
 exist NEG IP.E+M

vi

'But his manioc was still there, with no one to grate it.'

195 *Faya me hiwamarematamona fahi*
 faya me hi- awa -ma -ra -himata -mona fahi
 so 3PL.S OC see back NEG FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj pron vt dem

'They didn't see him anymore.'

196 *Toto Abono te tonakamariyahi*
 Toto Abono tee to- na- ka -ma -ra -yahi
 (man's name) 2PL.S away CAUS go/come back NEG DIST.IMP+F
 npropm pron vt

'''Don't go after Toto Abono anymore.'''

197 *Toto Abono bate winarene*
 Toto Abono bata+M wina -hare -ne
 (man's name) be rotten lie in hammock IP.E+M BKG+M
 npropm vi vi

'''Toto Abono is lying dead in a hammock.'''

198 *Hiwa abaka*
 hiwa ahaba -ka
 only.M die DECL+M
 pron vi

'''Let him die.'''

199 *Sobori bobi nakoseno ahi*
 sobo -ri bobi na -kosa -hino ahi
 belly PN slit AUX middle IP.N+M there
 pn vt aux dem

'''He cut up his belly.'''

200 *Sobori bobi nakose sobori kabeinoka*
 sobo -ri bobi na -kosa+M sobo -ri kaba -hino -ka
 belly PN slit AUX middle belly PN eat IP.N+M DECL+M
 pn vt aux pn vt

eto

eheto na -raba na -ra.NOM+F -ni -hi
 DUP be good AUX a bit AUX NEG IP.N+F DUP

vi aux aux

'''He cut up his belly. He ate his belly, it tasted really good.'''

TOTO ABONO

207 *Abarare*

ahaba -ra -hare
die NEG IP.E+M
vi

"He is dead."

208 *Watamahare*

wata -ma -hare
exist back IP.E+M
vi

"He is no more."

209 *Batareka*

bata -hare -ka
be rotten IP.E+M DECL+M
vi

"He has rotted."

210 *Himatabiyo*

<i>hiwa</i>	<i>katoma</i>	<i>namata</i>
himatabiyo hiwa katoma.CONT+M na.NOM+M -mata		
why 3SG.REFL.M attack AUX ?+M		
interrog pron vt aux		

onarekana

ati o- na -hare -ka -na
say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+M DECL+M IRR+M
vt

"Why did he hurt himself?"

211 *Batareka*

bata -hare -ka
be rotten IP.E+M DECL+M
vi

"He has rotted."

212 *Itihina*

<i>rareka</i>
iti -hina na -ra -hare -ka
pick up can AUX NEG IP.E+M DECL+M
vt aux

"He can't be touched."

213 *Winareka*

<i>bete</i>
wina -hare -ka bete
lie in hammock IP.E+M DECL+M rotten+M
vi pn

"He is lying rotten in his hammock."

214 *Bete*

<i>winareka</i>
bete wina -hare -ka
rotten+M lie in hammock IP.E+M DECL+M
pn vi

"He is lying rotten in his hammock."

215 *Ota*

<i>towamebanaka</i>	<i>tone</i>
otaa to- awa -ma -hibana -ka	tone
1EX.S away see back FUT+M DECL+M	bone
pron vt	pn

"We will go back there and see his bones."

TOTO ABONO

216	Faya	wabori		me	amo	ni	tere	
	faya	wabori		me	amo	na.NFIN	terei	
	so	3SG.POSS	brother-in-law	3PL.POSS	sleep	AUX	be three	
	conj	nm		pron	vi	aux	vi	
	toi	ya	wabori		me	hinakame		
	to-	ha.NOM+F	ya	wabori	me	hi- na- ka	-ma+M	,
	CH	AUX	ADJU	3SG.POSS	brother-in-law	3PL.S	OC CAUS	go/come back
	aux		prt	nm		pron	vt	
	tati	boko sawi	ti	hiseno		tati		
	tati	boko sawi	tii	hi- na -kosa -hino	tati	ita -makI	-himata -mona -ka	
	head	king vulture	cut through	OC AUX middle	IP.N+M	head	sit following	FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	pn	nm	vt	aux		pn		
	hekamakino			tati	itamakematamonaka			
	hi- ka- ka	-makI	-hino	tati	ita -makI	-himata -mona -ka		
	OC	COMIT	go/come following	IP.N+M	head	sit following	FP.N+M	REP+M DECL+M
	vt			pn	vi			

'After three days they went after their brother-in-law. A king vulture had cut off his head and had taken his head away, and it was on the ground.'

217	Tati	itaro	ha	
	tati	ita -haaro	haa	
	head	sit look+F	DEM	
	pn	vi	dem	

""There is the head on the ground.""

218	Boko	me	hikabematamonaka		fahi	
	boko	me	hi- kaba -himata -mona -ka	fahi		
	vulture	3PL.S	OC eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	then		
	nf	pron	vt	dem		

'The vultures ate him.'

219	Faya	me	hikabe	,	hikabe	abeno	ya	,	boko
	faya	me	hi- kaba+M	,	hi- kaba+M	ahaba -hino	ya	,	boko
	so	3PL.S	OC eat	,	OC eat	die IP.N+M	ADJU	,	vulture
	conj	pron	vt	,	vt	vi	prt	,	nf
	tone	boko	kiro	natini	,	wani	me	towasima	,
	tone	boko	kiro nahatI	-hani	waa -hani	me	to- wasi -ma+F	,	
	bone	vulture	gnaw daytime	IP.N+F	stand IP.N+F	3PL.S	away find back		
	pn	nf	vt	prt	vi	pron	vt		
	faya	tafe	,	tafatafa	raba	rinihi			
	faya	tafa+M	,	tafa- tafa	na -raba	na -ra.NOM+F	-ni -hi	,	
	so	eat	,	DUP eat	AUX a bit	AUX NEG	IP.N+F DUP		
	conj	vi	,	vi	aux	aux			
	Hato Abono	kabaharo							
	Hato Abono	kaba -haaro							
	(man's name)	eat	IP.E+F						
	npropm	vt							

'They ate him. They came upon a vulture on the ground eating him during the day at the place where he died. It ate a lot as it ate Hato Abono.'⁶²

62 The word *abeno* is a mistake, it should be *abano*. Also, the first occurrence of *boko* is a mistake.

TOTO ABONO

220 *Boko* , *wareharo* *haro*
 boko waa -rI -haaro haaro
 vulture stand raised surface look+F that one+F
 nf vi dem

"There is a vulture sitting on a branch."

221 *Wareharo* *ha* , *haro*
 waa -rI -haaro haa haaro
 stand raised surface look+F DEM that one+F
 vi dem dem

"It's sitting on a branch."

222 *Hinaka* *yifo* *bete* *kawinari* *hari*
 hinaka yifo bete ka- wina -haari haari
 3SG.POSS hammock rotten+M COMIT hang look+M that one+M
 pron nm pn v dem

"His rotted hammock is hanging there."

223 *Ataro* *winari* *ha*
 ataro wina -haari haa
 skin+M lie in hammock look+M DEM
 pn vi dem

"His skin is in the hammock."

224 *Me* *kakamemetemone* *fahi*
 me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone fahi
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron vi dem

'They came home.'

225 *Me* *kakama* *me* , *me* *kakama* *me*
 me ka- ka -ma+F me me ka- ka -ma+F me
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

kobo *kanami* *ya* , *me* *kobo*
 kobo ka- na -ma.NOM+F ya me kobo
 arrive COMIT AUX back ADJU 3PL.S arrive
 vi aux prt pron vi

kanamemetemoneke
 ka- na -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'They came come. They arrived home.'

226 *Me* *kobo* *kanama* *me* , *Faira* ?
 me kobo ka- na -ma+F me fahi -ra
 3PL.S arrive COMIT AUX back 3PL.S that NPQ
 pron vi aux pron dem

'They arrived home. "Well?"'

227 *Faira* *tina* *winahare*
 fahi -ra ati ti- na+F wina -hare
 that NPQ say 2SG.S AUX live IP.E+M
 dem vt vi

"Well, he isn't living there anymore."

TOTO ABONO

228 *Watarareka*

wata -ra -hare -ka
exist NEG IP.E+M DECL+M
vi

"He isn't there."

229 *Faya tone ta*

faya tone taa *tori* *ahi*
so bone be piled up CH AUX raised surface there
conj pn vi aux dem

"His bones are in a pile."

230 *Himatabiyo*

hiwa *wisi* *na* *namata*
himatabiyo hiwa wisi na.CONT+M na.NOM+M -mata
why 3SG.REFL.M cut up AUX AUX ?+M
interrog pron vt aux aux

oneheno

ati o- na -hino *hiwa* *kabehino* ?
say 1SG.S AUX IP.N+M 3SG.REFL.M eat IP.N+M
vt pron vt

"Why did he cut into himself and eat himself?"

231 *Abawahane*

ahaba -waha -ne *bani* *me* *bani* *me*
die change BKG+M animal 3PL animal 3PL.S
vi nm pron nm pron

nahorimakoni

naho -ra -makoni
stand NEG for this reason+F
vi

"Now he died. There is game."

232 *Toto Abono*

okasima
Toto Abono o- ka asima
(man's name) 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister
npropm nf

kanahiharawareba

ka- na- hiwa -rawa -ra -hiba *okasima*
COMIT CAUS have children F.PL NEG FUT+M 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister
vt nf

yabaraweimata

yaba -rawa -himata
marry F.PL FP.N+M
vt

"Toto Abono didn't want to make my sisters pregnant, but he married my sisters."

233 *Hiwa*

kabi *yotoimata*
hiwa kaba.NFIN yoto -himata
3SG.REFL.M eat follow FP.N+M
pron vt vi

"In the end he ate himself."

234 *Abawane*

ahaba -waha.CONT+M -ne
die change BKG+M
vi

"Now he died."

TOTO ABONO

BAHI (1)

Free Translation

Note: Siko wasn't sure about some parts of the story, so there is quite a bit of dialogue with his wife Amoro about details of the story.

The first *ona* alligator. The first *ona* alligator wrapped the shaft of the blowgun. He finished the blowgun. He cleaned out the inside of the blowgun. He was cleaning the inside of the blowgun out, and a light came toward him. [It was Bahi.]

"Huh? Oh. What is that?"

"Whew, are you cleaning out the inside of the blowgun?"

"Yes, I am cleaning out the inside of the blowgun."

[Bahi began to clean the inside of the blowgun, with a stick.] As he was cleaning out the inside of the blowgun, he was thrusting the stick through the blowgun really hard, and he broke the stick off inside the blowgun.

"Oh no."

"He broke off my stick for making the hole of the blowgun inside."

The *ona* alligator got upset because of the stick breaking off inside the blowgun.

Bahi yanked the blowgun away, and hit the alligator with the blowgun, to make him into the alligator. He hit him, and then stretched him out, and threw him into the water.

"You are going to live everywhere. Have you been making blowguns? You are going to live in all the streams."

He left. He went out in the forest. His grandmother was making a pot. As she was making a pot, a light came to her.

"What?"

"Whew, Grandma, what are you making?"

"I'm making a pot."

"What do you know, she's making a pot. Whew."

She was making the pot.

"Here Grandma, give me the smoother. Let me form it a little."

"Don't wreck my pot."

"I don't think I'll damage it. Let me form it a little. You will see."

So he formed it. As he was forming the pot, the pot tore apart.

"Oh no, Grandma the pot came apart."

"He wrecked my pot."

He grabbed his grandmother. Dear, did her pot became the sting-ray? Was it his grandmother who went out in the forest to tie the rifle? It was a rifle. He would become the tapir. In order to become the tapir, he went after the shotgun that was hanging. He went with his grandmother.

"The shotgun is hanging there. Go look at it."

He went into the forest.

"Grandma, come on the tapir trail, on your wrists. Do like a tapir."

When his grandmother came, he shot her, "taasei".

BAHI (1)

"The tapir died."

He cut up his grandmother. He removed her breasts. Her breasts were on her own grandson's chest. He also put on her old breachcloth. He also put on her tail made of miriti. He carried off the tapir.

The ones who were going to eat their own mother came back. She was roasted, lying on the roasting rack. They were going to eat what wasn't a tapir. When they were done eating her, they slept. They ate their own mother. He made them sleep.

Before the sun came up, he got up, in the dark. He was ready to leave at night.

"The ones who always drank from the breast are eating their mother," he said. He stopped speaking. He disappeared. He was gone. They couldn't find him in the morning. He went many different places. Did he cut down a *hawa* palm?

Interlinear Presentation

1 *Faya ona* , *onatebana* .
 faya ona , ona -tee -bana .
 so alligator sp alligator sp HAB FUT
 conj nm nm

'The first *ona* alligator.'

2 *Onateba* *karaboa* *karaboa* *kini* *nematamonaka*
 ona -tee -ba karaboha karaboha kini na -himata -mona -ka
 alligator sp HAB FUT blowgun blowgun wrap AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm nf nf vt aux

'The first *ona* alligator wrapped the shaft of the blowgun.'

3 *Karaboa* *kini* *ne* *karaboa* *hawa* *tonihe* , *karaboa*
 karaboha kini na+M karaboha hawa to- niha- ha+M , karaboha
 blowgun wrap AUX blowgun be finished CH CAUS AUX blowgun
 nf vt aux nf vi aux nf

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

'He wrapped the blowgun. He finished the blowgun. He cleaned out the inside of the blowgun.'

4 *Karaboa* *kawa* *ne* *ni* *ya* , *yama* *yama* *oye*
 karaboha kawa na+M ni ya , yama yama oye
 blowgun thrust AUX to ADJU thing thing light+F
 nf vt aux prt prt nf nf pn

kakemetemoneke *ahi* .
 ka -kI -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

'He was cleaning the inside of the blowgun out, and a light came toward him.'

5 *Yama* *oye* *kake* *awe* *Ee* , *haa*
 yama oye ka -kI awa+M ee , haa
 thing light+F go/come coming see (expression of surprise) oh
 nf pn vi vt interj interj

'A light came toward him. "Huh? Oh."'

BAHI (1)

6 **Himata amari** ?
 himata ama -ri
 what? be CQ+F
 interrog vc

"What is that?"

7 **Oof , karaboa karaboa kawa tine ti** ?
 oof , karaboha karaboha kawa ti- na -ne ti-
 hoo blowgun blowgun thrust 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S
 interj nf nf vt aux prt

"Whew, are you cleaning out the inside of the blowgun?"

8 **Ee karaboa kawa one o** .
 ee karaboha kawa o- na -ne o-
 yes blowgun thrust 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S
 interj nf vt aux prt

"Yes, I am cleaning out the inside of the blowgun."

9 **Faya karaboa kawa ne , karaboa kawa**
 faya karaboha kawa na+M , karaboha kawa
 so blowgun thrust AUX blowgun thrust
 conj nf vt aux nf vt

nematamonaka

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

'He was cleaning out the inside of the blowgun.'

10 **Karaboa kawa ne ya , karaboa kawa ne karaboa**
 karaboha kawa na.NOM+M ya , karaboha kawa na+M karaboha
 blowgun thrust AUX ADJU blowgun thrust AUX blowgun
 nf vt aux prt nf vt aux nf

kasiro kawa ne karaboa baka tokanemetemoneke
 kasiro kawa na+M karaboha baka to- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
 a lot thrust AUX blowgun break CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 adv vt aux nf vt aux

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

'As he was cleaning out the inside of the blowgun, he was thrusting the stick through the blowgun really hard, and he broke the stick off inside the blowgun.'

11 **Ooo** .
 ooo
 oh no
 interj

"Oh no."

12 **Oko karaboa hoti awe , baka tokani**
 o- ka karaboha hoti awe , baka to- ka- niha+M- na
 1SG.POSS POSS blowgun hole+F wood+F break away COMIT CAUS AUX
 prt nf pn pn vt aux

BAHI (1)

awane

awa -ne
seem+M BKG+M
sec

'"He broke off my stick for making the hole of the blowgun inside."'

13 *Karaboa baka tokana ihi yawamise*
karaboha baka to- ka- na+F ihi yawa -misa+M
blowgun break CH COMIT AUX because of+F be upset up
nf vt aux post vi

karaboa horo nakematamonaka
karaboha horo na -kI -himata -mona -ka
blowgun drag AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nf vt aux

'He got upset because of the stick breaking off inside the blowgun. He yanked the blowgun away.'

14 *Karaboa horo nake , karaboa horo nake*
karaboha horo na -kI , karaboha horo na -kI
blowgun drag AUX coming blowgun drag AUX coming
nf vt aux nf vt aux

onateba , onateba
ona -tee -ba , ona -tee -ba
alligator sp HAB FUT alligator sp HAB FUT
nm nm

nabowematamonaka karaboa ya ahi , onabana
na- aboha -himata -mona -ka karaboha ya ahi , ona -bana
CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M blowgun ADJU then alligator sp FUT
vt nf prt dem nm

'He yanked the blowgun away. He yanked the blowgun away, and hit the alligator with the blowgun, to make him into the alligator.'

15 *Onaba nabowematamonaka*
ona -ba na- aboha -himata -mona -ka
alligator sp FUT CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nm vt

'He hit the alligator.'

16 *Faya hinabowematamonaka fahi*
faya hi- na- aboha -himata -mona -ka fahi
so OC CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
conj vt dem

'He hit the alligator.'

17 *Hinabowe ya hokaka hine ya hokaka*
hi- na- aboha.NOM+M ya hoka -ka hi- na.NOM+M ya hoka -ka
OC CAUS die ADJU yank DUP OC AUX ADJU yank DUP
vt prt vt aux prt vt

hine ya koro hife , Yama nafi nima
hi- na.NOM+M ya koro hi- na -fI , yama nafi nima
OC AUX ADJU throw OC AUX water thing all like
aux prt vt aux nf pn prt

titehaba
ti- na -tee -haba
2SG.S AUX HAB FUT+F
aux

'He hit him, and then stretched him out, and threw him into the water. "You are going to live everywhere."'

BAHI (1)

18 **Karaboa kakawa tihine ti ?**
karaboha ka- kawa ti- to- ha -ne ti-
blowgun DUP thrust 2SG.S CH AUX CONT+F 2SG.S
nf vt aux prt

"Have you been making blowguns?"

19 **Fa bite nafi tititehaba ama tini**
faha bite nafi ti- iti -tee -haba ama ti- ni
water small+F all 2SG.S inhabit HAB FUT+F SEC 2SG.S BKG+F
nf adj pn vi sec prt

"You are going to live in all the streams."

20 **Faya yana tone toke hinakaki yiwa**
faya yana to- na+M to- ka+M hinaka aki yiwa
so start CH AUX away go/come 3SG.POSS grandmother pot
conj vi aux vi nf nf

kero nemetemone ahi
kero na -hemete -mone ahi
make with circular motion AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
vt aux dem

'He left. He went out in the forest. His grandmother was making a pot.'

21 **Yiwa kero nemetemoneke**
yiwa kero na -hemete -mone -ke
pot make with circular motion AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
nf vt aux

'She was making a pot.'

22 **Yiwa kero na yiwa kero**
yiwa kero na+F yiwa kero
pot make with circular motion AUX pot make with circular motion
nf vt aux nf vt

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

'She was making a pot.'

23 **Yiwa kero ni ya yama oye**
yiwa kero na.NOM+F ya yama oye
pot make with circular motion AUX ADJU thing light+F
nf vt aux prt nf pn

kakemetemone amani
ka -kI -hemete -mone ama -ni
go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
vi sec

'As she was making a pot, a light came to her.'

24 **Fee**
fee
(cry of surprise)
interj

"What?"

BAHI (1)

- 25 *Oof* , *aki* *himata* *himata* *ahi* ?
 oof aki himata himata ahi
 hoo grandmother what? what? work on
 interj nf interrog interrog vt
 "Whew, Grandma, what are you making?"
- 26 *Yiwa* *kero* *one* *oni*
 yiwa kero o- na -ne o- ni
 pot make with circular motion 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 nf vt aux prt
 "I'm making a pot."
- 27 *Yiwa* *kero* *nine* *ninihi* ?
 yiwa kero na -ne na.NOM+F -ni -hi
 pot make with circular motion AUX CONT+F AUX IP.N+F DUP
 nf vt aux aux
 "What do you know, she's making a pot."
- 28 *Oo*
 oo
 whew
 interj
 "Whew."
- 29 *Faya* *yiwa* *kero* *ni* *ya* *Hiya*
 faya yiwa kero na.NOM+F ya hiya
 so pot make with circular motion AUX ADJU come on
 conj nf vt aux prt interj
- aki* , *tani* *owa* *kakakawa* *ha*
 aki tani owa ka- ka- kawa haa
 grandmother instrument 1SG.O DUP COMIT give something to DEM
 nf pn pron vt dem
 'She was making the pot. "Here Grandma, give me the smoother."
- 30 *Kekero* *obe*
 ke- kero o- na -be
 DUP make with circular motion 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 vt aux
 "Let me form it a little."
- 31 *Oko* *yiwa* *tikatomariyahi*
 o- ka yiwa ti- katoma -ra -yahi
 1SG.POSS POSS pot 2SG.S damage NEG DIST.IMP+F
 prt nf vt
 "Don't wreck my pot."
- 32 *Okatomaraba* *awineke*
 o- katoma -ra -haba awine -ke
 1SG.S damage NEG FUT+F seem+F DECL+F
 vt sec
 "I don't think I'll damage it."
- 33 *Okatomaraba* *awineni*
 o- katoma -ra -haba awine -ni
 1SG.S damage NEG FUT+F seem+F BKG+F
 vt sec
 "I don't think I'll damage it."

BAHI (1)

- 34 **Kekero** **omateya**
 ke- kero o- na -mate -ya
 DUP make with circular motion 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F now
 vt aux
 "Let me form it a little."
- 35 **Owa tiwibe**
 owa ti- awa -be
 1SG.O 2SG.S see IMMED+F
 pron vt
 "You will see."
- 36 **Faya kero** **hinemetemoneke**
 faya kero hi- na -hemete -mone -ke
 so make with circular motion OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj vt aux
 'So he formed it.'
- 37 **Yiwa kero** **ne** , **yiwa kero**
 yiwa kero na+M , yiwa kero
 pot make with circular motion AUX pot make with circular motion
 nf vt aux nf vt
na yiwa kero **nematamonaka**
 na+F yiwa kero na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX pot make with circular motion AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux nf vt aux
 'He was forming the pot.'⁶³
- 38 **Yiwa kero** **ne** , **yiwa sore**
 yiwa kero na+M , yiwa sore
 pot make with circular motion AUX pot pull off
 nf vt aux nf vt
tonemetemoneke **ahi**
 to- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux dem
 'As he was forming the pot, the pot tore apart.'
- 39 **Ooo** , **aki** **yiwa abake**
 ooo , aki yiwa ahaba -ke
 oh no grandmother pot die DECL+F
 interj nf nf vi
 "Oh no, Grandma the pot came apart."
- 40 **Oko** **yiwa katome** **awane**
 o- ka yiwa katoma+M awa -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS pot damage seem+M BKG+M
 prt nf vt sec
 "He wrecked my pot."
- 41 **Faya hinakaki** **wate** , **Ebe** , **hinaka**
 faya hinaka aki wata+M , ebe , hinaka
 so 3SG.POSS grandmother catch dear 3SG.POSS
 conj nf vt voc pron

63 The phrase *yiwa kero na* is a mistake.

BAHI (1)

yiwahametemone *bote* *tohane* ?
 yiwaha -mete -mone bote to- ha.CONT+M -ne
 pot FP.N+F REP+F sting-ray CH be BKG+M
 nf nm vc
 'He grabbed his grandmother. Dear, did her pot become the sting-ray?'

42 *Hinakaki* *ama* *nimetemonehe* , *rifi*
 hinaka aki ama na.NOM+F -mete -mone -he , rifi
 3SG.POSS grandmother be AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP rifle
 nf vc aux nf

kahoabone *tokaharo* ?
 kaho -habone to- ka -haaro
 tie INT+F away go/come IP.E+F
 vt vi
 'Was it his grandmother who went out in the forest to tie the rifle?'

43 *Rifi* , *rifimetemoneke*
 rifi , rifi -mete -mone -ke
 rifle rifle FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf nf

'It was a rifle.'

44 *Habai* *hiwato* *awine* ?
 habai hi- wato awine
 friend OC know seem+F
 nm vt sec

'Does your friend know about this?'

45 *Hiwato* *awineke*
 hi- wato awine -ke
 OC know seem+F DECL+F
 vt sec

'I think he knows about it.'

46 *Awi* *awibonaha*
 awi awi -bona -ha
 tapir tapir INT+M DUP
 nm nm

'He would become the tapir.'

47 *Awibona* *taokana* *winaha* *tonake* *hinakaki*
 awi -bona taokana wina+F to- na- ka+M hinaka aki
 tapir INT+M shotgun hang away CAUS go/come 3SG.POSS grandmother
 nm nf vi vt nf

ya *famematamonaka*
 ya fama -himata -mona -ka
 ADJU be two FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 prt vi

'In order to become the tapir, he went after the shotgun that was hanging. He went with his grandmother.'

48 *Hinakaki* *ya* *fame* *toke* , *Taokana* *winine*
 hinaka aki ya fama+M to- ka+M , taokana wina -ne
 3SG.POSS grandmother ADJU be two away go/come shotgun hang CONT+F
 nf prt vi vi nf vi

BAHI (1)

faro

faaro
that+F
dem

'He went with his grandmother. "The shotgun is hanging there."'

49 *Taokana winine ha*
taokana wina -ne haa
shotgun hang CONT+F DEM
nf vi dem

""The shotgun is hanging there.""

50 *Totowawite tinahi*
to- to- awa -witI ti- na -hi
DUP away see out 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
vt aux

""Go look at it.""

51 *Faya tokematamonaha*
faya to- ka -himata -mona -ha
so away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DUP
conj vt

'He went into the forest.'

52 *Toke toke ya , Aki , aki awi*
to- ka+M to- ka.NOM+M ya , aki , aki awi
away go/come away go/come ADJU grandmother grandmother tapir
vi vi prt nf nf nm

hawine ya kakamaki tinahi awi hawine ya
hawine ya ka- ka -makI ti- na -hi awi hawine ya
trail+M ADJU DUP go/come following 2SG.S AUX IMP+F tapir trail+M ADJU
pn prt vi aux nm pn prt

tiye tabi ka ya ahi
ti- yehe tabi ka ya ahi
2SG.POSS hand wrist+F LOC ADJU this
pn pn prt prt dem

'He went. "Grandma, come on the tapir trail, on your wrists."'

53 *E tina ahi awi nima*
ee ti- na ahi awi nima
be similar 2SG.S AUX this tapir like
vi aux dem nm prt

""Do like a tapir.""

54 *Awi nima tinahi*
awi nima ti- na -hi
tapir like 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
nm prt aux

""Do like a tapir.""

55 *Faya hinakaki kamakia ra tao*
faya hinaka aki ka -makI+F ra tao
so 3SG.POSS grandmother go/come following O shoot
conj nf vi prt vt

BAHI (1)

kanematamonaka

ka- na -himata -mona -ka , taasei
 COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (sound of shotgun)
 aux sound

'When his grandmother came, he shot her, taasei.'

56 **Aw** **abaka** , **faya** **hinakaki** **bobi**
 awi ahaba -ka , faya hinaka aki bobi
 tapir die DECL+M so 3SG.POSS grandmother slit
 nm vi conj nf vt

nebanoho

na -hiba -no -ho
 AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 aux

'"The tapir died." He cut up his grandmother.'

57 **Yoari** , **yoari** **hekiti** , **yoari**
 yoha -ri , yoha -ri hi- ka- iti.LIST , yoha -ri
 breast PN breast PN OC COMIT take out breast PN
 pn pn vt pn

kawana , **fara** **hinaka** **noti** **bako** **ya** **yoari**
 ka- wana.LIST , fara hinaka noti bako ya yoha -ri
 COMIT be attached same+F 3SG.POSS grandson chest+M ADJU breast PN
 vi dem pron nm pn prt pn

kawana , **hinaka** **yayafa** **bote** **hikawata** ,
 ka- wana.LIST , hinaka yayafa bote hi- ka- wata.LIST ,
 COMIT be attached 3SG.POSS breach cloth old OC COMIT exist
 vi pron nm adj vt

yifo **be** **bote** **kanawana** , **yifo** **be** **bote**
 yifo behe bote ka- na- wana.LIST , yifo behe bote
 miriti base old COMIT CAUS be attached miriti base old
 nm pn adj vt nm pn adj

kanawana

ka- na- wana.LIST **nematamonane**
 COMIT CAUS be attached AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vt aux

'He removed her breasts. Her breasts were on her own grandson's chest. He also put on her old breachcloth. He also put on her tail made of miriti.'

58 **Yifo** **be** **bote** **kanawane** , **awi** **iso** **ne** ,
 yifo behe bote ka- na- wana+M , awi iso na+M ,
 miriti base old COMIT CAUS be attached tapir carry off AUX
 nm pn adj vt nm vt aux

awi **iso** **ne** **awi** **fara** **me** **ka** **ami** **me** **kababa**
 awi iso na+M awi fara me ka ami me kaba -haba
 tapir carry off AUX tapir same+F 3PL POSS mother 3PL.S eat FUT+F
 nm vt aux nm dem pron prt nf pron vt

me kamemetemoneni

me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron vi

'He put on her tail of miriti. He carried off the tapir. The ones who were going to eat their own mother came back.'

BAHI (1)

64 *Faya ati fawa ne ya fawa nematamonaka*
 faya ati fawa na.NOM+M ya fawa na -himata -mona -ka
 so voice stop AUX ADJU disappear AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj pn vi aux prt vi aux

ahi .
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He stopped speaking. He disappeared.'

65 *Faya fawa ne me hiwasiminare , toke*
 faya fawa na+M me hi- wasi -mina -ra+M , to- ka+M
 so disappear AUX 3PL.S OC find morning NEG away go/come
 conj vi aux pron vt vi

tokawai ya tokawai ya
 to- ka -waha.NOM ya to- ka -waha.NOM ya
 away go/come change ADJU away go/come change ADJU
 vi prt vi prt

tokawai ya , hawa ka namatamonaha ?
 to- ka -waha.NOM ya , hawa kaa na.NOM+M -mata -mona -ha
 away go/come change ADJU palm sp chop AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 vi prt nf vt aux

'He was gone. They couldn't find him in the morning. He went many different places. Did he cut down a *hawa* palm?'

OLD YOME AKI

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.

OLD YOME AKI

"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.

OLD YOME AKI

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

OLD YOME AKI

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

1 *Me mari nemetemoneke*
 me mari na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S feast AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

'They had a feast.'

2 *Me mari na me , me mari na , ayaka me*
 me mari na+F me , me mari na+F , ayaka me
 3PL.S feast AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S feast AUX dance 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron pron vi aux vi pron
wati kanemetemoneke ayaka me hiri naba
 wati ka- na -hemete -mone -ke ayaka me hiri na -haba
 think about COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F dance 3PL.S do AUX FUT+F
 vt aux vi pron vt aux

mati
 mati
 3PL.S
 pron

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

3 *Ayaka me wati kana ayaka me hiri na , ayaka*
 ayaka me wati ka- na+F ayaka me hiri na+F , ayaka
 dance 3PL.S think about COMIT AUX dance 3PL.S do AUX dance
 vi pron vt aux vi pron vt aux vi
 , *me hiri na me ni ya , Yome Aki bote*
 me hiri na+F me ni ya , Yome Aki bote
 3PL.S do AUX 3PL to ADJU (woman's name) old
 pron vt aux pron prt prt npropf adj

kakemetemoneke
 ka -kI -hemete -mone -ke
 go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'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 kakemetemone 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

'Old Yome Aki came.'

OLD YOME AKI

5 **Kake** , **bitemonehe** **mowa**
ka -kI bite -mone -he mowa
go/come coming 3SG.POSS.daughter REP+F DUP shake
vi nf vt
nabanihi , **mati** **yokana** **mowa** **raro** ,
na -haba -ni -hi mati yokana mowa na -ra -haaro ,
AUX FUT+F IP.N+F DUP 3SG.POSS.mother true shake AUX NEG IP.E+F
aux nf adj vt aux
mowa **hiraharo** .
mowa hi- na -ra -haaro
shake OC AUX NEG IP.E+F
vt aux
'She came and woke up the one who she said was her daughter. It was not her real mother who woke her up.'

6 **Mati** **yokana** **mowa** **hira** , **mati** **hine**
mati yokana mowa hi- na -ra+F , mati hine
3SG.POSS.mother true shake OC AUX NEG 3SG.POSS.mother only
pron adj vt aux nf pron
ya **wina** **amo** **ni** , **mati** **amo** **ni**
ya wina+F amo na.NFIN , mati amo na.NFIN
ADJU lie in hammock sleep AUX 3SG.POSS.mother sleep AUX
prt vi vi aux nf vi aux
winehemetemoneke **ahi** .
wina -hemete -mone -ke ahi
lie in hammock FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
vi dem
'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 attached 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 **Titafihi** , **oka** **noti** **me**
ti- tafi -hi , oka ka 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 , o- ka noti
1SG.S COMIT lie in hammock IMMED+F DIST.IMP+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 of my grandsons," she said.'

OLD YOME AKI

9	Faya	,	hinakanoti		me		kawinabone		
	faya		hinaka	noti	me	ka-	wina		-habone
	so		3SG.POSS	grandson	3PL.O	COMIT	lie in hammock		INT+F
	conj		nm		pron	vt			
	Oka		noti		me		okowinibeya		
	o-	ka	noti		me	o-	ka-	wina	-be -yahi
	1SG.POSS	POSS	grandson		3PL.O	1SG.S	COMIT	lie in hammock	IMMED+F DIST.IMP+F
	prt		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
	me		ohi		na.NOM+F		ya		inamatewe		sana
	3PL.S		cry		AUX		ADJU		child		carry strapped on shoulder
	pron		vi		aux		prt		nm		vt
	omisabana		oni		ati		nemetemoneke				
	o-	na	-misa	-habana	o-	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 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- kawa				-hi	weye	o-	na	-misa	-hibana	ati
	2SG.S	COMIT	give something to		IMP+F	carry	1SG.S	AUX	up	FUT+M	say
	vt					vt	aux				vt
	nemetemoneke		ahi		ati		na		mate		
	na	-hemete	-mone	-ke	ahi	ati	na+F		matehe		
	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then	say	AUX		children		
	aux				dem	vt	aux		nf		
	kawina		wina		fawa		nabanihi				
	ka-	wina+F	wina+F		fawa		na	-haba	-ni	-hi	
	COMIT	lie in hammock	lie in hammock		disappear		AUX	FUT+F	IP.N+F	DUP	
	vt		vi		vi		aux				

"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.'

13	Fawa		nemetemoneke		fahi		
	fawa		na	-hemete	-mone	-ke	fahi
	disappear		AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then
	vi		aux				dem

'She disappeared.'

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

OLD YOME AKI

'She disappeared.'

15	Anoti		ama	namatamonaha		hari	
	anoti		ama	na.NOM+M -mata -mona -ha		haari	,
	3SG.POSS older brother		be	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP		that one+M	
	nm		vc	aux		dem	
	so	nebona	tokomari				?
	soo	na -hibona	to- ka	-ma -haari			
	urinate	AUX INT+M	away go/come	back IP.E+M			
	vi	aux	vi				

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

16	Hinakasima		hinakasima		biti		
	hinaka asima		hinaka asima		biti		
	3SG.POSS younger sister		3SG.POSS younger sister		3SG.POSS.son		
	nf		nf		nm		
	Yome Aki	bote	me	hiwakamani		me	,
	Yome Aki	old	3PL.O	OC away COMIT go/come back	IP.N+F	me	
	(woman's name)	adj	pron	vt		3PL.O	
	npropf					pron	
	so	nebona	tokiyomame				
	soo	na -hibona	to- ka	-yoma -ma+M			
	urinate	AUX INT+M	away go/come	through back			
	vi	aux	vi				

tokomematamonaka	hawi	ya
to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka	hawi	ya
away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	trail	ADJU
vi	nf	prt

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

17	Tokome		tokome		so	ne	we	ni	ya
	to- ka -ma+M		to- ka -ma+M		soo	na+M	waa+M	ni	ya
	away go/come back		away go/come back		urinate	AUX	stand	to	ADJU
	vi		vi		vi	aux	vi	prt	prt
	inamatewe	ohi	ni	yana	tonematamonaka		hike	ya	
	inamatewe	ohi	na.NFIN	yana	to- na -himata -mona -ka		hike	ya	
	child	cry	AUX	start	CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M		far	ADJU	
	nm	vi	aux	vi	aux		nf	prt	

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

18	Faya	ohi	ni	fawa	ne	Inamatewe	oi	ni	oi
	faya	ohi	na.NFIN	fawa	na+M	inamatewe	ohi	na.NFIN	ohi
	so	cry	AUX	stop	AUX	child	cry	AUX	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."'

OLD YOME AKI

20 *Faya kame* , *Hibake biti* *oi nara* ?
 faya ka -ma+M , hibake biti ohi na.CONT+M -ra
 so go/come back who+M 3SG.POSS.son cry AUX CQ+M
 conj vi interrog nm vi aux

'He came back. "Whose baby is crying?"'

21 *Inamatewe oi ka ahi* .
 inamatewe ohi na -ka ahi
 child cry AUX DECL+M there
 nm vi prt dem

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

22 *Okatao me okomi kawina wini*
 okatao me o- ka ami ka- wina+F wina.NOM+F
 my son 3PL.O 1SG.POSS POSS mother COMMIT lie in hammock lie in hammock
 nm pron nf vt vi

ya , *okatao me okomi kawina*
 ya okatao me o- ka ami ka- wina+F
 ADJU my son 3PL.O 1SG.POSS POSS mother COMMIT lie in hammock
 prt nm pron nf vt

wini *ya* , *ati na kamakietemoneke*
 wina.NOM+F ya , ati na+F ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke
 lie in hammock ADJU say AUX go/come following FP.N+F REP+F 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 nemetemoneke*
 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

'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 COMMIT lie in hammock 3PL.S
 nf nf nm pron vt pron

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

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

25 *Oka noti owa ni me* , *aa* ,
 o- ka noti owa ni me , aa
 1SG.POSS POSS grandson 1SG.O to 3PL.O (pause)
 prt nm pron prt pron interj

kakawamako *ati ama hari*
 ka- kawa -mako ati ama haari
 COMMIT give something to for this reason+M voice be that one+M
 vt pn vc dem

'"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

OLD YOME AKI

nemetemoneke **fahi** .
na -hemete -mone -ke fahi
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
aux dem
'My sons, my sons.' Their mother cried.'

27 **Me tokomakeabone** **me**
me to- ka -makI -habone me
3PL away go/come following INT+F 3PL.O
pron vi pron

hinakamakiabone **kanawa** , **kanawa** **me** **yokoko**
hi- to- na- ka -makI -habone kanawa , kanawa me yoko -ko
OC away CAUS go/come following INT+F 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

28 **Kanawa wataremetemoneke** .
kanawa wata -ra -hemete -mone -ke
canoe exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
nf vi

'There was no canoe.'

29 **Me towakamani** **me** **ori** **nani** **matehe**
me to- ka- ka -ma -hani me ori na -hani matehe
3PL.S away COMIT go/come back IP.N+F 3PL.S paddle AUX IP.N+F children
pron vi pron vi aux nf

me towakamani **me** , **matehe** **inamatewe** **owa**
me to- ka- ka -ma -hani me , matehe inamatewe owa
3PL.S away COMIT go/come back IP.N+F 3PL.S children child other+M
pron vt pron nf nm adj

nafire **inamatewe** **owa** **ta** **nafi** ,
nafi -ra+M inamatewe owa ta nafi.LIST ,
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 was big.'

30 **Faya me hiwakamani** **me** , **faya** **me** **ka**
faya me hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hani me , faya me ka
so 3PL.O OC away COMIT go/come back IP.N+F 3PL.O so 3PL POSS
conj pron vt pron conj pron prt

ami ohi na me ka ami ohi nemetemoneke .
ami ohi na+F me ka ami ohi na -hemete -mone -ke
mother cry AUX 3PL POSS mother cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
nf vi aux pron prt nf vi aux

'She took them. Their mother was crying.'

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

OLD YOME AKI

31 *Ohi nemetemoneke*

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

'She was crying.'

32 *Ohi ni fawa na , ayaka me wati kanama*
ohi na.NFIN fawa na+F , ayaka me wati ka- na -ma+F
cry AUX stop AUX dance 3PL.S think about COMIT AUX back
vi aux vi aux vi pron vt aux

me ayaka me hiri na me , me
me ayaka me hiri na+F me , me
3PL.S dance 3PL.S do AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S
pron vi pron vt aux pron pron

kawahemetemoneke

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 obatasi kobo ?*
himata o- batasi kobo
what? 1SG.POSS middle of back meet
interrog pn vt

'What is on my back?'

34 *Baroro amare ama ?*
baroro ama -ra+M ama
cockroach be NEG SEC
nm vc sec

'Is it a cockroach?'

35 *Faya , mate fawa kanaha , faya me*
faya , matehe fawa ka- na+F , faya me
so children disappear COMIT AUX so 3PL.S
conj nf vi aux conj pron

kakakama tohara me Yome Aki bote me
ka- ka- ka -ma to- ha -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 me , kakasawi
hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hani me , ka- ka- sawi
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.'

36 *Me 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

OLD YOME AKI

me fotamisi ya me me , me me hikababone
 me fota -misa.NOM+F ya me me , me me hi- kaba -habone
 3PL.S be big up ADJU 3PL 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S OC eat INT+F
 pron vi prt pron pron pron pron vt
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
wati hikanemetemoneke
 wati hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
 plan against OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux
 '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 hiemetemoneke me ye atari ya
 bi- bisi hi- to- ha -hemete -mone -ke me yehe atari ya
 DUP scratch OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS hand skin+F ADJU
 vt aux pron pn pn prt
ahi , ahi , ahi
 ahi , ahi , ahi
 here here here
 dem dem dem
 'They were planning to kill them. They scratched them with their fingernails, like this.'

38 *Yiwa bite aya toa ya me ame iha*
 yiwa bite aya to- ha+F ya me ame iha+F
 pot small+F this CH be ADJU 3PL.POSS blood+F be located
 nf adj dem vc prt pron pn vi
me , me me bisi hina me ame nonowi
 me me me bisi hi- na+F me ame no- nowi
 3PL.POSS 3PL.O 3PL.S scratch OC AUX 3PL.POSS blood+F DUP drip
 pron pron pron vt aux pron pn vi
toemetemone ahi
 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 nowi na me fawa , ama me fawa me ,*
 ama nowi na+F me fawa+F , ama me fawa+F me ,
 blood drip AUX 3PL.S drink blood 3PL.S drink 3PL.S
 nf vi aux pron vt nf pron vt pron
me nafi haro me tame haro me isi
 me nafi haaro me tame haaro me isi
 3PL.POSS all that one+F 3PL.POSS foot+F that one+F 3PL.POSS leg+F
 pron pn dem pron pn dem pron pn
ahi , me tati
 ahi , me tati
 there 3PL.POSS head
 dem pron pn
 'They drank the blood that dripped out all over them, their feet, their legs, their heads.'

OLD YOME AKI

40 *Me me bibisi hia me , me me*
 me me bi- bisi hi- to- ha+F me , me me
 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP scratch OC CH AUX 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron pron vt aux pron pron pron
hikababone me , yana tokanemetemoneke
 hi- kaba -habone me , yana to- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
 OC eat INT+F 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt pron vi aux

'They always scratched them. They decided to eat them.'

41 *Me yana tokana meba me , Me waka*
 me yana to- ka- na+F me -ba me , me waka
 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX 3PL FUT 3PL 3PL.O kill
 pron vi aux pron pron pron vt

tiyahi
 ti- na -yahi
 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F
 aux

'They were ready. "You kill them."⁶⁵

42 *Me waka tiyahi*
 me waka ti- na -yahi
 3PL.O kill 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F
 pron vt aux

""Kill them.""

43 *Me e kabibeya*
 me ee kaba -be -ya
 3PL.O 1IN.S eat IMMED+F now
 pron pron vt

""Let's eat them.""

44 *Me , me me hiwasianike*
 me me me hi- wasi -hani -ke
 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S OC find IP.N+F DECL+F
 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

kakatime mera wasi , mera
 ka- ka -tima+M mera wasi+M , mera
 COMIT go/come upstream 3PL.O find 3PL.O
 vi pron vt pron

towakamamatemonaka
 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 towakame , faya me me*
 mera to- ka- ka -ma+M , faya 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.

OLD YOME AKI

hiwamake , *bati* *ka* *awa* *ka* *ne* , *awa*
 hi- to- awa -makI , bati ka awa kaa na+M , awa
 OC away see following 3SG.POSS.father POSS tree chop AUX tree
 vt nm prt nf vt aux nf
awa *ibe* *awa* *ibe* *foremetemoneke* *tati* *ya* *ahi*
 awa ibe awa ibe forI -hemete -mone -ke tati ya ahi
 tree piece tree piece lie on top FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F head ADJU there
 nf pn nf pn vi pn prt 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 *Me* *tati* *me* *boyo* *hina* *me* , *me* *tati* *me*
 me tati me boyo hi- na+F me , me tati me
 3PL.POSS head 3PL.S feel OC AUX 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS head 3PL.S
 pron pn pron vt aux pron pron pn pron

boyo *hina* *awa* *ibe* *wasi* , *awa* *awa* *ibe*
 boyo hi- na+F awa ibe wasi+M , awa awa ibe
 feel OC AUX tree piece find tree tree piece
 vt aux nf pn vt nf nf pn

wasimatamonaka *me* *ka* *iti* , *Yome Aki* *bote*
 wasi -himata -mona -ka me ka iti , Yome Aki bote
 find FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL POSS grandfather (man's name) old
 vt pron prt nm npropm adj

'They felt their heads and found the pieces of wood. Old Yome Aki, their grandfather, found the pieces of wood.'

48 *Faya* *awa* *ibe* *wasi* , *me* *me* *hiwasini* *yama*
 faya awa ibe wasi+M , me me hi- wasi -hani yama
 so tree piece find 3PL.O 3PL.S OC find IP.N+F thing
 conj nf pn vt pron pron vt nf

sasari *kana* , *faya* *yama* *sari* *kana* *awa* *ibe* *me*
 sa- sari ka- na+F , faya yama sari ka- na+F awa ibe me
 DUP burn COMMIT AUX so thing burn COMMIT AUX tree piece 3PL.S
 vt aux conj nf vt aux nf pn pron

ki *na* *me* , *Me* *waka* *tiyahi*
 kii na+F me , me waka ti- na -yahi
 look at AUX 3PL.S 3PL.O kill 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F
 vt aux pron pron vt aux

'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* *kakawiba*
 me ka- kawiba -ba
 3PL.POSS DUP eat with something FUT
 pron pn

onakamatibeya *wafa* *mati*
 o- to- na- ka -mata -be -ya wafa wafa mati
 1SG.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

OLD YOME AKI

ati nematamonaka

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

"I'm going to kill some woolly monkeys with my blowgun," he said.'

51 **Me waka onabanani**

me waka o- na -habana -ni
 3PL.O kill 1SG.S AUX FUT+F BKG+F
 pron vt aux

"I will kill them."

52 **Me waka onabana**

me waka o- na -habana o- ke 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**

o- ka , oka nanayana 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**

ti- ka nanayana wahati tikaba ,
 2SG.POSS POSS DUP CAUS grow liver 2SG.S eat
 prt pn pn vt

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**

faya , Yome Aki bote bosa nematamonaka ahi
 so (man's name) old get up early AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj npropm adj vi aux dem

'Old Yome Aki got up early.'

57 **Toke**

to- ka+M bosa ne toke , toke
 away go/come get up early AUX away go/come away go/come
 vi vi aux vi vi

OLD YOME AKI

63 *Hamahama* *raba* *nofa* *ama*
 hama- hama na -raba na nofa+F ama
 DUP be mean AUX a bit AUX recently SEC
 vi aux aux sec

"She is fierce!"

64 *Mera* *waka* *nabone* *mera* *baro* *nemetemone* *ahi*
 mera waka na -habone mera baro na -hemete -mone ahi
 3PL.O kill AUX INT+F 3PL.O beat AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron vt aux pron vt aux dem

'She tried to hit them with a stick, to kill them.'

65 *Me* *yoyora* *tokowitemetemoneke*
 me yo- yora to- ka- na -witI -hemete -mone -ke
 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*
 faya me aki ti- ka -makI -ni
 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 mato wiyene -bana
 basket 2PL.S carry AUX basket tree sp container+M FUT
 nf pron vt aux nf nm pn

"You carry big baskets to carry *mato* fruits 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

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

'They went off carrying the baskets.'

69 *Me* *toka* *me* , *faya* *mera* *waka* *nabone* *mera*
 me to- ka+F me faya mera waka na -habone mera
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S so 3PL.O kill AUX INT+F 3PL.O
 pron vi pron conj pron vt aux pron

kakakata *nemetemoneni*
 ka- ka- kata na -hemete -mone -ni
 DUP COMIT arrdear AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vt aux

'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

OLD YOME AKI

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 *Me* *tabori* *nabowarima* *na* , *me*
 me tabori na- aboha -rima na+F me
 3PL.POSS place+F CAUS die intermittent AUX 3PL.S
 pron pn vt aux pron

towaka *me* *me* *tame* *me* *tame* *matibone*
 to- ka- ka+F me me tame me tame mati -bone
 away COMIT go/come 3PL.S 3PL.POSS foot+F 3PL.POSS foot+F line+F INT+F
 vi pron pron pn pron pn pn

tamiyara *me* *sa* *na* *me* *tamiyara* *me* *awa* *me*
 tamiyara me saa na+F me tamiyara me awa me
 tree sp 3PL.S strip off AUX 3PL.S tree sp 3PL.S tree 3PL.S
 nm pron vt aux pron nm pron nf pron

tomi *kanikimi* *ya* , *faya* *me* *yana*
 tomi ka- na -kima.NOM+F ya faya me yana
 measure COMIT AUX two ADJU so 3PL.S start
 vt aux prt conj pron vi

tonemetemone

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

'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* *me* *mera* *kiyo*
 faya me yana to- ka- na+F me mera kiyo
 so 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S 3PL.O chase
 conj pron vi aux pron pron vt

nawaremetemoneke

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- ka- ka+F ti- ka 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* *tokomematamonaka* *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

'One of them ran away.'

OLD YOME AKI

75 *Kana ni tokome , yora*
 kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma+M yora
 run AUX away go/come back jump
 vi aux vi vi

tomisematamonaka

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

'He ran away, and jumped up in a tree.'

76 *Fito tonamake awa ba*
 fito to- na -makI awa baa
 rush away AUX following tree hit
 vi aux nf vt

naremetemoneke

na -rI -hemete -mone -ke , *teo*
 AUX raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F teo
 aux (sound of hitting on wood)
 sound

'She hit at him with the stick, but only hit the tree, teo.'

77 *Siya !*
 siya
 you missed
 interj

""You missed!""

78 *Faya owa anoti*
 faya owa anoti
 so other+M 3SG.POSS older brother
 conj adj nm

hinakamematamonaka

hi- to- na- ka -ma -himata -mona -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*
 anoti hi- to- na- ka -ma+M fee bete
 3SG.POSS older brother OC away CAUS go/come back 3SG.O run
 nm vt pron vi

kawahematamonaka

ka- na -waha -himata -mona -ka *ahi*
 COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M ahi
 aux dem

'She went after his older brother, but he ran away.'

80 *Bete ni kame teme yoko tokanakabote*
 bete na.NFIN ka -ma+M teme yoko to- ka- na -kabote
 run AUX go/come back footprint+M push CH COMIT AUX quickly
 vi aux vi pn vt aux

ne yora tosamaki ahi
 na+M yora to- na -misa -makI+M ahi
 AUX jump away AUX up following then
 aux vi aux dem

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

OLD YOME AKI

81 *Kana ni kamakia awa ba*
 kana na.NFIN ka -makI+F awa baa
 run AUX go/come following tree hit
 vi aux vi nf vt
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 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 *Faya me towakimisa me*
 faya me to- ka- ka -misa+F me
 so 3PL.S away COMIT go/come up 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron
towakimisemetemoneke
 to- ka- ka -misa -hemete -mone -ke
 away COMIT go/come up FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi
 'The two of them went up in the tree.'

85 *Me towakimisa me me*
 me to- ka- ka -misa+F me me
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come up 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron
towakimisa me mato me mato me baka
 to- ka- ka -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 me baka na tamiyara me tama kanikima*
 mato me baka na+F tamiyara me tama ka- na -kima+F
 tree sp 3PL.S break AUX tree sp 3PL.S hold onto COMIT AUX two
 nm pron vt aux nm pron vt aux
mato tati me wete nemetemone ahi
 mato tati me wete na -hemete -mone ahi
 tree sp unripe 3PL.S tie AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 nm adj pron vt aux dem
 '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.'

OLD YOME AKI

87 *Mato tati me wete na me , mato tati wete*
 mato tati me wete na+F me , mato tati wete
 tree sp unripe 3PL.S tie AUX 3PL.S tree sp unripe tie
 nm adj pron vt aux pron nm sp adj vt

ni abe ya , Aki , aki
 na.NFIN ahaba.NOM+M ya , aki , aki
 AUX end ADJU grandmother grandmother
 aux vi prt nf nf

"They tied green *mato* fruits together. When they finished tying the green *mato* fruits together, "Grandma, Grandma."

88 *Haa ?*

haa
 huh?
 interj

"What?"

89 *Aki taha ota noko me katomake*
 aki taha otaa noko me katoma -ke
 grandmother sweat bee sp 1EX.POSS eye 3PL.S attack DECL+F
 nf nm pron pn pron vt

"Grandmother, the *taha* sweat bees are bothering our eyes."

90 *Taha ota noko me katomini*
 taha otaa noko me katoma -ni
 sweat bee sp 1EX.POSS eye 3PL.S attack BKG+F
 nm pron pn pron vt

"The *taha* bees are bothering our eyes."

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

"Sing 'taha kiyefo'."

92 *Faya yowiri nemetemone fahi*
 faya yowiri na -hemete -mone fahi
 so sing woman's song AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj vi aux dem

'So she sang.'

93 *Ta kiyefo ta kiyefo ati*
 taha kiyefo taha kiyefo ati
 (name of woman's song) (name of woman's song) say
 nf nf vt

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

'She sang, "Ta kiyefo, ta kiyefo."

94 *Ta kiyefo ta kiyefo ati nemetemone*
 taha kiyefo taha kiyefo ati na -hemete -mone
 (name of woman's song) (name of woman's song) say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nf nf vt aux

OLD YOME AKI

kisematamonaka

ka -risa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 go/come down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem

'As she stood singing, the *mato* fruits dropped.'

102 **Mato** **fiya** **hikana** , **Siya** , **siya** **ati**
 mato fiya hi- ka- na+F , siya , siya ati
 tree sp pass OC COMIT AUX you missed you missed say
 nm vt aux interj interj vt

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 o- ka 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**
 o- ka 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** **tiwawami** **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

"Grandma, stand a little over this way."

107 **Yama** **amosi** **ya** **tiwawamahi**
 yama amosa.NOM+F ya ti- waa -waha -ma -hi
 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."

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- 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.'"
- 110 **Faya wawamemetemoneke** *ahi*
 faya waa -waha -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 so stand change back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 conj vi dem
 '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*
 hi- kina -rI -haba -ni -hi 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 **Hinaka koko wa me ka koko**
 hinaka koko waa.LIST me ka koko
 3SG.POSS mother's brother stand 3PL POSS mother's brother
 pron nm vi pron prt nm
wa nematamonaka mera kakatomahari
 waa.LIST na -himata -mona -ka mera ka- katoma -haari
 stand AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.O COMIT look at IP.E+M
 vi aux pron vt
 'Their uncle was also standing nearby, watching them.'
- 113 **Faya mato kisematamonaka** *ahi*
 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 *mato* fruits dropped.'
- 114 **Yome Aki bote yowiri na wa mato hikina**
 Yome Aki bote yowiri na+F waa+F mato hi- kina+F
 (woman's name) old sing woman's song AUX stand tree sp OC hit
 npropf adj vi aux vi nm vt
Aya ati nemetemoneke
 aya ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 (expression of pain) say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 interj vt aux
 'Old Yome Aki was singing, and the *mato* fruits hit her. "Ouch," she said.'
- 115 **Faya kiya kana hinaka koko hinaka**
 faya kiya ka- na+F hinaka koko hinaka
 so yell COMIT AUX 3SG.POSS mother's brother 3SG.POSS
 conj vi aux pron nm pron
koko fito tonamake baro hinemetemone
 koko fito to- na -makI baro hi- na -hemete -mone
 mother's brother rush away AUX following beat OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nm vi aux vt aux

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

OLD YOME AKI

ahi

ahi
then
dem

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

116 *Baro hina* , *me ka koko* *baro hina Hima*
baro hi- na+F , me ka koko baro hi- na+F hima
beat OC AUX 3PL POSS mother's brother beat OC AUX let's go
vt aux pron prt nm vt aux interj

, *abake*

ahaba -ke
die DECL+F
vi

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

117 *Mato hiwa kawa na*
mato hiwa kawa waa.NOM+M na
tree sp only.M COMIT stand AUX
nm pron vi aux

"Let the *mato* tree be with fruits."

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

"Come on, you two go on ahead."

119 *Wete hinemetemone ahi*
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
tie OC AUX leg+F OC COMIT CAUS be attached FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vt aux pn vt

ahi

ahi
then
dem

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

121 *Isi hikanawana* , *isi kawana* , *isi*
isi hi- ka- na- wana+F , isi ka- wana+F , isi
leg+F OC COMIT CAUS be attached leg+F COMIT be attached leg+F
pn vt pn vi pn

kawana weye himisemetemoneke , *hinaka*
ka- wana+F weye hi- na -misa -hemete -mone -ke , hinaka
COMIT be attached carry OC AUX up FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3SG.POSS
vi vt aux pron

yama noko bote aawa tona weye hinaharo ahi
yama noko bote a- awa to- na.LIST weye hi- na -haaro ahi
vagina old DUP be open CH AUX carry OC AUX IP.E+F then
nm adj vi aux vt aux dem

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

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wide open as he carried her.'

122 *Hinaka yama noko awa tonematamonane*
 hinaka yama noko awa to- na -himata -mona -ne
 3SG.POSS vagina be open CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 pron nm vi aux

'Her vagina was wide open.'

123 *Faya hiwakama , ati hahaniba amane*
 faya hi- ka- ka -ma+F , ati haahaani -ba ama -ne
 so OC COMIT go/come back voice be funny FUT SEC BKG+M
 conj vt pn vi sec

'He took her. They are going to laugh at what he says.'

124 *Yama tikamitahi*
 yama ti- ka- mita -hi
 thing 2SG.S COMIT hear IMP+F
 nf vt

'Listen.'

125 *Faya me hiwakamemetemoneke*
 faya me hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 so 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj pron vt

'They took her.'

126 *Me hiwakama , faya koro*
 me hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F , faya koro
 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back so throw
 pron vt conj vt

hinisemetemone fahi
 hi- na -risa -hemete -mone fahi
 OC AUX down FP.N+F REP+F then
 aux dem

'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
 throw OC AUX down firewood split AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 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 tafa na+M , yifo tafa
 firewood split AUX firewood split AUX firewood split
 nf vt aux nf vt aux nf vt

ni ahabi ya , faya bobi hinemetemone fahi
 na.NFIN ahaba.NOM+F ya , faya bobi hi- na -hemete -mone fahi
 AUX end ADJU so slit OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 aux vi prt conj vt aux dem

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

129 *Bobi hina , bobi hinemetemoneke*
 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

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'He cut her up.'

130 *Bobi hina wahati hiwakibe aboni tabasi*
 bobi hi- na+F wahati hi- ka- ibI aboni tabasi
 slit OC AUX liver OC COMIT put inside main part+F roast on grill
 vt aux pn vt pn vt

hinemetemoneni

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

'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 surface so OC COMIT cook raised surface
 vt conj vt

kawari ya wiro kanemetemoneke
 ka- waa -rI.NOM ya wiro ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT cook raised surface ADJU boil COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 result prt vi aux

'He cooked her. She was cooked, and she boiled.'

132 *Wiro kana bai bai aawa nematamona*
 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

'She boiled. He looked at the sun.'

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

'The sun was getting low.'

134 *Bahi aawa ne ya yiwa tebe yiwa tebe aya*
 bahi a- awa na.NOM+M ya yiwaha tebe yiwaha tebe aya
 sun DUP see AUX ADJU ceramic pot ceramic pot this
 nm vt aux prt nf nf dem

toha waka ne yiwa waka ne yiwa
 to- ha+F waka na+M yiwa waka na+M yiwa
 CH be destroy AUX pot destroy AUX pot
 vc vt aux nf vt aux nf

towakamakimatamona ahi
 to- ka- ka -makI -himata -mona ahi
 away COMIT go/come following 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 sinamako sinamakoteba toha*
 yiwa one sinamako sinamako -tee -ba to- ha.LIST
 pot other+F acouchy acouchy HAB FUT CH be
 nf adj nm nm vc

katatateba toha katatateba toha
 katata -tee -ba to- ha.LIST katata -tee -ba to- ha.LIST
 caracara sp HAB FUT CH be caracara sp HAB FUT CH be
 nm vc nm vc

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yama nawate kame yiwa ibe
yama na- wata+M ka -ma+M yiwa ibe
thing CAUS be located go/come back pot piece
nf vt vi nf pn

nawarimatamona ahi
na- waa -rI -himata -mona ahi
CAUS stand raised surface FP.N+M REP+M 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 nawari 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

namehibano ahi
na -ma -hiba -no ahi
AUX back FUT+M IP.N+M then
aux dem

'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 -mona ahi
hammock spin AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
nm vt aux dem

'He rolled string for a hammock.'

138 **Hinaka yama noko bote hinawana yohari**
hinaka yama noko bote hi- na- wana.LIST yoha -ri
3SG.POSS vagina old OC CAUS be attached breast PN
pron nm adj vt pn

hikanawana ahi
hi- ka- na- wana+F ahi
OC COMIT CAUS be attached then
vt dem

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

139 **Yohari hikanawanemetemone ahi**
yoha -ri hi- ka- na- wana -hemete -mone ahi
breast PN OC COMIT CAUS be attached FP.N+F REP+F then
pn vt dem

'He put on her breasts.'

140 **Fara fara noki nima noko nematamonaka**
fara fara noki nima noko na -himata -mona -ka
same+F same+F face+F like face+M AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
dem dem pn prt pn aux

'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.'

OLD YOME AKI

142 *Yifo faki ne , katata ati yana tonematamona*
 yifo faki na+M , katata ati yana to- na -himata -mona
 hammock spin AUX caracara sp voice start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm vt aux nm pn vi aux

Katatatatatatatata

katatatatatatatatata

(call of caracara)

sound

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

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

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

144 *Katata hora nematamonaka*
 katata hora na -himata -mona -ka
 caracara sp complain AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vi aux

'The caracara was complaining.'

145 *Katatamonaha yiwa ibe , yifo faki ne*
 katata -mona -ha yiwa ibe , yifo faki na+M
 caracara sp REP+M DUP pot piece hammock spin AUX
 nm nf pn nm vt aux

yowiri nematamona ahi
 yowiri na -himata -mona ahi
 sing woman's song 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 *Yowiri na ya kameno ya , katata*
 yowiri na+F ya ka -ma -hino ya , katata
 sing woman's song AUX ADJU go/come back IP.N+M ADJU caracara sp
 vi aux prt vi prt nm

yana nematamonaka , Kata kata
 yana na -himata -mona -ka , kata kata
 start AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (call of caracara) (call of caracara)
 vi aux sound sound

kata kata kata
 kata kata kata
 (call of caracara) (call of caracara) (call of caracara)
 sound sound sound

kata
 kata
 (call of caracara)
 sound

'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 came, he came.'"

OLD YOME AKI

wini *ya* *kati* *tona* *naro* *ahi*
wina.NOM+F ya kati to- na na -haaro ahi
lie in hammock ADJU swing CH AUX AUX IP.E+F then
vi prt vi aux aux dem
'He came into the house. His wife was singing, in her hammock, swinging back and forth.'

153 *Yifo* *faki* *nemetemoneke* *ahi*
yifo faki na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
hammock spin AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
nm vt aux dem

'She was rolling string for a hammock.'

154 *Hoo* , *oof* , *fara* ?
hoo , oof , fara ?
humph hoo same+F
interj interj dem

""Whew, well?""

155 *Me* *waka* *tini* ?
me waka ti- na -ni ?
3PL.O kill 2SG.S AUX BKG+F
pron vt aux

""Did you kill them?""

156 *Ee* *me* *waka* *onarani*
ee me waka o- na -hara -ni
yes 3PL.O kill 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F BKG+F
interj pron vt aux

""Yes, I killed them.""

157 *Me* *waka* *onarani*
me waka o- na -hara -ni
3PL.O kill 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F BKG+F
pron vt aux

""I killed them.""

158 *Wahati* *tikabe* ?
wahati ti- kaba+M ?
liver 2SG.S eat
pn vt

""Did you eat his liver?""

159 *Wahati* *okobarene*
wahati o- kaba -hare -ne
liver 1SG.S eat IP.E+M BKG+M
pn vt

""I ate his liver.""

160 *Oko* *nanayana* *wahati* *okobaharene*
o- ka na- na- yana wahati o- kaba -hare -ne
1SG.POSS POSS DUP CAUS grow liver 1SG.S eat IP.E+M BKG+M
prt prt pn vt

""I ate the liver of the one I raised.""

OLD YOME AKI

161 *Oko* *nanayana* *wahati* *okobarene* *ahi*
 o- ka na- na- yana wahati o- 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 ate the liver of the one I raised."

162 *Tika* *nanayanabisa* *wahati* *kafoya*
 ti- ka na- na- yana -bisa wahati ka- foya.CONT+M
 2SG.POSS POSS DUP CAUS get up also liver COMIT be inside
 prt pn pn vi

fari

faari
 that one+M
 dem

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

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

"There is manioc mash there in the pot."

165 *Iyawa* *kawitani* *iyawa* *horo*
 iyawa ka- ita -hani iyawa horo
 manioc mash COMIT sit IP.N+F manioc mash drag
 nf vi nf vt

kawahamematamona

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

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

166 *Iyawa* *horo* *kawahame* *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

hi- ka- iti -hemete -mone ahi
 OC COMIT pick up FP.N+F REP+F then
 vt dem

'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.'

OLD YOME AKI

168 *Yai* *nakosa* *nematamonaka*
 yai na -kosa na -himata -mona -ka
 bite off AUX middle AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux aux

'He bit down on it.'

169 *Yome* *toni* *nematamonaka* *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

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He swallowed it, he was hungry.'

170 *Yome* *toni* *nematamonaka* *iyawa* *yoko*
 yome to- niha- na na -himata -mona -ka iyawa yoko
 swallow CH CAUS AUX AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M manioc mash push
 vt aux aux nf vt

tona *kanibote*
 to- na ka- na -bote
 CH AUX COMIT AUX quickly
 aux aux

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

171 *Faya* *me* *tafehimatamonaka* *kasiro* *ya* , *fimi* *rama*
 faya me tafa -himata -mona -ka kasiro ya , fimi+M rama
 so 3PL eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M a lot ADJU be hungry unusual
 conj pron vi adv prt vi prt

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He really ate, because he was hungry.'⁶⁷

172 *Sitakari* *wani* *yokana* *yai* *hisa* *rama*
 sitakari wana.NOM+F yokana yai hi- na -kosa+F rama
 gall bladder be attached true bite off OC AUX middle unusual
 pn vi adj vt aux prt

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He bit right into her gall bladder.'

173 *Sitakarine* *yai* *hinakosahani* *ya*
 sitakarine yai hi- na -kosa -hani ya
 gall bladder bite off OC AUX middle IP.N+F ADJU
 pn vt aux prt

Aha *ati* *nematamonaka* *ahi*
 aha ati na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 (unpleasant surprise) say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 interj vt aux dem

'When he bit into her gall bladder, he said, "Aha."'

67 The word *me* is a mistake.

OLD YOME AKI

174 *Yora kawarematamona ahi* .
 yora ka- na -wahaI -himata -mona ahi
 jump COMMIT 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
nematamona 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 hinematamonaka ahi* .
 baro hi- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 beat OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt aux dem
 'He hit him with the stick.'

177 *Baro hine hinaka noti me ohi nabanihi*
 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*
 o- ka iti -ra o- ka iti -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 .
 o- ka iti -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
 "'You are crying, but you are all scratched.'"

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

OLD YOME AKI

181	Faya	tabiyo	me	ohi	hine	kokori		me	hora
	faya	tabiyo	me	ohi	hi- na+M	kokori		me	hora
	so	absence	3PL.S	cry	OC AUX	mother's brother		3PL.O	scold
	conj	pn	pron	vi	aux	nm		pron	vt
	hina	me	me	tabasi		hina	kawa		Hinaka
	hi- na+F	me	me	tabasi		hi- na+F	ka- waa+F		hinaka
	OC AUX	3PL.O	3PL.S	roast on grill		OC AUX	COMIT stand		3SG.POSS
	aux	pron	pron	vt		aux	vi		pron

wafa **me** **te** **totimahi**
wafa me tee to- iti -ma -hi
woolly monkey 3PL.O 2PL.S away pick up back IMP+F
nm pron pron vt

"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	tokomibeya				hinaka	wafa	me
	ee	to- ka	-ma	-be	-ya	hinaka	wafa	me
	1IN.S	away go/come	back	IMMED+F	now	3SG.POSS	woolly monkey	3PL.O
	pron	vi				pron	nm	pron

e **kababa** **mati**
ee kaba -haba mati
1IN.S eat FUT+F 3PL.O
pron vt pron

"Let's go home, so we can eat his woolly 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

"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	tokometemoneke			
	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	me	me	weye
	me	to- ka	-ma	-habone	wafa	me	me	weye
	3PL.S	away go/come	back	INT+F	woolly monkey	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
	woolly monkey	3PL.O	3PL.S	carry	AUX	3PL.S
	nm	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron

OLD YOME AKI

199 *Me kaba me , me sari hikanemetemoneke*
 me kaba+F me , me sari hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.S burn OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vt pron pron vt aux

fahi .
 fahi
 then
 dem

'They were eaten. They burned her.'

200 *Me sari hikanemetemone* .
 me sari hi- ka- na -hemete -mone
 3PL.S burn OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vt aux

'They burned her.'

201 *Me nakasirimetemone era fawawa tohine*
 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 pn pron vt aux

karayati mati haro , Yome Aki bote
 karayati mati haaro , Yome Aki bote
 fly sp 3PL that one+F (woman's name) old
 nm pron dem npropf adj

nakasirimetemonehe .
 nakasiri -mete -mone -he
 ashes FP.N+F REP+F DUP
 pn

'Their ashes are the *karayati* flies of today, that drink our blood, the ashes of old Yome Aki.'

202 *Faya me sari hikana , faya me*
 faya me sari hi- ka- na+F , faya me
 so 3PL.S burn OC COMIT AUX so 3PL.S
 conj pron vt aux conj pron

kakasawima na tohemetemone fahi me ka
 ka- ka- sawi -ma.LIST na to- ha -hemete -mone fahi me ka
 DUP COMIT be present back AUX CH 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 ni ya me kakasawima toha*
 me ka abi ni ya me ka- ka- sawi -ma to- ha+F
 3PL POSS father to ADJU 3PL.S DUP COMIT be present back CH AUX
 pron prt nm prt prt pron vi aux

me iima tohemetemoneke .
 me i- ima to- ha -hemete -mone -ke
 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.'

OLD YOME AKI

204 *Hima* , *fara* *ama* *ake* .
hima fara ama -ke
let's go same+F be DECL+F
interj dem vc
'Let's go, that's all.'

HOKA

Free Translation

Note: At various points Siko's wife Amoro interjects comments, which I have not tried to transcribe. The story is probably originally from Amoro's people, the Wa Yafi people, and Siko probably learned it from Amoro.

Hoka lay sick in his hammock for a long time. His son was helping him and taking care of him. The son wasn't sleeping.

"Don't keep my father's fire going. Don't keep the fire going. I'm going to sleep. You're not going to take care of my father," he said. [He wanted them to take care of his father, but he knew they wouldn't.] "My father said he is going to burn his shaman's stone, I heard him," his son said. "When I am sleeping, you won't be able to keep us all from getting sick."

Then they went to sleep.

They slept. A little boy lit his grandfathers fire again [at the grandfather's request]. He unwittingly burned his grandfather's shaman's stone [which the grandfather had sneaked into the fire], and he lay next to the fire, dead. His grandfather had burned his shaman's stone. A man who had been sitting warming himself in the fire also lay dead next to the fire. He died. Was it his father?

The son woke up and criticized them. There was a lot of smoke. A sickness came to them right away as they were sleeping. The smoke was inside the longhouse. They woke up and moved out. They moved out during the night and went. They were dying as they walked along on the trail.

The son was standing in the smoke, and could be heard speaking. "I don't want to get sick. Younger brother, I am your older brother," he said.

They died. They were calling out [for the others] as they went in the forest. They were dying.

Morning came. He dug a grave for his father, and buried his father. His wife died, and his sons died, too. He buried his father. I think he still lived there. Who knows? He survived. He went upstream, grieving. He went grieving. She survived. Yes, he took along his wife, who had survived. She had survived, and he took her along, and had children. He had children. He had a shaman's stone, and he was stronger than all of them. They all died.

They still live in the same place they were living. Some lived in one place, others in another place. He went to their relatives, who were scattered. He went, and stayed there with them. Those other ones died, and rotted, all of them. They didn't survive. They all died.

Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Hoka</i>	,	<i>Hoka</i>		<i>kakawina</i>		<i>toe</i>
	Hoka		Hoka		ka- ka- wina		to- ha+M
	(man's name)		(man's name)		DUP COMIT lie in hammock		CH AUX
	npropm		npropm		vi		aux

HOKA

biti	kakanarifa	hiematamona	
biti	ka- ka- narifa	hi- to- ha -himata -mona	
3SG.POSS.son	DUP COMIT help	OC CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M	
nm	vt	aux	

'Hoka lay sick in his hammock for a long time. His son was helping him.'

2 Biti	hikanarife		, biti	hiwakatome
biti	hi- ka- narifa+M		biti	hi- ka- katoma+M
3SG.POSS.son	OC COMIT help		3SG.POSS.son	OC COMIT look at
nm	vt		nm	vt
hinofe	hinakasima	ati	ama	nimetemone
hi- nofa+M	hinaka asima	ati ama na.NOM+F -mete -mone		
OC recently	3SG.POSS younger sister	voice be AUX FP.N+F REP+F		
prt	nf	pn vc aux		

?

'His son was helping him and taking care of him. Was it his younger sister who spoke?'⁶⁸

3 Amo re	amo rematamonaka	
amo na -ra+M	amo na -ra -himata -mona -ka	
sleep AUX NEG	sleep AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	
vi aux	vi aux	

'He wasn't sleeping.'

4 Amo re	Okobi		ka	yifo	te	afo
amo na -ra+M	o- ka abi		ka	yifo tee afo		afo
sleep AUX NEG	1SG.POSS POSS father		POSS	fire 2PL.S blow		
vi aux	nm		prt	nf pron vt		

kanamariyahi

ka- na -ma -ra -yahi
COMIT AUX back NEG DIST.IMP+F
aux

'He wasn't sleeping. "Don't keep my father's fire going."'

5 Okobi	yifo	te	afo	kanamariyahi
o- ka abi	yifo tee afo			ka- na -ma -ra -yahi
1SG.POSS POSS father	fire 2PL.S blow			COMIT AUX back NEG DIST.IMP+F
nm	nf pron vt		aux	

""Don't keep the fire going.""⁶⁹

6 Amo onaba	ama oke	
amo o- na -haba	ama o- ke	
sleep 1SG.S AUX FUT+F	SEC 1SG.S DECL+F	
vi aux	sec prt	

""I'm going to sleep.""

7 Okobi	te	kakatamaraba	te amake
o- ka abi	tee ka- katoma -ra -haba		tee ama -ke
1SG.POSS POSS father	2PL.S COMIT look at NEG FUT+F		2PL.S SEC DECL+F
nm	pron vt		pron sec

""You're not going to take care of my father.""

68 The string *hiwakatome hinofe* is archaic. Today people say *hekatomi hinofe*.

69 The word *okobi* at the beginning of the sentence is a false start.

HOKA

kaname , **inamatewe** **ka** **hinakiti** **ka** **yifo** **afo**
 ka- na -ma+M , inamatewe ka hinaka iti ka yifo afo
 COMIT AUX back child POSS 3SG.POSS grandfather POSS fire blow
 aux nm prt nm prt nf vt

kanamematamonaka

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

'He lit his grandfather's fire again. The boy lit his grandfather's fire again.'

14 **Hinakiti** **ka** , **yifo** **afo** **kane** , **faya**
 hinaka iti ka yifo afo ka- na+M faya
 3SG.POSS grandfather POSS fire blow COMIT AUX so
 nm prt nf vt aux conj

hinakiti **ka** **yama** , **afo** **kanehino** **abowi**
 hinaka iti ka yama afo ka- na -hino abohi
 3SG.POSS grandfather POSS thing blow COMIT AUX IP.N+M dead body
 nm prt nf vt aux aux pn

homabasebano , **hinakiti** **yama** **ibane** ,
 homa -basa -hiba -no , hinaka iti yama ibana+M ,
 lie on ground edge FUT+M IP.N+M 3SG.POSS grandfather thing roast
 vi nm nf vt

hinakiti **yama** **ibanematamonaka**
 hinaka iti yama ibana -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS grandfather thing roast FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm nf vt

'He lit his grandfather's fire. He unwittingly burned his grandfather's magical stone, and he lay next to the fire, dead. His grandfather had burned his magical stone.'

15 **Faya** **yifo** **hiwa** **ne** **ite** **abowi**
 faya yifo hiwa na+M ita+M abohi
 so fire heat oneself in AUX sit dead body
 conj nf vt aux vi pn

homabasa , **ahaba** , **ahabematamonaka** **fahi**
 homa -basa.LIST , ahaba.LIST , ahaba -himata -mona -ka fahi
 lie on ground edge die die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi vi vi dem

'A man who had been sitting warming himself in the fire also lay dead next to the fire. He died.'

16 **Faya** **bati** **bati** **ama** **namatamonaha** ?
 faya bati bati ama na.NOM+M -mata -mona -ha
 so 3SG.POSS.father 3SG.POSS.father be AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 conj nm nm vc aux

'Was it his father?'

17 **Faya** **tafi** **mera** **hora** **ne** , **mera** **hora** **nematamona**
 faya tafi+M mera hora na+M , mera hora na -himata -mona
 so wake up 3PL.O scold AUX 3PL.O scold AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 conj vi pron vt aux pron vt aux

'He woke up and criticized them.'

18 **Yama** **hoto** **nemetemoneke** **ahi**
 yama hoto na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 thing make smoke AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf vi aux dem

'There was a lot of smoke.'

HOKA

19 *Me amo ni ya yama hibati ya kobo*
 me amo na.NOM+F ya yama hibati ya kobo
 3PL.S sleep AUX ADJU thing right away ADJU arrive
 pron vi aux prt nf nf prt vi

kanemetemoneke

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

'A sickness came to them right away as they were sleeping.'

20 *Hasawiri foyemetemoneke ahi*
 hasawiri foya -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 smoke be inside FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pn vi dem

'The smoke was inside the longhouse.'

21 *Me tafiha me bana me , me bana naba*
 me tafi+F me bana+F me , me bana nahaba+F
 3PL.S wake up 3PL.S move away 3PL.S 3PL.S move away at night
 pron vi pron vi pron pron vi prt

me tokoma me abowi yaka
 me to- ka -ma+F me abohi yaka
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.POSS dead body walk
 pron vi pron pn vi

nemetemoneke ahi , me ahaba mati , hawi ya
 na -hemete -mone -ke ahi , me ahaba+F mati , hawi ya
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3PL.S die 3PL.S trail ADJU
 aux dem pron vi pron nf prt

'They woke up and moved out. The moved out during the night and went. They were dying as they walked along on the trail.'

22 *Hawi ya , hawi ya me abowi yaka*
 hawi ya hawi ya me abohi yaka
 trail ADJU trail ADJU 3PL.POSS dead body walk
 nf prt nf prt pron pn vi

nemetemoneni

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

'They were dying as they walked along the trail.'

23 *Faya yama hasawiri ya we ati saimatamonaka*
 faya yama hasawiri ya waa+M ati sai -himata -mona -ka
 so thing smoke ADJU stand voice be heard FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj nf pn prt vi pn vi

fahi

fahi
 then
 dem

'He was standing in the smoke, and could be heard speaking.'

24 *Owa awaraya*
 owa awaraya
 1SG.O leave alone
 pron vt

HOKA

"I don't want to get sick."⁷¹

25 *Niso* , *ayobisa* *ama* *oke*
 niso , ayo -bisa ama o- ke
 younger brother 2SG.POSS.older brother also be 1SG.S DECL+F
 nm nm vc prt

"Younger brother, I am your older brother."

26 *Ayobisa* *ama* *oni* , *ati*
 ayo -bisa ama o- ni , ati
 2SG.POSS.older brother also be 1SG.S BKG+F say
 nm vc prt vt

nematamonaka

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

"I am your older brother," he said.'

27 *Faya* *me* *ahabemetemoneke* *ahi*
 faya me ahaba -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 so 3PL.S die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 conj pron vi dem

'They died.'

28 *Yama kabani* *ka* *me* *toka* *me* *ha* *kawa*
 yama kabani ka me to- ka+F me haa ka- na -waha
 forest LOC 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S call COMMIT AUX change
 nf prt pron vi pron vi aux

na *me* *ahaba* , *me* *ahabemetemoneke*
 na+F me ahaba.LIST , me ahaba -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX 3PL.S die 3PL.S die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux pron vi pron vi

'They were calling out as they went in the forest. They were dying.'

29 *Faya* *me* *ahaba* *me* , *yama* *wemetemone* *amake*
 faya me ahaba+F me , yama waha -hemete -mone ama -ke
 so 3PL.S die 3PL.S thing dawn FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 conj pron vi pron nf vi sec

fahi

fahi
 then
 dem

'They were dying. Morning came.'

30 *Faya* *bati* , *bati* *hotonebona* *wi* *ne*
 faya bati , bati hotone -bona wii na+M
 so 3SG.POSS.father 3SG.POSS.father hole+M INT+M dig AUX
 conj nm nm pn vt aux

bati *kamo* , *bati* *kamomatamona*
 bati kamo+M , bati kamo -himata -mona
 3SG.POSS.father bury 3SG.POSS.father bury FP.N+M REP+M
 nm vt nm vt

'He dug a grave for his father, and buried his father.'

71 I'm not sure how to analyze the word *awaraya*. It is archaic; today people say *awaraba tina*.

HOKA

31 *Fati* *ahaba* *biti* *me* *ahaba* , *faya*
 fati ahaba.LIST biti me ahaba.LIST , faya
 3SG.POSS.wife die 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S die so
 nf vi nm pron vi conj

bati *kamomatamona* *fahi*
 bati kamo -himata -mona fahi
 3SG.POSS.father bury FP.N+M REP+M then
 nm vt dem

'His wife died, and his sons died, too. He buried his father.'

32 *Bati* *kamo* , *winate* *awaka*
 bati kamo+M , wina -tee awa -ka
 3SG.POSS.father bury live HAB seem+M DECL+M
 nm vt vi sec

'He buried his father. I think he still lived there.'

33 *E* *awakare*
 ee awa -ka -re
 1IN.S see DECL NEG+F
 pron vt

'Who knows?'

34 *Faya* *hasi* *nematamonaka* *fari*
 faya hasi na -himata -mona -ka faari
 so escape AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+M
 conj vi aux dem

'He survived.'

35 *Yawa* *towakematamonaka* *ahi* , *nakani* *ka*
 yawa to- ka- ka -himata -mona -ka ahi , nakani ka
 grief away COMIT go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then upstream LOC
 nf vt dem nf prt

ya *ahi*
 ya ahi
 ADJU there
 prt dem

'He went upstream, grieving.'

36 *Faya* *yawa* *towake* *bati* , *hasi* *naro*
 faya yawa to- ka- ka+M bati , hasi na -haaro
 so grief away COMIT go/come 3SG.POSS.father escape AUX IP.E+F
 conj nf vt nm vi aux

'He went grieving. She survived.'

37 *Ee* , *ee* , *fati* *fatiteba* *hasi* *na*
 ee , ee , fati fati -tee -ba , hasi na+F
 yes yes 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife HAB FUT escape AUX
 interj interj nf nf nf aux

ra *towakematamonaka*
 ra to- ka- ka -himata -mona -ka
 O away COMIT go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 prt vt

'Yes, he took along his wife, who had survived.'

HOKA

38 *Hasi na ra towake kakahiwa*
 hasi na+F ra to- ka- ka+M ka- ka- hiwa
 escape AUX O away COMIT go/come DUP COMIT have children
 nf aux prt vt vi

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

'She had survived, and he took her along, and had children.'

39 *Faya kahiwe me yama yabokere*
 faya ka- hiwa+M me yama yabo -ke -re
 so COMIT have children 3PL thing be long DECL+F NEG+F
 conj vi pron nf vi

'He had children. It's not long.'

40 *Yama me awara mera wiri nisematamona*
 yama me awa -ra+F mera wiri na -risa -himata -mona
 thing 3PL.S see NEG 3PL.O win over AUX down FP.N+M REP+M
 nf pron vt pron vt aux

me nafi
 me nafi
 3PL.POSS all
 pron pn

'He had a magical stone, and he was stronger than all of them.'

41 *Me nafi abemetemoneke*
 me nafi ahaba -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.POSS all die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pn vi

'They all died.'

42 *Ara fara amani ?*
 Ara fara ama -ni
 Alan same+F be BKG+F
 npropm dem vc

'Alan, is that all?'

43 *Hima*
 hima
 let's go
 interj

'Let's go.'

44 *Fara me winimete ya me winineke*
 fara me wina.NOM+F -mete ya me wina -ne -ke
 same+F 3PL.S live FP.N+F ADJU 3PL.S live CONT+F DECL+F
 dem pron vi prt pron vi

'They still live in the same place they were living.'

45 *Ha me wina me wina makoni tokoma*
 haa me wina me wina makoni to- ka -ma.LIST
 DEM 3PL.S live 3PL.S live for this reason away go/come back
 dem pron vi pron vi conj vi

HOKA

namata

na.NOM+M -mata
 AUX FP.N+M
 aux

'Some lived in one place, others in another place. He went.'

46 **Tokomematamonaka**

to-	ka	-ma	-himata	-mona	-ka	fara	me	one	ni	ya
away	go/come	back	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	same+F	3PL	other+F	to	ADJU
vi						dem	pron	adj	prt	prt

me	one		winakanikima	na	mati
me	one	,	wina -kanikima	na+F	mati
3PL	other+F		live scattered	AUX	3PL.S
pron	adj		vi	aux	pron

'He went to their relatives, who were scattered.'

47 **Faya tokome**

faya	to-	ka	-ma+M		totosawima
so	away	go/come	back		DUP away be present back
conj	vi				vi

toematamonane

to-	ha	-himata	-mona	-ne	me	one	ni	ya
CH	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	BKG+M	3PL	other+F	to	ADJU
aux					pron	adj	prt	prt

'He went, and stayed there with them.'

48 **Faya me**

faya	me	ahaba	me		me	batehemetemone		faro
so	3PL.S	die	3PL.S	,	3PL.S	be rotten	FP.N+F	REP+F
conj	pron	vi	pron		pron	vi		dem

me	nafi
me	nafi
3PL.POSS	all
pron	pn

'Those other ones died, and rotted, all of them.'

49 **Me**

me	bata	me		me	hasi	remetemoneke
3PL.S	be rotten	3PL.S	,	3PL.S	escape	AUX NEG FP.N+F
pron	vi	pron		pron	vi	aux

'They rotted. They didn't survive.'

50 **Me**

me	nafi	abemetemoneke
3PL.POSS	all	ahaba -hemete -mone -ke
pron	pn	FP.N+F

'They all died.'

51 **Ama**

ama	yama	kome	sai	nofa	amake	Ara
blood	thing	pain+F	come	recently	SEC DECL+F	Alan
nf	nf	pn	vi	prt	sec	npropm

'Blood [there is blood inside], there is always a pain here, Alan.'

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Free Translation

They went after *moho* cotton. He went with his younger brother. The two of them went out to buy *moho* cotton. They arrived. They slept.

"I want to buy your *moho* cotton. I came after *moho* cotton, for darts to kill game with."

"You are asking for *moho* cotton. Give your younger brother as the price of the cotton."

"I don't think my mother is willing to give up my younger brother. I don't think my mother wants to give away my younger brother."

"Give him. Take away the *moho* cotton. When you have heard what your mother says, come back again. You come back for your brother."

So he was ready to go.

"Here, take the cotton. The boy will be the payment."

The boy was a little big [maybe five years old]. The one who would become his father-in-law held onto his hand, and he cried. He gave the cotton.

"Don't complain about him later on," he said. "My brother is young, and you have grabbed his hand and are holding on to him. Don't complain about my brother. I'm going."

He went. He left. He disappeared into the forest.

They raised him. The ones who became his wives raised him. His wives cooked his food when he was small. He grew. He stayed with them. He stayed there a long time, and he grew up. He didn't have sex with the women that were with him, and they stayed with him. Then they brought misfortune on him.

"He doesn't fish or hunt. They took him long ago, and he is still with them. He doesn't hunt or fish for them," said his older cousin. He wants his the younger cousin's wives. He wanted them to be his wives, and he was always complaining [about his younger cousin].

The younger cousin planned to make arrows. He took the leaves off arrow grass to make arrows. He heated the arrows over a fire. He heated the arrows, and inserted the points in the arrow shafts. He inserted points in the arrows first, and scraped the blowgun darts last.

The others went out to hunt white-lipped peccaries, but he didn't go with them. He didn't go along. He stayed in the village, and ate some of the meat of the animals they killed. They complained about him. They said he didn't provide any meat or fish. They always complained about him.

He was done working. He finished making the darts. He put the darts in a sheath. He put the arrows in a sheath, too. It was a bunch of arrows. It was a big bunch of arrows. He went after *iha* plants. He scraped the *iha* stalk. He brought the *iha* scrapings back. He got some *bikafa* stalks. He came back. He made the *iha* poison foam up in the mortar. He foamed up the *iha* poison. When he was done foaming up the poison, he cooked the poison. He put the poison in a snail shell. He poured the poison into two snail shells. He cooked what was left of the poison. He tied the giant anteater tail hairs together, and he stirred what was left of the poison. There was a large bunch of arrows, to be used to kill white-lipped peccaries. He scraped what would be his bow. He was done coating the arrow points with poison, and he was done coating the darts with poison. He put his things away. After he put his things away, the others, who had seen some white-lipped peccaries,

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came back.

"People heard white-lipped peccaries. You are going with the one who is not going to kill them," they said.

They started out. They went after the white-lipped peccaries, but he didn't go after them. He ate. He ate a lot. He started out. He put his arrows on his shoulder, and got his bow, and went long after the others had gone.

They went. They listened to the peccaries. He went after them and arrived.

"My son-in-law has come, there he is."

He came. His son-in-law came.

"I can hear the voices of the peccaries, the others are after them. Where will the peccaries run?"

"Who knows? Who knows where they will run?" said the father-in-law.

His arrows were against a tree, and his strung bow was against the tree, too. He went after them. His son-in-law went after him. He ran after the peccaries. The peccaries came running back. He came running back. He quickly grabbed his arrows, and went running after them. They shot the peccaries with arrows, and they looked for the peccaries. He went running after them. He shot the peccaries with arrows at the place his wives had shown him. [His wives had shown him a *hawa* palm at this place. He had gotten spines from the base of the leaves to make blowgun darts.]

The peccaries ran. He yelled so they would run. They were exhausted. He yelled to make them run, and when he stopped yelling, he ran ahead of them and cut them off. The peccaries came running, and they were tired. He lay his arrows on his thigh. He pulled out an arrow and inserted it in the bow and shot a male.

"That one looks like a male."

He pulled an arrow and shot a female.

"That one is a female."

He turned an arrow end to end. He pulled out another pack of arrows, and threw out the covering on the points, pulling out the arrows. He shot the peccaries with arrows. The arrows ran out.

The peccaries were all together in a line, exhausted. He who had never been a hunter.

The one who had been complaining about him had already taken a peccary home to roast it on a rack.

He killed peccaries with arrows. He had two arrows left, and he went after the peccaries as they ran away, and killed two more of them. He picked up two little peccaries and held them. There were two little peccaries.

He went back and carried off the peccaries. Where the water had never made any sound, he made it make a sound. [It was late in the day, so they would only be able to come back to get the peccaries the next day. He was putting the dead peccaries in a stream, so the cool water would inhibit spoiling. He had killed so many peccaries that they dammed up the water in the stream, and made a rapids.] He carried off the peccaries. He threw the peccaries into the water. Wow! There were many peccaries in the stream. He carried the peccaries that had died all day long, until sundown. The sun went down.

He [came back to the village and] emerged into the clearing, holding the [dead] young peccaries, too. They were tied up [i.e., they were tied by their necks and waists, so he could carry them]. He came holding the peccaries.

"He never saw the forest, so he got lost. They were missing him," someone said [inside a house], as he heard him arriving outside. He came, already having bathed. He was holding the two peccaries.

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"Oh no, he only got little ones."

He had tied up two peccaries with *tofi* aerial roots for the one who he always heard complaining about him. He had tied two female peccaries with *tofi* aerial roots. [The females are bigger than the males.] He had tied the peccaries up and had thrown them into the water, and had come home.

He came and arrived. He was carrying arrows.

"Aa."

His brothers-in-law went to him.

"Let's look at his arrows."

"Yes, let's look at his arrows."

"Let's look at his arrows, his broken-off arrows." [Broken-off arrows would be a sign of him having shot peccaries.]

"They aren't broken-off arrows. I broke the points when I shot the arrows at a log," he said [lying].

"Look, he killed a whole bunch of peccaries."

They knocked the broken-off arrows on the ground, birararara.

"Iii, the peccaries died."

"The peccaries died."

"There aren't any more peccaries."

"When you shot the peccaries and these two little ones were crying, I picked them up. You had shot them. I didn't shoot them. I shot my arrows into a log. The arrows were all in a line. I thought it was a peccary, but it was a log. I broke off the arrow points, and have brought the arrows."

His wives spoke to him at night. He ate first, and then they talked to him. He ate. After he ate, he spoke to them.

"You are going to see the peccaries that died when the others shot them with arrows. I carried the dead peccaries that your husbands killed, who you like so much, and they are in the water. There are two for the one who always complains about me, that I tied up. You go on ahead [tomorrow]. I will come behind. You go with the ones who will carry the animals. No one should stay in the village. Everyone should go."

They all went. He sat in the house eating. He sat as his mother-in-law gave him food. After his mother-in-law fed him, he went after the others, at noon. He disappeared [that is, he took a long time to catch up with the others].

There weren't enough people to carry all the peccaries.

"The one who always complains about me is going to go along." [He said this when he was still in the village.]

The older cousin's wife wasn't afraid to ask him.

"He said you should go, too."

"Did he say I should go?"

"Yes, he said you should go. He said there are two peccaries for you."

"All right, I will go."

"He said he tied them up. You are going to carry them. He said this because you always complain about him."

"Right, I always complain about him."

He went. The others were coming back. After the others had arrived back at the village, he left, and went after the older cousin. As he was going, the older one was carrying the peccaries that had the *tofi* aerial roots, and his back was bad. Have you seen the thorns on the *tofi* aerial roots? His

back was messed up.

"Whew, I'm going to leave the peccaries behind. There is no one helping me."

They went and entered the forest.

"He said he would help you, and he is coming," the younger cousin's wife said.

He came on. The younger cousin went off the trail and waited as he came. He came on.

"Whew, this thing is hurting my lower back."

He tried to untie the knotted *tofi* roots but he couldn't. He was trying to untie it, but couldn't, and then the other one surprised him. He walked fast to catch up with him.

"What are you picking at?"

"I'm trying to untie the peccaries, so that we can each carry one."

"Put them back on your back. Here, I'll push the pack onto you."

He put them back on his back.

"My lower back is bad."

"Your lower back will be all right. It will heal."

After he put them back on his back, "Up ahead you will take them."

"I will take them up ahead."

He came on. He came on carrying the peccaries. He rested with the peccaries on his back. After he rested with the peccaries, he came on.

"Whew."

"Are you here?"

"Help me."

"Put them back on your back. It's not far. I would help you, but it's not far."

He put the peccaries back on his back, because the younger one told him to.

He wouldn't stop pestering him, because he remembered how he had complained about him.

He put the peccaries back on him.

"Take them. You are going to eat them. I'm not going to eat them. I am giving you the peccaries."

He went on, he was about to cry. He went on.

"Whew," he said.

"That must be him coming," his mother said. The younger one was still coming behind. He was coming behind, being naughty. He came along a ways behind, slowly, laughing to himself.

"This is good now."

He came and threw off the peccaries. They fell down, iii.

"Whew, I'm going to make him pay. I'm going to get him back."

"Yes, you get him back."

"I'm going to get you back."

"Get me back."

The older cousin went to the house. His mother-in-law cooked the breast of one of the peccaries, and he sat there and ate it.

"Hey, you get him back. You are always complaining about each other," his mother-in-law said.

The others were laughing at his lower back. He got *tofi* roots on the skin of his back, and they are very spiny.

He burned the hair off the peccaries. His father gutted the peccaries that he had burned the hair off of.

"Father, cut up the peccaries. Roast them on the rack. They caused misfortune for me."

"You were always holding a grudge against them, and their peccaries tired you out."

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They gutted the peccaries and roasted the peccaries on the rack. They roasted the peccaries, and they were on the rack. Wow, he killed lots of peccaries, the Awita Fa Yafi man. The Awita Fa Yafi man killed lots of peccaries. They ate peccary all day long. They ate all day long. They ate for several days.

When the peccaries were all gone, he got ready to leave again.

"Let's go, you said you were going to get me back."

"Yes, get him back," his mother said.

They all got ready to leave. The two of them went a different direction. They went out to get back at each other. The two of them went out. They went out, and disappeared into the forest. After they disappeared, they came upon the voices of woolly monkeys. The woolly monkeys could be heard. "Siya, siya," they were saying.

"Here, you go over there to the other side to blowgun them. They will come here where I'm standing."

He went as he commanded him. He shot darts at the monkeys, and one of them yelled out. The monkeys came to where he was standing, twirling darts in their mouths. [They twirl the dart in their mouth to moisten the cotton on the end, just before shooting it.] He shot the monkeys with darts. He shot all the monkeys with darts. The monkeys fell. His darts hit their marks. He hit them with darts.

His older cousin, who he called "older brother," who was always complaining about him, didn't kill many monkeys.

He shot the monkeys with darts. After he shot the monkeys with darts, he came toward his cousin. But his cousin didn't see him as he too came toward him. He came on running after the monkeys, and shooting at them. In front of him his cousin hit a monkey, faa tokoo saa. They cried out as he hit them, the young monkeys. His darts found their marks. The monkeys were falling down all over.

"Let's go."

When the monkeys stopped crying out, he came from where he had gone, carrying some young monkeys on his shoulder. He appeared.

"Whew."

He stood there, holding two female monkeys in his hands.

"Did you shoot them with darts?"

"I couldn't hit them."

"But the monkeys came this way."

"The monkeys went the other way."

"I'm bringing two of their young ones that were crying. I thought you killed the parents of the two young monkeys that were crying. I couldn't hit any."

"I couldn't kill any," he said.

He came.

"Come on, let's look at the monkeys. The monkeys were falling over there."

"I thought it was you who were killing the monkeys that were falling all over."

They went there. The monkeys had fallen dead in a line right below where they had been up high. They took them. They put them in a pile. They came back and got some more. They put them in the pile. Then they picked up the first ones he had killed. They were in the pile. They were carrying the monkeys. They tied up the monkeys. They tied them up, and they were in a bunch on the ground. The one who always complained about him carried them all, so he would get tired out. He took them all so he would get tired out. But his cousin had just a few.

"You carry them all. I will carry these few. I will carry your two, together with mine. I will

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carry them and we will go back. Tie them all together."

He tied the monkeys. He tried lifting the monkeys.

"Oh man, it's heavy."

"I will take my turn carrying them up ahead. You carry them first."

He tricked him into carrying them. He tricked him and made him carry them. He made him go ahead.

"You go ahead. I need to defecate."

He went to defecate, but he didn't defecate. He just sat on a log. He sat there.

The other one went on. He was tired, so he sat on a log and rested.

The younger one went along looking for him. He went after him. He was sitting there.

"Oh no, he's tired. Well, just let him be tired."

He went after him and came upon him.

"Well?"

"Whew, I'm tired. I'm sitting here because I'm tired. You take them now."

"I will take my turn up ahead. Up ahead where there is a stream nearby, I will take my turn."

Because he said he was going to take his turn, he took them and put them on his back again. He took them and went on. He went on.

"Whew, I'm tired."

There was a stream. He pulled off a leaf to drink water. He made a cup with the leaf. He dipped some water and drank water.

"Whew, is this where you are going to take your turn?"

"I said further on. It's not far now. The village is nearby."

"Whew, I'm tired. Look at him, he doesn't have pity on me."

"It's not far anymore. You carry them. The ones I'm carrying are heavy, too."

So they went on. Because the younger one was a good talker, the older one took the monkeys on. He went on carrying the pack. He was bent over and could hardly be seen under the load. He went on, and came into the village clearing.

The people exclaimed about him.

"There is the payment. He is way back there carrying what my son killed," his mother said.

"I told you to get even."

He didn't come behind. He was standing out there.

The older one threw down the monkeys on the ground, as the people exclaimed about him.

The younger one went after him, carrying just a few monkeys. He went and arrived. He set down the monkeys.

"Whew, hoo."

He was exhausted, carrying the monkeys.

"He tired me out. I'm going to pay him back, you will see."

He went to the water to bathe. They untied the monkeys, and they were all scattered in a pile. They untied them, and they were all scattered on the ground. The young monkey that they had picked up was there.

He bathed. He went and bathed and came back.

"Look at the monkeys that you carried," the village people said.

"I carried a lot of monkeys. I'm going to get him back."

"Sure, you are going to get him back."

"I need to go out in the forest with him again. I didn't kill many animals with my blowgun. I didn't kill animals, but he killed woolly monkeys when he was with me, and I am carrying them," he said.

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The younger cousin laughed. He laughed, and ate as he lay in his hammock. His wives cooked his food and he ate. When he was done eating, "I'm going to bathe."

"Aren't we going along?"

"We'll go together. You two come."

"You all bathe together," his mother-in-law said.

"When we eat we get hot," his daughter-in-law said.

They went and bathed. They singed the hair off the woolly monkeys. He sat cutting them up all day. They cut them up, the fat monkeys. They ate the intestines. They ate the intestines the next day, also the livers. They cooked the intestines of the monkeys, all of them, his daughters-in-law. His daughters-in-law ate. He didn't stay with them as they were working on the animals.

The older cousin lay in his hammock after he got back.

"I'm tired. I carried the heavy monkeys," he said.

He had really exerted himself as he carried the monkeys. He was hurting, and he lay in his hammock.

"Whew, my back is shredded, and I carried monkeys again."

The younger one came back. He lay in his hammock back home. He ate back home and lay in his hammock. His darts were not all gone. But his arrows were all gone. He stayed in his hammock a while longer, and then got out.

"Wow, the monkeys are fat. I carried his monkeys, and he carried my two monkeys. He killed a lot of monkeys. I didn't kill many monkeys. I was standing on the trail. The monkeys came on the trail and I killed two of them, and he carried them."

Then he called him to go. He wanted to get him back. He said he hadn't gotten tired yet.

"Come on. Let's go hunting. Let's go the two of us."

"Shall we go hunting?"

"Yes, let's go hunting. I didn't get you back yet. I carried animals. I carried woolly monkeys, and I carried white-lipped peccaries, and I didn't pay you back yet."

"All right, let's go."

They were going to go.

"You get each other back," their mother said.

So the two of them went off. When the meat was all gone, they went out. They went, and they disappeared into the forest. It was sundown when they came back. They got up early and shot game with their blowguns.

He killed lots of woolly monkeys again, also brown capuchins, white-fronted capuchins, sakis, and titis. The animals were all tied together, with some additional ones tied on the sides. There were spider monkeys, too. He killed the animals, and had the other one carry them.

"You tie up the animals. I will take my turn at carrying them, all of them."

"I have been carrying them and they are very heavy," he said.

He laughed at him.

"They won't be heavy. There are two of us. I'm not going to carry anything. I will carry our blowguns and our arrows and other things."

So they tied up the animals. He tied them. Spider monkeys, woolly monkeys, brown capuchins, white-fronted capuchins, sakis. Some were hanging on the outside of the main mass. They lashed on the headband. The two of them worked together.

"I will take my turn in carrying them up ahead."

"You are going to fool me."

"I'm not fooling you. There are two of us. We will relieve each other."

So they got ready to go. He tied the animals together and lifted the animals up on his back.

"Here, you try lifting them."

He lifted them on his back.

"You go on ahead. Where is your blowgun?"

"The blowgun is leaning there on a tree."

"I will take your darts."

So he went on ahead. He went. He was going to be tired again. He got tired again.

His younger cousin came up. The older one was sitting, resting.

"Whew."

"Are you tired?"

"I'm tired. Come here and take your turn."

"It's not far now. You take it. I'm going to defecate. You go on ahead. I'm going to defecate.

I need to defecate."

So he lifted up the animals again and went on.

The younger one went off the trail, but did not defecate. He hadn't defecated, he had fooled him.

He went on, carrying the animals. The younger one went on behind him. He lifted up the blowguns and went on.

The older cousin went on. He could hardly be seen under the big load. He went on walking. A little ways on he sat down on a log.

The younger one stopped. He was always tricking him, because he had always complained about him. He tricked him again. He made him carry the load again.

He went on.

"Whew, come here. You take your turn."

"It's not far. The people can be heard. Turn this way. Put them on your back again."

"He really talks. I'm going to get you back."

"Yes, you will get me back."

He went on. He got up and went on. He was tired as he went on. His legs didn't have any strength. He went on. Then he stood there. He stood for a while. Then he started out and went on. He went on to the village up ahead.

"There he is, he came back, carrying game."

"The other one isn't here yet because he must be coming behind him, carrying lots game."

"He must have gotten him back."

They exclaimed. "He hasn't come."

"He must have fallen down."

He came carrying the blowguns. He appeared.

"There he is. He doesn't have anything. He has come."

He came. He appeared. He leaned the blowgun against something. He hung the darts up.

"Whew."

"The one who killed the animals with his blowgun came back. You saw him."

"We saw him. His animals are lying there on the ground. We untied them."

They roasted the animals, the small animals that he had killed with his blowgun. Titi monkeys, sakis, white-fronted capuchins, brown capuchins. They picked up the animals.

"He doesn't let you alone. You were always complaining about him, and now he is always tiring you out," his mother said.

"I wasn't complaining about him, I was just kidding."

"You said you were going to get him back."

"He hasn't been paid back yet, but I will get him back. When the others come across some

white-lipped peccaries, I will kill lots of peccaries then. I will tie up two peccaries for him, just like he did. He will eat a female peccary, and he will be tired. He is always tiring me out. I'm tired again," he said.

The others laughed at him. His forehead was shortened by the headband, and it made a groove in his head, because of the weight of the animals. Later on they said laughing that there was a groove in his head. They were laughing at him.

"You are laughing at me, but I'm going to get him back."

"That's what he says. He's just talking, he wont kill a lot of game. He'll just get tired out again."

"You will see if I get tired out again. I'm going to call him to go out with me again."

He decided to go after him, and he was going to call him to go out with him. They ate the meat all day so they could sleep.

"He says he is going to get you back," his wife said.

"Yes, he is going to get me back."

"They say he said you are going to pay by getting tired out."

"Yes, I will get tired out. When I am tired are you going to say, 'I told you so'? Am I your son? Just let me get tired out. You were the cause of him complaining about me. Because he was always complaining about me, I am tiring him out all the time now. Because he always complaining about me, I have made him carry the game."

"They say he said he is going to take you out in the forest in order to get you back."

So they slept. They stayed in the village the next day, eating. He didn't want to go out anymore.

"Whew."

He spoke to him.

"I had said we would go out, but I changed my mind. We'll go out some other day."

He had said they would go out together, but he changed his mind. He thought about how heavy it was to carry the loads, and he wanted to spare himself. He didn't want to go out anymore, because he had been tired out so many times. He wanted to spare himself, so he stayed in the village now.

The younger one went out with his wives.

"Here, you carry my arrows, and I'll carry my blowgun."

He went out with his wives. He carried just his blowgun. They went out. His wives were pregnant. He took his pregnant wives out.

"Because of you he complained about me. The one who caused me misfortune is now pregnant. Because he wanted you, your 'husband' is always tired out. If you were with him, what would you eat, since he doesn't kill game? You are eating with me," he said. "When there aren't many animals, they are gone quickly, and it's no good."

His wives went out with him. They came upon the sound of some woolly monkeys.

"You two stay here. Don't go anywhere else. There are animals here, jaguars. You two climb up in a tree and stay up there. One of you call out. I will come back running. My arrows are leaning on a log here. You stay up there. You climb up there. You sit in the tree, and put the arrows on the ground below you."

He went after the woolly monkeys.

"I'm not going to kill many. I will kill two."

He went. He hit a monkey with a dart, and it cried out. Other monkeys cried out when he hit them with darts. The monkeys came toward where the women were in the tree. They came and went on to the other side of them. He was hitting them with darts, and they were falling to the ground. He

didn't want to hit any more, and he turned back. He had killed just a few. He found a monkey lying on the ground, and he came back carrying the monkey. He came back and arrived.

"Where are they?"

"The monkeys fell on the ground right over there. One fell there, another fell there, another fell there, another is lying there. Others fell behind us."

"Where is the jaguar?"

"There is no jaguar."

"The jaguar is wary," he said.

"Come on, let's go home. I will pick up the animals. Each of you take a few of them. Let's go. I'm hungry."

So they tied up two bunches of monkeys. One wife carried one bunch, and the other wife carried the other. He carried some. They started out and went. They arrived back.

There was a [live] young monkey, a very small one. They arrived back. His mother-in-law got the young monkey before anyone else could.

"You don't raise the monkey. I'm going to raise the monkey," she said.

They arrived back. They singed the hair off the monkeys. His father-in-law singed the hair off the monkeys. Then they ate the monkeys. They ate.

"Cousin, you said you were going to go out with me. I didn't kill many animals, because you didn't go along."

"You didn't kill many animals because I didn't go with you."

"If you go with me, I think I will kill lots of animals."

"I don't want you to tire me out. You are always tiring me out."

He laughed, laughing at what his cousin had said.

"What are you going to eat, if you don't get tired out? If we carry things, we eat."

Then his wives spoke.

"When there are not many animals, they don't last very long when we eat them, he always says. You are always eating what he kills," they said.

"All right."

The younger cousin didn't go out anymore. Now he stayed in the village. He stayed a long time, working. He made arrow points, and put new points on the shafts. He also scraped blowgun darts. He also put poison on the arrows. He stayed in the village for a long time, and didn't go out anymore. He stayed in the village and didn't go out. The others were going after white-lipped peccaries, and were killing white-lipped peccaries with arrows, but he didn't go. He was in his hammock.

"Aren't you going to go to the peccaries?"

"I'm not going to go to the peccaries. I haven't been killing white-lipped peccaries. Just wait a little, your 'husband' will kill many animals, and you will see it. I'm afraid of him. I don't want him to tire me out. I don't want to get tired out, so I don't want to go with them," he said.

They came back. They were only carrying one peccary each. They brought the peccaries back, and they singed the hair off the peccaries back in the village. They cut up the peccaries. He was roasting the peccaries on a rack.

"Whose is this?"

"I killed the peccary."

"Was it by itself? White-lipped peccaries don't go by themselves. White-lipped peccaries run in big groups."

"That was the only one. I only killed one."

"We run after white-lipped peccaries and shoot them with arrows."

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"I didn't hit the other peccaries, they got away."

Then he wanted to go after him again. He went after him again. He took him out into the forest. They called to each other.

"Cousin."

"What?"

"Cousin, lets go."

Another man looked at his face.

"He is calling you to go."

"He is calling me to go."

"Get him back. Can't you kill game, too? When we shoot an animal with a blowgun, we don't miss. Get him back. You complained about him, and he has always been tiring you out. Don't complain about him anymore."

"All right, let's go. Let's see who is best."

The two of them got ready to go. They were ready.

"Wait, should I take my arrows?"

"Yes, take the arrows. There are jaguars."

"I will shoot the jaguar with an arrow. Let's go, you go on ahead. I will follow."

So he went ahead. The two of them went out. They went into the forest. He didn't carry his arrows. He only took a blowgun.

"I will shoot the jaguar with your arrows."

"Yes, you will shoot the jaguar with my arrows."

They went. They went into the forest. They went. They heard woolly monkeys crossing the path ahead of them, "Siya, siya."

"Those woolly monkeys weren't shot. They are still at the same place they were at before. I didn't shoot them. You go after them. I'm going to stay sitting here. My feet hurt."

He sat on a log.

"I will sit here waiting for you. Shoot lots of them right away with your blowgun."

The older one went. The younger one sat waiting for him. The monkeys could be heard as they looked at him and sang, "A a a."

"Ah, he hasn't shot at the animals yet."

He shot one, and it cried out. He wanted to make him carry lots of them, and he shot at them. He shot at them, and they left. They left and came to where the younger cousin was sitting.

"Boya, boya," went the leaves and branches.

He twirled a dart in his mouth. He pulled some cotton out of the holder. He quickly got his blowgun. He stuffed the dart in the blowgun and he shot the first monkey. It yelled. The monkeys ran. "Fai saki, fai saki" went the darts hitting the monkeys. He was hitting them as they moved. He was hitting the monkeys with darts. His darts were not missing. He was an Awita Fa Yafi man. He was hitting the monkeys.

A monkey that the older one had hit came toward him and fell to the ground.

"Oh no, one that he killed fell over there."

The monkeys were falling. The older one started back. He came carrying two monkeys.

"The monkeys are all dead."

The younger one whistled. The older one answered.

"Come here. I'm sitting here. I'm still sitting in the same place."

"The monkeys went away."

"The monkeys are all killed."

"Did you kill them? I didn't kill many. I only killed two monkeys."

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"One came this way, and when I was going to shoot it, it fell over and hung by its tail. It hung by its tail, and then fell to the ground. It's lying there. Did you kill it?"

"Yes, I hit it. I hit another one, and it ran this way with the dart, and fell over here. I only killed two monkeys. I didn't kill many. I thought there was a jaguar that was making the monkeys all excited."

"Did you just watch them?"

"I watched them. I was determined to kill a lot of them, but I only killed two. I only killed two. There are two females, four altogether. That's enough. The loads are always heavy. That's enough. Let them go away."

"They went that way. They were knocking branches down."

"Were they knocking branches down?"

"Should we go after them to see them? Your two monkeys can stay here. Let's go after them to see them. It's probably the noise of branches falling. I don't know. There were lots of branches falling over there. Lets go there."

They went. There was a female monkey on the ground.

"Look, there's a monkey there on the ground," said the younger cousin.

"That's the one I heard hitting the ground."

He put the monkey in a better place. They went on.

"You go over that way. There are some big trees there. You go around those trees."

They went. They went along picking up monkeys.

"Oh boy, look at the pile of monkeys!"

"Lots of monkeys fell."

"There is a big pile of them."

He piled up the monkeys.

"A pretty little monkey is dead."

"I hit the little monkey with a dart," said the younger one.

"There is a broken off dart in his foot."

"I hit him in the foot, but he is still alive."

They picked up the monkeys, in order to gather them together. He brought the monkeys.

"You take the others first. I'm going to pick those others up."

He picked up the monkeys. He came carrying the monkeys. He made another pile of monkeys. They piled the monkeys up and then went back and picked up more monkeys.

"I didn't kill these monkeys. They had all run away, and here they are fallen and we are picking them up."

They picked up the monkeys.

"Let's go, that's all of them. I shot that one. And I shot that one. And I shot that one. And I shot that one. And I shot that one. And I shot that one. Their parents are all dead. This one is a female. There are two female monkeys here. OK, that's all of them. That's all the ones I shot. That's all the monkeys I shot. You carry them all."

He carried them.

"Look at the heavy monkeys, they are fat," said the older cousin.

They came back. He carried the monkeys. When they arrived he threw the monkeys on the ground.

"Come on, strip off some inner bark. I will tie them up," said the older one.

"Lets carry them."

"You are going to carry them first."

"I will carry them first."

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"You never carry anything. Be quiet and listen to me. I carried the white-lipped peccaries, two of them tied together. Then I carried the woolly monkeys. I carried the spider monkeys. Now I am going to carry game again."

They talked a lot while they tied up the animals. He tied the animals really tight. He tied the animals together. They were going to be heavy. He tied them really tight. He tied them together tightly.

"Let's go, you carry them first. I will take my turn carrying them. I won't trick you."

"The loads are always heavy. My head hurts. Oh man, my head really hurts."

They got ready to go. They left. The two of them were ready.

"All right, I will carry them. I always carry them. I will carry them."

"You will be tired just this one time. Next time I will only take arrows when we go out together."

"Yes, if the others find white-lipped peccaries, we will go out together. I will take only arrows, not a blowgun. If I kill a peccary, I will carry the peccary. I do carry peccaries. I am going to carry a peccary."

"You are going to trick me."

"I'm not fooling you."

"You always trick me."

He carried the monkeys again. He came back carrying the monkeys. He took a rest on the way back. He couldn't walk with the monkeys.

"Whew, I am always tired out because of you, because you don't take your turn with the game."

"Here, I will take my turn with them. You will take another turn again."

"I will take another turn again not far away."

The younger one took them. The animals were heavy as he carried them.

"The others have been tiring him out. I am always tired out because of you."

They went on. They went on and came out into the clearing. The voices of the people came to them from the distance, "Hehee," as they were playing, playing with the shuttlecock. Their voices could be heard as they hit the shuttlecock, pow, pow, pow. Their voices could be heard.

"Come on, you said you would take them again."

He made him carry the load again.

"There is someone coming. There is someone coming."

"He is always getting tired carrying game."

"The other one always comes behind."

"The other one must be following with game."

He came, and threw the monkeys to the ground.

"He always tires my son out, and he has tired my son out again."

They got working.

"Untie them."

"Look at them."

"Look, there is a live young monkey holding onto its dead mother."

"It's going to be my young monkey," a woman said.

They got started. They untied the monkeys.

"Wow, look at the fat monkeys!"

They carried off the monkeys.

"That monkey is for me to eat. I will roast that smaller one on a rack and eat it. A big woolly monkey has tough meat."

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They singed the hair off the animals. Some of them cut firewood. Some of them cut up the meat.

"Wow, look at the monkeys' intestines."

The younger cousin came behind.

"Whew, he came bringing the animals."

"He brought the animals and they are working on them, you can hear their voices," said his wife.

"He killed lots of animals, and he tired me out."

"He took his turn with them. The one who is talking tired me out, the one who always tires me out."

They laughed.

"My face is shortened, it is always shortened, because of him."

They laughed at him.

"My older brother never gets him back. My brother is going to get him back," said his sister.

"Yes, your brother will get me back when I go after white-lipped peccaries."

"When they find white-lipped peccaries, I will go with them. I will go along, and I will kill a peccary and he will carry the peccary. It will be just one peccary. This time I will just kill just one peccary. I will kill it for you to eat. If I kill a peccary, will I take it back? I will carry the one that he kills," he said.

"Yes, you are always tiring out my son. You are always tiring out my son, and here he is tired out again. My son is always getting tired out."

They got to work cutting up the animals. The two of them went to bathe.

"Cousin, let's bathe. Let's bathe, come on. I want snuff for us. I want to take snuff, because of carrying the load."

He called for some of his father-in-law's snuff. He asked his father-in-law for some snuff.

"Father-in-law, where is the snuff? We are going to take some snuff before we bathe. You will eat the animals that you are working on. I will eat a little bit of the meat."

They took snuff, and went. They went and bathed.

"Hoo."

They laughed at him, because he was exhausted.

The two of them bathed. They came back.

"Hoo, Mother, I'm hungry. I'm hungry from carrying stuff."

"Eat some manioc mash. Put a monkey on the fire for my son. Roast it on the coals for my son to eat."

They put a young monkey on the coals. They roasted some young monkeys on the coals. They ate the young monkeys. They scraped the fat out of the monkeys' intestines. They scraped their intestines, so they could mix the fat in broth. They mixed the broth, and they ate the broth, which had bananas in it. They ate the broth. They roasted the monkeys on racks, and they were sizzling. They were roasted on racks. They had come back and were eating.

"Let's go."

They were roasting meat on the coals. They were eating roasted animals. The two of them were there.

"Hoo, I'm tired again."

"Brother, you aren't getting him back."

"I would get him back, but I didn't kill animals."

"Why don't you ever kill a lot of animals?"

"I wanted to kill a lot of animals. I was afraid when the monkeys got excited. The monkeys

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were excited and I thought it was because of a jaguar, and I was afraid. I killed two males and two females. The others went off and he killed them, and I carried them. We carried them off, and he tied them up, and I carried them."

"Did he carry them?"

"I had him carry them. He didn't carry them far. He finally carried them. He took his turn, and then I took a turn again. I took a turn again and brought them and arrived with them."

They ate the monkeys for a while more. They ate the monkeys.

"Come on, my darts aren't all gone," said the older cousin.

"My darts are all gone. You still have darts."

"My pack of darts is still big. When I kill spider monkeys, you will carry spider monkeys."

"Right."

Interlinear Presentation

1 *Ee* , *moho* , *moho* *me* *tonakamakia* *me*
 ee , moho , moho me to- na- ka -makI+F me
 (pause) tree sp tree sp 3PL.S away CAUS go/come following 3PL.S
 interj nf nf pron vt pron

nisori *fame* , *nisori*
 nisori fama+M , nisori
 3SG.POSS.younger brother be two 3SG.POSS.younger brother
 nm vi nm

nisori *ya* *fame* *me* ,
 nisori ya fama+M me ,
 3SG.POSS.younger brother ADJU be two 3PL.S
 nm prt vi pron

towakamakia *mo* *me* *kanikabone* *me*
 to- ka- ka -makI+F moho me ka- nika -habone me
 away COMIT go/come following tree sp 3PL.S COMIT buy INT+F 3PL.S
 vi nf pron vt pron

towakamakia *me* *kobo* *tokanamakia* ,
 to- ka- ka -makI+F me kobo to- ka- na -makI+F ,
 away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S arrive away COMIT AUX following
 vi pron vi aux

me *kobo* *kana* *me* , *amo* *kana* *me* , *me*
 me kobo ka- na+F me , amo ka- na+F me , me
 3PL.S arrive COMIT AUX 3PL.S sleep COMIT AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron vi aux pron pron

amo *kanemetemoneke*
 amo ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
 sleep COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux

"They went after *moho* cotton. He went with his younger brother. The two of them went out to buy *moho* cotton. They arrived. They slept."

2 *Me* *amo* *kana* *me* , *ya* , *Tika* *moho*
 me amo ka- na+F me , ya , ti- ka moho
 3PL.S sleep COMIT AUX 3PL.S ADJU 2SG.POSS POSS tree sp
 pron vi aux pron prt prt nf

okanikabone *onarake* *moho*
 o- ka- nika -habone ati o- na -hara -ke moho
 1SG.S COMIT buy INT+F say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F DECL+F tree sp
 vt vt nf

"They slept. "I want to buy your *moho* cotton."

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3 *Moho onakamakiara oke*
 moho o- na- ka -makI -hara o- ke
 tree sp 1SG.S CAUS go/come following IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 nf vt prt

oko bani me foforabonehe
 o- ka bani me fo- fora -bone -he
 1SG.POSS POSS animal 3PL.POSS DUP shoot with blowgun INT+F DUP
 prt nm pron pn

"I came after *moho* cotton, for darts to kill game with."

4 *Moho mo tikanika mo manakoneba*
 moho , moho ti- ka- nika+F , moho manakone -ba
 tree sp tree sp 2SG.S COMIT buy tree sp price FUT
 nf nf vt nf pn

niso niso ta tinahi
 niso , niso taa ti- na -hi
 2SG.POSS.younger brother 2SG.POSS.younger brother give 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 nm nm vt aux

"You are asking for *moho* cotton. Give your younger brother as the price of the cotton."

5 *Okaniso okaniso mo*
 o- ka niso , o- ka niso moho
 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother tree sp
 nm nm nf

okomi hikayawe awaka
 o- ka ami hi- ka- yawa+M awa -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS mother OC COMIT be upset seem+M DECL+M
 nf vt sec

"I don't think my mother is willing to give up my younger brother."

6 *Okaniso okomi*
 o- ka niso , o- ka ami
 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother 1SG.POSS POSS mother
 nm nf

okaniso ta ni hinofare awaka
 o- ka niso taa na.NFIN hi- nofa -ra+M awa -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother give AUX OC want NEG seem+M DECL+M
 nm vt aux vt sec

"I don't think my mother wants to give away my younger brother."

7 *Ta tinaho*
 taa ti- na -ho
 give 2SG.S AUX IMP+M
 vt aux

"Give him."

8 *Mo tekamibeya*
 moho ti- to- ka- ka -ma -be -ya
 tree sp 2SG.S away COMIT go/come back IMMED+F now
 nf vt

"Take away the *moho* cotton."

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9 *Moho* *tekamabana* *tini*
 moho ti- to- ka- ka -ma -habana ti- ni
 tree sp 2SG.S away COMMIT go/come back FUT+F 2SG.S BKG+F
 nm vt prt

"Take away the *moho* cotton."

10 *Okomi* *okomi* *ami* *ati*
 o- ka ami o- ka ami ami
 1SG.POSS POSS mother 1SG.POSS POSS mother 2SG.POSS.mother voice
 nf nf nf pn

timiti *ya* *tikamiyahi*
 ti- mita.NOM+F ya ti- ka -ma -yahi
 2SG.S hear ADJU 2SG.S go/come back DIST.IMP+F
 vt prt vi

"When you have heard what your mother says, come back again."

11 *Niso* *tinakamiyahi*
 niso ti- na- ka -ma -yahi
 2SG.POSS.younger brother 2SG.S CAUS go/come back DIST.IMP+F
 nm vt

"You come back for your brother."

12 *Faya yana tonematamona* *fahi waha*
 faya yana to- na -himata -mona fahi waha
 so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then now
 conj vi aux dem prt

'So he was ready to go.'

13 *Haro* , *tiwakamahi*
 haaro ti- to- ka- ka -ma -hi
 that one+F 2SG.S away COMMIT go/come back IMP+F
 dem vt

"Here, take it."

14 *Manakoneba* *amake* *haro*
 manakone -ba ama -ke haaro
 price FUT be DECL+F that one+F
 pn vc dem

"The boy will be the payment."

15 *Faya hinamate nafiwe* , *kokori*
 faya hinamate nafi -waha+M kokori
 so child be big change mother's brother
 conj nm vi nm

kokoriteba , *mano tama hine ohi*
 kokori -tee -ba , mano tama hi- na+M ohi
 mother's brother HAB FUT arm+M hold onto OC AUX cry
 nm pn vt aux vi

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

'The boy was a little big. The one who would become his father-in-law held onto his hand, and he cried.'

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16 *Faya oi ne , oi nematamona fahi*
 faya ohi na+M , ohi na -himata -mona fahi
 so cry AUX cry AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj vi aux vi aux dem
 'He cried.'

17 *Oi ne , okoyo , mo ta hina*
 ohi na+M , o- ka ayo , moho taa hi- na+F ,
 cry AUX 1SG.POSS POSS older brother tree sp give OC AUX
 vi aux nm nf vt aux

Okaniso , okaniso te
 o- ka niso , o- ka niso tee
 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother 2PL.S
 nm nm pron

kasawariteriyahi
 ka- sawari -tee -ra -yahi
 COMMIT frustrate HAB NEG DIST.IMP+F
 vt

'He cried. He gave the cotton. "Don't complain about my younger brother later on."'

18 *Okaniso te kasawariteriyahi*
 o- ka niso tee ka- sawari -tee -ra -yahi
 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother 2PL.S COMMIT frustrate HAB NEG DIST.IMP+F
 nm pron vt

ati nematamonaka
 ati na -himata -mona -ka
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux

'"Don't complain about my brother later," he said.'

19 *Okaniso nafire , wara tiwahe*
 o- ka niso nafire -ra+M , wara ti- na -waha+M
 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother be big NEG grab 2SG.S AUX change
 nm vi vt aux

tama tine tike
 tama ti- na -ne ti- ke
 hold onto 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S DECL+F
 vt aux prt

'"My brother is young, and you have grabbed his hand and are holding on to him."'

20 *Okaniso te kasawariteriyahi*
 o- ka niso tee ka- sawari -tee -ra -yahi
 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother 2PL.S COMMIT frustrate HAB NEG DIST.IMP+F
 nm pron vt

'"Don't complain about my brother."'

21 *Okomibonehe*
 o- to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone -he
 1SG.S away go/come back INT+F DUP
 vi

'"I'm going."'

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

AWITA FA YAFI

'He went.'

23 *Tokomematamona*

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

'He went.'

24 *Tokome*

to- ka -ma+M , *fawa* *tosame* *faya* *me*
to- na -kosa -ma+M faya me
away go/come back disappear CH AUX middle back so 3PL.S
vi vi aux conj pron

nanayana

hihe

fatirawabone

nanayana

na- na- yana hi- to- ha+M , fati -rawa -bone na- na- yana
DUP CAUS grow OC CH AUX 3SG.POSS.wife F.PL INT+F DUP CAUS grow
vt aux nf vt

hiarawe

yayana

tohematamona

fati

hi- to- ha -rawa+M , ya- yana to- ha -himata -mona fati
OC CH AUX F.PL DUP grow CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M 3SG.POSS.wife
aux vi aux nf

tefe

hiwasirawari

nafirari

tefe hi- wasi -rawa -haari , nafi -ra -haari
food+M OC find F.PL IP.E+M be big NEG IP.E+M
pn vt vi

'He left. He disappeared into the forest. They raised him. The ones who became his wives raised him. He grew as his wives cooked his food when he was small.'

25 *Faya*

yayana

tohe

me

ya

me

ya

tataba

faya ya- yana to- ha+M , me ya me ya ta- taba
so DUP grow CH AUX 3PL ADJU 3PL ADJU DUP be together
conj vi aux pron prt pron prt vi

tohe

faya

me

sasawi

sawi

toyabo

to- ha+M , faya me , sa- sawi , sawi.NFIN to- yabo.NOM
CH AUX so 3PL.S DUP be present be present CH be long
aux conj pron vi vi vi

ya

nafimise

nafimise

ya

haha

haha

ya nafi -misa.NOM+M , nafi -misa.NOM+M ya , haha , haha
ADJU be big up be big up ADJU this+F this+F
prt vi vi prt dem dem

he

tabarawa

ahi

hirawaraha

hee taba -rawa+F , ahi hi- na -rawa -ra+F -ha ,
3SG be together F.PL have sex with OC AUX F.PL NEG DUP
pron vi vt aux

ahi

hirawaraha

he

ya

tataba

ahi hi- na -rawa -ra+F -ha hee ya ta- taba
have sex with OC AUX F.PL NEG DUP 3SG ADJU DUP be together
vt aux pron prt vi

toarawemetemone

to- ha -rawa -hemete -mone
CH AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F
aux

'He grew. He stayed with them. He stayed there a long time, and he grew up. He didn't have sex with the women that were with him, and they stayed with him.'

AWITA FA YAFI

26 *Faya me yoyoko hiematamona fahi*
 faya me yo- yoko hi- to- ha -himata -mona fahi
 so 3PL.S DUP bring misfortune on OC CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj pron vt aux dem

'Then they brought misfortune on him.'

27 *Me ihi kabakaba ra me me me*
 me ihi kaba- kaba na -ra+F me me me
 3PL.POSS victim of+F DUP eat AUX NEG 3PL.POSS 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron pn vt aux pron pron pron

warara hinemete me ya ota tataba
 wara -ra hi- na -hemete me ya otaa ta- taba
 grab DUP OC AUX FP.N+F 3PL ADJU 1EX.S DUP be together
 vt aux pron prt pron vi

tohineni ehene kabarari hinaka yibote
 to- ha -ne -ni ehene kaba -ra -haari hinaka yibote
 CH AUX CONT+F BKG+F victim of+M eat NEG IP.E+M 3SG.POSS wife
 aux pn result pron nf

kayawe fati kayawarawari
 ka- yawa+M fati ka- yawa -rawa -haari
 COMMIT be upset 3SG.POSS.wife COMMIT be upset F.PL IP.E+M
 vt nf vt

'"He doesn't fish or hunt. They took him long ago, and he is still with them. He doesn't hunt or fish for them."
 He [the older cousin] wanted his [the younger cousin's] wives.'

28 *Fati kayawarawe ati sasai*
 fati ka- yawa -rawa+M ati sa- sai
 3SG.POSS.wife COMMIT be upset F.PL voice DUP be heard
 nf vt pn vi

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

'He wanted them to be his wives, and he was always complaining.'

29 *Faya ati sasai toe Ayo ka wati*
 faya ati sa- sai to- ha+M ayo ka wati
 so voice DUP be heard CH AUX older brother POSS arrow
 conj pn vi aux nm prt nm

wati wati kane wati wati
 wati wati ka- na+M wati wati
 arrow think about COMMIT AUX arrow think about
 nm vt aux nm vt

kanematamona fahi
 ka- na -himata -mona fahi
 COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 aux dem

'He was always complaining. He planned to make arrows.'

30 *Wati sibi ne wati sibi ne haro wati*
 wati sibi na+M wati sibi na+M haaro wati
 arrow grass tear AUX arrow grass tear AUX that one+F arrow
 nm vt aux nm vt aux dem nm

he ne wati he nematamonaka
 hee na+M wati hee na -himata -mona -ka
 heat AUX arrow heat AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux nm vt aux

AWITA FA YAFI

'He took the leaves off arrow grass to make arrows. He heated the arrows over a fire.'

31 *Wati he ne ya , wati*
 wati hee na.NOM+M ya , wati
 arrow heat AUX ADJU arrow
 nm vt aux prt nm

nawarimatamona fahi
 na- waa -rI -himata -mona fahi
 CAUS stand raised surface FP.N+M REP+M then
 vt dem
 'He heated the arrows, and inserted the points in the arrow shafts.'

32 *Wati nawari , wati nawari*
 wati na- waa -rI+M , wati na- waa -rI.NFIN
 arrow CAUS stand raised surface arrow CAUS stand raised surface
 nm vt nm vt

tai tonihe ya sare siri ni
 tai to- niha- ha.NOM+M ya sarehe siri na.NFIN
 be ahead CH CAUS AUX ADJU blowgun dart scrape AUX
 vi aux prt nf vt aux

yotowaha , sare siri ne ya , sare
 yoto -waha.LIST , sarehe siri na.NOM+M ya , sarehe
 follow change blowgun dart scrape AUX ADJU blowgun dart
 vi nf vt aux prt nf

siri ne , sare siri ne hiyama me
 siri na+M , sarehe siri na+M hiyama me
 scrape AUX blowgun dart scrape AUX white-lipped peccary 3PL.O
 vt aux nf vt aux nm pron

me mowa nabone me , me ni ya sawirihi ,
 me mowa na -habone me , me ni ya sawi -rihi ,
 3PL.S fight AUX INT+F 3PL 3PL to ADJU be present NEG.LIST
 pron vt aux pron pron prt prt vi

sawirihi na toematamonane
 sawi -rihi na to- ha -himata -mona -ne
 be present NEG.LIST AUX CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi aux aux

'He inserted points in the arrows. He inserted points in the arrows first, and scraped the blowgun darts last. He scraped the darts. The others went out to hunt white-lipped peccaries, but he didn't go with them.'

33 *Sawire , itahi me ihi isi ni kabe ,*
 sawi -ra+M , ita+M me ihi isi ni kaba+M ,
 be present NEG stay 3PL.POSS victim of+F little bit eat
 vi vi pron pn pn vt

me hikasawarihari
 me hi- ka- sawari -haari
 3PL.S OC COMIT frustrate IP.E+M
 pron vt

'He didn't go along. He stayed in the village, and ate some of the meat of the animals they killed. They complained about him.'

34 *Me hikasawari , ene kabaremona me*
 me hi- ka- sawari+M , ehene kaba -ra -himona me
 3PL.S OC COMIT frustrate victim of+M eat NEG REP+M 3PL.S
 pron vt pn result pron

AWITA FA YAFI

hine **me** **kakasawari** **hie** , **me**
 ati hi- na+M me ka- ka- sawari hi- to- ha+M , me
 say OC AUX 3PL.S DUP COMIT frustrate OC CH AUX 3PL.S
 vt pron vt aux pron

kakasawari **hiematamonaka**
 ka- ka- sawari hi- to- ha -himata -mona -ka
 DUP COMIT frustrate OC CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux

'They complained about him. They said he didn't provide any meat or fish. They always complained about him.'

35 **Me** **kakasawari** **hihe** , **me** **hikasawari** ,
 me ka- ka- sawari hi- to- ha+M , me hi- ka- sawari+M ,
 3PL.S DUP COMIT frustrate OC CH AUX 3PL.S OC COMIT frustrate
 pron vt aux pron vt

hinaka **yama** **ahi** **ni** **ahaba** **sare** **siri** **ni**
 hinaka yama ahi na.NFIN ahaba+F sarehe siri na.NFIN
 3SG.POSS thing work on AUX end blowgun dart scrape AUX
 pron nf result aux vi nf result aux

ahaba , **sare** **tafowe** , **sare**
 ahaba+F , sarehe tafowe , sarehe
 end blowgun dart wrapped blowgun dart
 vi nf pn nf

tafowemetemoneke
 tafowe -mete -mone -ke
 wrapped FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pn

'They always complained about him. He was done working. He finished making the darts. He put the darts in a sheath.'

36 **Sare** **tafowe** **nawata** , **wati** **tafowe** **nawata**
 sarehe tafowe na- wata.LIST , wati tafowe na- wata.LIST
 blowgun dart wrapped CAUS be located arrow wrapped CAUS be located
 nf pn vt nm pn vt

, **wati** **tabo** **tohematamona** **ahi**
 wati tabo to- ha -himata -mona ahi
 arrow bunch+M CH be FP.N+M REP+M then
 nm pn vc dem

'He put the darts in a sheath. He put the arrows in a sheath, too. It was a bunch of arrows.'

37 **Wati** **tabo** **nafimatamonaka**
 wati tabo nafi -himata -mona -ka
 arrow bunch+M be big FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm pn vi

'It was a big bunch of arrows.'

38 **Wati** **tabo** **nafi** , **iha** **tonake** , **iha**
 wati tabo nafi+M , iha to- na- ka+M , iha
 arrow bunch+M be big plant sp away CAUS go/come plant sp
 nm pn vi nm vt nm

tonake **iha** **siri** **kane** , **iha** **siri**
 to- na- ka+M iha siri ka- na+M , iha siri
 away CAUS go/come plant sp scrape COMIT AUX plant sp scrape
 vt nm vt aux nm vt

AWITA FA YAFI

kane **iha** **kakame** , **bikafa** **iti** , **bikafa**
ka- na+M iha ka- ka -ma+M , bikafa iti+M , bikafa
COMIT AUX plant sp COMIT go/come back vine sp pick up vine sp
aux nm vt nm vt nm

iti **kame** , **iha** **to** **kanematamonaka**
iti+M ka -ma+M , iha too ka- na -himata -mona -ka
pick up go/come back plant sp foam up COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vt vi nm vt aux

fahi .
fahi
then
dem

'It was a big bunch of arrows. He went after *iha* plants. He scraped the *iha* stalk. He brought the *iha* scrapings back. He got some *bikafa* stalks. He came back. He made the *iha* poison foam up in the mortar.'

39 **Iha** **to** **kane** , **ia** **to** **kane** **ia**
iha too ka- na+M , iha too ka- na+M iha
plant sp foam up COMIT AUX plant sp foam up COMIT AUX plant sp
nm vt aux nm vt aux nm

to **kani** **ahabe** **ya** , **iha** **fene**
too ka- na.NFIN ahaba.NOM+M ya , iha fehene
foam up COMIT AUX end ADJU plant sp juice+M
vt aux vi prt nm pn

kawari , **iha** **fene** **kawari**
ka- waa -rI+M , iha fehene ka- waa -rI+M
COMIT stand raised surface plant sp juice+M COMIT stand raised surface
vt nm pn vt

, **iha** **fene** **kawarimatamonaka** ,
iha fehene ka- waa -rI -himata -mona -ka
plant sp juice+M COMIT stand raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nm pn vt

waho **ya** .
waho ya
snail sp ADJU
nm prt

'He foamed up the *iha* poison. When he was done foaming up the poison, he cooked the poison. He put the poison in a snail shell.'

40 **Waho** **ya** **iha** **fehene** **sika** **tonihikime** , **faya**
waho ya iha fehene sika to- niha- na -kima+M , faya
snail sp ADJU plant sp juice+M pour CH CAUS AUX two so
nm prt nm pn vt aux conj

ia , **nakosiribona** **kawari** , **iha**
iha , nakosiri -bona ka- waa -rI+M , iha
plant sp ashes INT+M COMIT stand raised surface plant sp
nm pn vt nm

nakosiribona **kawari** ,
nakosiri -bona ka- waa -rI+M
ashes INT+M COMIT stand raised surface
pn vt

kawarimatamonaka **ahi** .
ka- waa -rI -himata -mona -ka ahi
COMIT stand raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
vt dem

'He poured the poison into two snail shells. He cooked what was left of the poison.'

AWITA FA YAFI

41	Iha	kawari		ya	,	bane	
	iha	ka-	waa	-rI.NOM	ya	banehe	
	plant sp	COMIT	stand	raised surface	ADJU	giant anteater	
	nm	vt			prt	nf	
	bane		yifori	,	bane		yifori
	banehe		yifori		banehe		yifori
	giant anteater		tail		giant anteater		tail
	nf		pn		nf		pn
					wete		kane
					wete	ka-	na+M
					tie	COMIT	AUX
					vt	aux	
	yifori	ra	,	ia		nakosiri	were
	yifori	ra		iha		nakosiri	were
	tail	O		plant sp		ashes	stir
	pn	prt		nm		pn	vt
						nawahematamonaka	
						na	-waha
						-himata	-mona
						-ka	
						AUX	change
						FP.N+M	REP+M
						DECL+M	

'He cooked the poison. He tied the giant anteater tail hairs together, and he stirred what was left of the poison.'

42	Nakosiri	nakosiri	wati	,	wati	tabo	toematamona	ahi
	nakosiri	nakosiri	wati		wati	tabo	to-	ha
	ashes	ashes	arrow		arrow	bunch+M	CH	be
	pn	pn	nm		pn	vc	FP.N+M	REP+M
	hiyama		me		tanibana		ahi	
	hiyama		me		tani		-bana	ahi
	white-lipped	peccary	3PL.POSS		weapon	against	FUT	then
	nm		pron		pn			dem

'There was a large bunch of arrows, to be used to kill white-lipped peccaries.'

43	Hinaka	titisabone		siri	,	faya	,	hiyama	me
	hinaka	titisa	-bone	siri.LIST		faya		hiyama	me
	3SG.POSS	bow	INT+F	scrape		so		white-lipped peccary	3PL
	pron	nf		vt		conj		nm	pron
	me	yama	were	ni	ahaba	sare		were	kani
	me	yama	were	na.NFIN	ahaba.LIST	sarehe		were	ka-
	3PL	thing	coat	AUX	end	blowgun	dart	coat	COMIT
	pron	nf	vt	aux	vi	nf	vt	aux	AUX
	ahaba		hinaka	yama	nawata	hinaka	wati		
	ahaba.LIST		hinaka	yama	na-	wata.LIST	hinaka	wati	
	end		3SG.POSS	thing	CAUS	be located	3SG.POSS	arrow	
	vi		pron	nf	vt		pron	nm	
	nawate	ya	,	hiyama		me	me	kobo	
	na-	wata.NOM+M		hiyama		me	me	kobo	
	CAUS	be located		white-lipped peccary		3PL.O	3PL.S	meet	
	vt			nm		pron	pron	vt	
	nani	me	kamemetemoneke					hiyama	
	na	-hani	me	ka	-ma	-hemete	-mone	-ke	
	AUX	IP.N+F	3PL.S	go/come	back	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	
	aux		pron	vi					
	me	me	kobo	nani	mati	ahi			
	me	me	kobo	na	-hani	mati	ahi		
	3PL.O	3PL.S	meet	AUX	IP.N+F	3PL.S	then		
	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron	dem			

'He scraped what would be his bow. He was done coating the arrow points with poison, and he was done coating the darts with poison. He put his things away. After he put his things away, the others, who had seen some white-lipped peccaries, came back.'

44	Kama		me	Hiyama		me	ati
	ka	-ma+F	me	hiyama		me	ati
	go/come	back	3PL.S	white-lipped peccary		3PL.POSS	voice
	vi		pron	nm		pron	pn

AWITA FA YAFI

saimonehe				hiyama		me		ati
sai.NOM	-mone	-he		hiyama		me		ati
be heard	REP+F	DUP		white-lipped peccary		3PL.POSS		voice
vi				nm		pron		pn
saimonehe			ya	hiyama		me		ati
sai.NOM	-mone	-he	ya	hiyama		me		ati
be heard	REP+F	DUP	ADJU	white-lipped peccary		3PL.POSS		voice
vi			prt	nm		pron		pn
saimone		me		me	katomareba		te	tataba
sai.NOM	-mone	me		me	katoma -ra -hiba		tee	ta- taba
be heard	REP+F	3PL		3PL.O	attack NEG FUT+M		2PL.S	DUP be together
vi		pron		pron	vt		pron	vi
tohine		fa		me	ati	nemetemone		ahi
to- ha -ne		faa		me	ati	na -hemete -mone		ahi
CH	AUX	CONT+F		3PL.S	say	AUX FP.N+F	REP+F	then
aux		dem		pron	vt	aux		dem

'They came back. "People heard white-lipped peccaries. You are going with the one who is not going to kill them," they said.'

45 Faya	me	yana	tonemetemone
faya	me	yana	to- na -hemete -mone
so	3PL.S	start	CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
conj	pron	vi	aux

'They started out.'

46 Hiyama			me		hiyama		me	me
hiyama			me		hiyama		me	me
white-lipped peccary			3PL		white-lipped peccary		3PL.O	3PL.S
nm			pron		nm		pron	pron
tonaka		me		toka		me	ni	ya
to- na- ka+F		me		to- ka+F		me	ni	ya
away CAUS	go/come	3PL.S		away go/come		3PL	to	ADJU
vt		pron		vi		pron	prt	prt

tokomakari
to- ka -maka -ri
away go/come following NEG+M
vi

'They went after the white-lipped peccaries, but he didn't go after them.'⁷²

47 Tokomakari
to- ka -maka -ri
away go/come following NEG+M
vi

'He didn't go after them.'

48 Tafe		tafehimatamonaka
tafa+M		tafa -himata -mona -ka
eat		eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi		vi

'He ate.'

49 Tafe	tafi	nafi		yana	tonematamonaka
tafa+M	tafa.NFIN	nafi+M		yana	to- na -himata -mona -ka
eat	eat	be big		start	CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi	vi	vi		vi	aux

'He ate. He ate a lot. He started out.'

⁷² The form *tokomakari* is archaic; the form in current usage is *tokomakara*.

AWITA FA YAFI

50 *Yana tone wati wati tiwa kamisa*
 yana to- na+M wati wati tiwa ka- na -misa.LIST ,
 start CH AUX arrow arrow carry COMMIT AUX up
 vi aux nm nm vt aux

titisa tama tokomake me
 ti- tisa tama.LIST , to- ka -makI , me
 DUP shoot with arrow hold onto away go/come following 3PL
 nf vt vi pron

hibati me tokemetemoneni
 hibati me to- ka -hemete -mone -ni
 long time ago 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 nf pron vi

'He started out. He put his arrows on his shoulder, and got his bow, and went long after the others had gone.'

51 *Me toka me hiyama me me*
 me to- ka+F me hiyama me me ,
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron vi pron nm pron pron

kakatamani me tokomake kobo
 ka- katoma -hani me , to- ka -makI kobo
 COMMIT look at IP.N+F 3PL.S away go/come following arrive
 vt pron vi vi

tonamake hinaka koma hiyama me
 to- na -makI , hinaka koma hiyama me
 away AUX following 3SG.POSS son-in-law white-lipped peccary 3PL
 aux pron nm nm pron

Oko koma kamaki kamaki
 o- ka koma ka -makI+M , ka -makI+M
 1SG.POSS POSS son-in-law go/come following go/come following
 prt nm vi vi

kamaki hari kamakiari ha
 ka -makI+M , haari ka -makI -haari haa
 go/come following that one+M go/come following look+M DEM
 vi dem vi vi dem

'They went. They listened to the peccaries. He went after them and arrived. "My son-in-law has come, there he is."'

52 *Kamakimatamonaka*
 ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He came.'

53 *Kamaki faya hinaka koma kamaki*
 ka -makI.NOM , faya hinaka koma , ka -makI.NOM
 go/come following so 3SG.POSS son-in-law go/come following
 vi conj pron nm vi

ya Hiyama me ati saine ha
 ya hiyama me ati sai -ne haa
 ADJU white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS voice be heard CONT+F DEM
 prt nm pron pn vi dem

'He came. His son-in-law came. "I can hear the voices of the peccaries."'

AWITA FA YAFI

54	Hiyama	me	ati	saiha	me	me	wati
	hiyama	me	ati	sai+F	me	me	wati
	white-lipped peccary	3PL.POSS	voice	be heard	3PL.O	3PL.S	go after
	nm	pron	pn	vi	pron	pron	vt

kineni

ka- na -ne -ni
COMIT AUX CONT+F BKG+F
aux

"I can hear the voices of the peccaries, the others are after them."

55	Hibaka	hibaka	hiyama	me	kana	naba	me
	hibaka	hibaka	hiyama	me	kana	na -haba	me
	where	where	white-lipped peccary	3PL.S	run	AUX FUT+F	3PL.S
	interrog	interrog	nm	pron	vi	aux	pron

amariya

ama -ri -ya
SEC CQ+F now
sec

"Where will the peccaries run?"

56	E	awakare
	ee	awa -ka -re
	1IN.S	see DECL NEG+F
	pron	vt

"Who knows?"

57	Me	kana	ni	awaraba	me	amani
	me	kana	na.NFIN	awa -ra -haba	me	ama -ni
	3PL.S	run	AUX	see NEG FUT+F	3PL.POSS	SEC BKG+F
	pron	vi	aux	result	pron	sec

"Who knows where they will run?"

58	Hinaka	wati	kawa	hinaka	titisa
	hinaka	wati	ka- waa.LIST	hinaka	ti- tisa
	3SG.POSS	arrow	COMIT stand	3SG.POSS	DUP shoot with arrow
	pron	nm	vi	pron	nf

nabati	kayabati	wa	tokomakematamona
nabati	kayabati+M	waa.LIST	to- ka -makI -himata -mona
stomach	pull tense	stand	away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M
pn	result	vi	vi

'His arrows were against a tree, and his strung bow was against the tree, too. He went after them.'

59	Hinaka	koma	tokomake	nowati	ya
	hinaka	koma	to- ka -makI	nowati	ya
	3SG.POSS	son-in-law	away go/come following	behind	ADJU
	pron	nm	vi	pn	pvt

tokomake	tokomake	hiyama
to- ka -makI	to- ka -makI	hiyama
away go/come following	away go/come following	white-lipped peccary
vi	vi	nm

me	me	mowa	na	hiyama	me	kana	ni
me	me	mowa	na+F	hiyama	me	kana	na.NFIN
3PL.O	3PL.S	fight	AUX	white-lipped peccary	3PL.S	run	AUX
pron	pron	vt	aux	nm	pron	vi	aux

AWITA FA YAFI

kama , **hiyama** **me** **kana** **ni**
ka -ma+F , hiyama me kana na.NFIN
go/come back white-lipped peccary 3PL.S run AUX
vi nm pron vi aux

kamemetemone **ahi** .
ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi
go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then
vi dem

'His son-in-law went after him. He ran after the peccaries. The peccaries came running back.'

60 **Kana** **ni** **kamematamonaka** .
kana na.NFIN ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
run AUX go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi aux vi

'He came running back.'

61 **Kana** **ni** **kame** , **kana** **ni** **kame** **wati**
kana na.NFIN ka -ma+M , kana na.NFIN ka -ma+M wati
run AUX go/come back run AUX go/come back arrow
vi aux vi aux vi nm

kakitikabote **ne** , **kana** **ni**
ka- iti -kabote na+M , kana na.NFIN
COMIT pick up quickly AUX run AUX
vt aux vi aux

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

'He came running back. He quickly grabbed his arrows, and went running after them.'

62 **Hiyama** **me** **tisa** **na** **me**
hiyama me tisa na+F me
white-lipped peccary 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.S
nm pron result aux pron

hiyama **me** **siba** **na** **me** , **kana** **ni**
hiyama me siba na+F me , kana na.NFIN
white-lipped peccary 3PL.S look for AUX 3PL.S run AUX
nm pron result aux pron vi aux

tokomaki **ya** **kana** **ni** **tokomaki** **ya**
to- ka -makI.NOM ya kana na.NFIN to- ka -makI.NOM ya
away go/come following ADJU run AUX away go/come following ADJU
vi prt vi aux vi prt

yama **me** **fara** **fati** **nanamo** **hiarawe** **ka**
yama me fara fati na- namo hi- to- ha -rawa+M ka
thing 3PL same+F 3SG.POSS.wife DUP show OC CH AUX F.PL which
nf pron dem nf vt aux prt

yama **ya** , **fati** **nanamo** **hiharawe** **ka** **yama**
yama ya , fati na- namo hi- to- ha -rawa+M ka yama
thing ADJU 3SG.POSS.wife DUP show OC CH AUX F.PL which thing
nf prt nf vt aux prt nf

ya **faya** **hiyama** **me** , **sa**
ya faya hiyama me , saa
ADJU so white-lipped peccary 3PL.O shoot with arrow
prt conj nm pron vt

AWITA FA YAFI

'He lay his arrows on his thigh.'

66 *Wati* *horo* *nakekabote* *wati* *yoru* *kabote*
 wati horo na -kI -kabote wati yori na -kabote
 arrow pull AUX coming quickly arrow insert AUX quickly
 nm vt aux nm vt aux

sa *hikanematamonaka*
 saa hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux

'He pulled out an arrow and inserted it in the bow and shot a male.'

67 *Maki* *amakara*
 maki ama -kara
 male be ?+M
 nm vc

'''That one looks like a male.'''

68 *Wati* *horo* *nake* *sa*
 wati horo na -kI saa
 arrow pull AUX coming shoot with arrow
 nm vt aux vt

hikanemetemoneke
 hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
 OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'He pulled an arrow and shot a female.'

69 *Fana* *amani* *haro*
 fana ama -ni haaro
 female be BKG+F that one+F
 nf vc dem

'''That one is a female.'''

70 *Wati* , *kerewetewakani*
 wati ka- rewete -waha -kani
 arrow COMIT turn end to end change one at a time
 nm vt

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

'He was turning the arrows end to end, one after the other.'

71 *Wati* *tafowe* *soba* *towiti* , *wati* *tafowe* *koro*
 wati tafowe soba to- na -witI+M wati tafowe koro
 arrow wrapped pull out away AUX out arrow wrapped throw
 nm pn vt aux nm pn vt

nisakabote *wati* *yabehimatamona* *ahi*
 na -risa -kabote wati yaba -himata -mona ahi
 AUX down quickly arrow take out FP.N+M REP+M then
 aux nm vt dem

'He pulled out another pack of arrows, and threw out the covering on the points, pulling out the arrows.'

AWITA FA YAFI

72 *Hiyama* *me* *tisa* *nematamonaka*
 hiyama me tisa na -himata -mona -ka
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm pron vt aux
ahi .
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He shot the peccaries with arrows.'

73 *Hiyama* *me* *tisa* *ne* ,
 hiyama me tisa na+M
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX
 nm pron vt aux

hiyama *me* *tisa* *nemata* .
 hiyama me tisa na -himata
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+M
 nm pron vt aux

'He shot the peccaries with arrows.'

74 *Wati* *fawa* *tonematamonaka* *ahi* .
 wati fawa to- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 arrow disappear CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm vi aux dem

'The arrows ran out.'

75 *Hiyama* *me* *yowaba* *na* *rama* *ahi*
 hiyama me yowaba na+F rama ahi
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.S be in a line AUX unusual then
 nm pron vi aux prt dem

mama *ihi* *me* *toa* *mati* , *ene*
 ma- maa ihi me to- ha+F mati ehene
 DUP be tired victim of+F 3PL.S CH be 3PL.S victim of+M
 nf pn pron vc pron pn

kabarari *ahi* .
 kaba -ra -haari ahi
 eat NEG IP.E+M then
 result dem

'The peccaries were all together in a line, exhausted. He who had never been a hunter.'

76 *Hiyama* *towakamematamona* *hibati*
 hiyama to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona hibati
 white-lipped peccary away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M right away
 nm vt nf

ya *hiyama* *tabasi* *tonamebana* ,
 ya hiyama tabasi to- na -ma -hibana
 ADJU white-lipped peccary roast on grill away AUX back FUT+M
 prt nm vt aux

he *kakasawari* .
 hee ka- ka- sawari
 3SG.POSS DUP COMIT frustrate
 pron pn

'The one who had been complaining about him had already taken a peccary home to roast it on a rack.'

AWITA FA YAFI

77 *Faya hiyama me , hiyama me*
 faya hiyama me , hiyama me
 so white-lipped peccary 3PL white-lipped peccary 3PL.O
 conj nm pron nm pron

sa ne wati , wati fame , hiyama
 saa na+M wati , wati fama+M , hiyama
 shoot with arrow AUX arrow arrow be two white-lipped peccary
 vt aux nm nm vi nm

me kana ni toka mera tonakamaki
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka+F mera to- na- ka -makI+M
 3PL.S run AUX away go/come 3PL.O away CAUS go/come following
 pron vi aux vi pron vt

hiyama me tonafamamake
 hiyama me to- na- fama -makI
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O away CAUS be two following
 nm pron vt

hiyama me famemetemoneke
 hiyama me fama -hemete -mone -ke
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.S be two FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron vi

'He killed peccaries with arrows. He had two arrows left, and he went after the peccaries as they ran away, and killed two more of them.'

78 *Hiyama biti me hikawata me tama*
 hiyama biti me hi- ka- wata+F me tama
 white-lipped peccary young+M 3PL.O OC COMIT catch 3PL.O hold onto
 nm adj pron vt pron vt

nikima , hiyama biti me
 na -kima.LIST , hiyama biti me
 AUX two white-lipped peccary young+M 3PL.S
 aux nm adj pron

famemetemonehe
 fama -hemete -mone -he
 be two FP.N+F REP+F DUP
 vi

'He picked up two little peccaries and held them. There were two little peccaries.'

79 *Kame , faya me , tokomake*
 ka -ma+M , faya me , to- ka -makI ,
 go/come back so 3PL.S away go/come following
 vi conj pron vi

hiyama me iso ne hiyama me
 hiyama me iso na+M hiyama me
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O carry off AUX white-lipped peccary 3PL.O
 nm pron vt aux nm pron

iso nebana
 iso na -hibana
 carry off AUX FUT+M
 vt aux

'He went back and carried off the peccaries.'

80 *Hiyama me iso nematamonane*
 hiyama me iso na -himata -mona -ne
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O carry off AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 nm pron vt aux

'He carried off the peccaries.'

AWITA FA YAFI

81 *Hiyama* *me iso ne , fa moni*
 hiyama me iso na+M , faha moni
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O carry off AUX water sound
 nm pron vt aux nf pn

watatera , moni nawatobamatamonaka
 wata -tee -ra+F , moni na- wato -ba -himata -mona -ka
 exist HAB NEG sound CAUS exist FUT FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi pn vt

'He carried the peccaries. Where the water had never made any sound, he made it make a sound.'

82 *Faya , hiyama me hiyama me iso*
 faya , hiyama me hiyama me iso
 so white-lipped peccary 3PL white-lipped peccary 3PL.O carry off
 conj nm pron nm pron vt

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

'He carried off the peccaries.'

83 *Hiyama me were nifematamona ahi*
 hiyama me were na -fI -himata -mona ahi
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O throw AUX water FP.N+M REP+M then
 nm pron vt aux dem

'He threw the peccaries into the water.'

84 *Kaa hiyama me tamemetemone faha tori*
 kaa hiyama me tama -hemete -mone faha tori
 wow white-lipped peccary 3PL.S be many FP.N+F REP+F water bed+F
 interj nm pron vi nf pn

ya ahi
 ya ahi
 ADJU then
 prt dem

'Wow! There were many peccaries in the stream.'

85 *Hiyama me ahaba mera iso nati bai*
 hiyama me ahaba+F mera iso na nahatI+M bai
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.S die 3PL.O carry off AUX daytime sun
 nm pron vi pron vt prt nm

fawa nise ya
 fawa na -risa.NOM+M ya
 disappear AUX down ADJU
 vi aux prt

'He carried the peccaries that had died all day long, until sundown.'

86 *Bai fawa nisematamona amaka*
 bahi fawa na -risa -himata -mona ama -ka
 sun disappear AUX down FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M
 nm vi aux sec

'The sun went down.'

87 *Bai fawa nise , bai fawa nise , faya*
 bahi fawa na -risa+M , bahi fawa na -risa+M , faya
 sun disappear AUX down sun disappear AUX down so
 nm vi aux nm vi aux conj

AWITA FA YAFI

tasi	namaki	hiyama	biti	me	tama
tasi	na -makI+M	hiyama	biti	me	tama
emerge	AUX following	white-lipped peccary	young+M	3PL.O	hold onto
vi	aux	nm	adj	pron	vt

kana	me	soki	kasa	mati
ka- na.LIST	me	soki	ka- na -kosa+F	mati
COMIT AUX	3PL.S	tie up	COMIT AUX middle	3PL.S
aux	pron	result	aux	pron

'The sun went down. He emerged into the clearing, holding the young peccaries, too. They were tied up.'

88 Tiwati	watari	tiwitarehi
ti- ati	wata -ra.NFIN	ti- ita -rI
2SG.POSS voice	exist NEG	2SG.S sit raised surface IMP+F
pn	vi	vi

'Sit there without talking.'

89 Tiwati	watarima	nahi
ti- ati	wata -rima	na -hi
2SG.POSS voice	exist NEG.IMP+F	AUX IMP+F
pn	vi	aux

'Don't talk.'

90 Faya	hiyama	me	tama	kane
faya	hiyama	me	tama	ka- na+M
so	white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	hold onto	COMIT AUX
conj	nm	pron	vt	aux

kamaki	Yama	awatera	ama	yama	awatera
ka -makI+M	yama	awa -tee -ra+F	ama	yama	awa -tee -ra+F
go/come following	thing	see HAB NEG	SEC	thing	see HAB NEG
vi	nf	result	sec	nf	result

ama	fawa	na	me	tabiyo	me	awi	ati
ama	fawa	na+F	me	tabiyo	me	awa.NOM+F	ati
SEC	disappear	AUX	3PL	absence	3PL.S	feel	say
sec	vi	aux	pron	pn	pron	vt	vt

nematamonaka	ati	hikamitamakehari
na -himata -mona -ka	ati	hi- to- ka- mita -makI -haari
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	voice	OC away COMIT hear following IP.E+M
aux	pn	vt

ahi
ahi
then
dem

'He came holding the peccaries. "He never saw the forest, so he got lost. They were missing him," he said, as he heard him arriving outside.'⁷⁴

91 Faya	kamaki	afi	ni	kamaki
faya	ka -makI+M	afi	na.NFIN	ka -makI+M
so	go/come following	bathe	AUX	go/come following
conj	vi	vi	aux	vi

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

'He came, already having bathed.'

74 The pronominal *me* is a mistake; that is, it should be *fawa na tabiyo*.

AWITA FA YAFI

92	Kamaki		hiyama		me	fama	me	
	ka	-makI+M	hiyama		me	fama+F	me	
	go/come	following	white-lipped peccary		3PL.S	be two	3PL.O	
	vi		nm		pron	vi	pron	
	tama	kane	See	biti	me	ihibarani		
	tama	ka- na+M	see	biti	me	iha+F	-barani	
	hold onto	COMIT AUX	oh no	young+M	3PL.S	be located	only	
	vt	aux	interj	adj	pron	vi		

'He came. He was holding the two peccaries. "Oh no, he only got little ones.'"

93	He	kakasawari		mitati	nofe	ka	hinaka	
	hee	ka- ka-	sawari	mita -tee	nofa+M	ka	hinaka	
	3SG.POSS	DUP COMIT	frustrate	hear HAB	recently	POSS	3SG.POSS	
	pron	pn		vt	prt	prt	pron	
	hinaka	mebone	me	soki	hikamisemetemoneke			
	hinaka	me -bone	me	soki	hi- ka- na -misa	-hemete	-mone	-ke
	3SG.POSS	3PL INT+F	3PL.O	tie up	OC COMIT AUX up	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F
	pron	pron	pron	vt	aux			
	tofi	ya						
	tofi	ya						
	epiphyte sp	ADJU						
	nm	prt						

'He had tied up two peccaries with *tofi* aerial roots for the one who he always heard complaining about him.'

94	Tofi	ya	hiyama		me	soki	kase	
	tofi	ya	hiyama		me	soki	ka- na -kosa+M	
	epiphyte sp	ADJU	white-lipped peccary		3PL.O	tie up	COMIT AUX middle	
	nm	prt	nm		pron	vt	aux	
	hiyama	fainama	me	famemetemone				
	hiyama	fainama	me	fama -hemete -mone				
	white-lipped peccary	both	3PL.S	be two FP.N+F	REP+F			
	nm	adj	pron	vi				
	hiyama	fanarawaha						
	hiyama	fana -rawa -ha						
	white-lipped peccary	female F.PL	DUP					
	nm	nf						

'He had tied two female peccaries with *tofi* aerial roots.'

95	Hiyama		me	soki	kase		ya	
	hiyama		me	soki	ka- na -kosa.NOM+M		ya	
	white-lipped peccary		3PL.O	tie up	COMIT AUX middle		ADJU	
	nm		pron	vt	aux		prt	
	hiyama	me	were	nifi	ya	kamaki		
	hiyama	me	were	na -fi.NOM	ya	ka -makI+M		
	white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	throw	AUX water	ADJU	go/come following		
	nm	pron	vt	aux	prt	vi		
	kamakimatamonaka							
	ka	-makI	-himata	-mona -ka				
	go/come following	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M				
	vi							

'He had tied the peccaries up and had thrown them into the water, and had come home.'

96	Kamaki		kobo	namaki	ahi	wati	wati	tiwa
	ka	-makI+M	kobo	na -makI+M	ahi	wati	wati	tiwa
	go/come	following	arrive	AUX following	then	arrow	arrow	carry
	vi		vi	aux	dem	nm	nm	vt

AWITA FA YAFI

kane , **Aa** **wabori** **me** **fito** **hikane**
ka- na+M , aa wabori me fito hi- ka- na+M
COMIT AUX aha 3SG.POSS brother-in-law 3PL.S rush OC COMIT AUX
aux interj nm pron vi aux

wabori **me** **fito** **hikane** , **Hinaka** **wati**
wabori me fito hi- ka- na+M , hinaka wati
3SG.POSS brother-in-law 3PL.S rush OC COMIT AUX 3SG.POSS arrow
nm pron vi aux pron nm

e **aawa** **naho**
ee a- awa na -ho
1IN.S DUP see AUX IMP+M
pron vt aux

'He came and arrived. He was carrying arrows. "Aa." His brothers-in-law went to him. "Let's look at his arrows."'

97 **Ee** **hinaka** **wati** **e** **aawa** **naho**
ee hinaka wati ee a- awa na -ho
yes 3SG.POSS arrow 1IN.S DUP see AUX IMP+M
interj pron nm pron vt aux

""Yes, let's look at his arrows.""

98 **Hinaka** **wati** **e** **awabaya** **hinaka** **wati** **kote**
hinaka wati ee awa -ba -ya hinaka wati kote
3SG.POSS arrow 1IN.S see IMMED+M now 3SG.POSS arrow piece
pron nm pron vt pron nm pn

""Let's look at his arrows, his broken-off arrows.""

99 **Wati** **kote** **amakara**
wati kote ama -ka -ra+M
arrow piece be DECL+M NEG
nm pn vc

""They aren't broken-off arrows.""

100 **Wati** , **awa** **sa** **ona** , **wati** **ino**
wati awa saa o- na+F , wati ino
arrow tree shoot with arrow 1SG.S AUX arrow point+M
nm nf vt aux nm pn

babaka **ose** **amaka** , **faya** **ati**
ba- baka o- na -kosa+M ama -ka , faya ati
DUP break 1SG.S AUX middle SEC DECL+M so say
vt aux sec conj vt

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

""I broke the points when I shot the arrows at a log," he said.'

101 **Hiyama** **me** **katomeno** **te** **awa** **hari**
hiyama me katoma -hino tee awa haari
white-lipped peccary 3PL.O look at IP.N+M 2PL.S see that one+M
nm pron vt pron vt dem

""Look, he killed a whole bunch of peccaries.""

102 **Wati** **me** , **wati** **kote** **me** **kakibarisemetemone**
wati me wati kote me ka- iba -risa -hemete -mone
arrow 3PL arrow piece 3PL.S COMIT set down down FP.N+F REP+F
nm pron nm pn pron vt

AWITA FA YAFI

birararara

birararara
(sound of arrows)
sound

'They knocked the broken-off arrows on the ground, birararara.'

103 *Ii* , *hiyama* *me* *abakeni*
ii , hiyama me ahaba -ke -ni
wow white-lipped peccary 3PL.S die DECL+F IP.N+F
interj nm pron vi

""Tii, the peccaries died.""

104 *Hiyama* *me* *abinihi*
hiyama me ahaba.NOM+F -ni -hi
white-lipped peccary 3PL.S die IP.N+F DUP
nm pron vi

""The peccaries died.""

105 *Hiyama* *me* *watamara* *me* *awineke*
hiyama me wata -ma -ra+F me awine -ke
white-lipped peccary 3PL.S exist back NEG 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
nm pron vi pron sec

""There aren't any more peccaries.""

106 *Hiyama* *me* *te* *tisa* *nani* *me*
hiyama me tee tisa na -hani me
white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 2PL.S shoot with arrow AUX IP.N+F 3PL
nm pron pron vt aux pron

ka *mate* *ohi* *kanani* , *me* *okowata* *me*
ka matehe ohi ka- na -hani , me o- ka- wata+F me
POSS children cry COMMIT AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O 1SG.S COMMIT catch 3PL.O
prt nf vi aux pron vt pron

ama *ke* *haro* , *me* *te* *tisa* *nani* *mati*
ama -ke haaro , me tee tisa na -hani mati
SEC DECL+F that one+F 3PL.O 2PL.S shoot with arrow AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O
sec dem pron pron vt aux pron

""When you shot the peccaries and these two little ones were crying, I picked them up. You had shot them.""

107 *Me* *te* *tisa* *nani* *me* , *me*
me tee tisa na -hani me , me
3PL.O 2PL.S shoot with arrow AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O 3PL.O
pron pron vt aux pron pron

sa *okara* *me* , *awa* *tisa*
saa o- ka- na -ra+F me , awa tisa
shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMMIT AUX NEG 3PL.O tree shoot with arrow
vt aux pron nf vt

onahara *oni*
o- na -hara o- ni
1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F
aux prt

""You shot them. I didn't shoot them. I shot my arrows into a log.""

108 *Tani* *towakimisa* *homaharani*
tani to- ka- ka -misa+F homa -hara -ni
weapon against away COMMIT go/come up lie on ground IP.E+F BKG+F
pn vi vi

AWITA FA YAFI

hiyamamonaha

hiyama -mona -ha
white-lipped peccary REP+M DUP
nm

"The arrows were all in a line. I thought it was a peccary, but it was a log lying."

109 **Wati ino baka one owakamakine**
wati ino baka o- na+M o- ka- ka -makI -ne
arrow point+M break 1SG.S AUX 1SG.S COMIT go/come following CONT+F
nm pn vt aux vt

o
o-
1SG.S
prt

"I broke off the arrow points, and have brought the arrows."

110 **Faya , faya fati , fatiterawabone , faya**
faya , faya fati , faterawabone , faya
so so 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife HAB F.PL INT+F so
conj conj nf nf

me hihiyare me hihiyara hinabebana
me hi- hiyara+M me hi- hiyara hi- nahaba -hibana
3PL.S OC speak to 3PL.S OC speak to OC at night FUT+M
pron vt pron vt prt

'His wives spoke to him at night.'

111 **Me hihiyara hinabeba**
me hi- hiyara hi- nahaba -hiba
3PL.S OC speak to OC at night FUT+M
pron vt prt

tafamatamatamonaka

tafa -mata -himata -mona -ka
eat short time FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi

'He ate first, and then they talked to him.'

112 **Tafe tafe ya , me hiyarematamona fahi**
tafa.NOM+M tafa+M ya , me hiyara -himata -mona fahi
eat eat ADJU 3PL.O speak to FP.N+M REP+M then
vi vi prt pron vt dem

'He ate. After he ate, he spoke to them.'

113 **Hiyama me , hiyama me me**
hiyama me , hiyama me me
white-lipped peccary 3PL white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S
nm pron nm pron pron

tisa hinani me , me abani me
tisa hi- na -hani me , me ahaba -hani me
shoot with arrow OC AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O 3PL.S die IP.N+F 3PL.O
vt aux pron pron vi pron

te awaba me awineke
tee awa -haba me awine -ke
2PL.S see FUT+F 3PL.O seem+F DECL+F
pron vt pron sec

"You are going to see the peccaries that died when the others shot them with arrows."

AWITA FA YAFI

114 *Me* *abowi* *iso* *ona* *me* *abowi* *so*
 me abohi iso o- na+F me abohi soo
 3PL.POSS dead body carry off 1SG.S AUX 3PL.POSS dead body lie
 pron pn vt aux pron pn vi

nifehara *ahi* , *te* *ka* *yibote* *mati* *te* *ka*
 na -fI -hara ahi , tee ka yibote mati tee ka
 AUX water IP.E+F then 2PL POSS husband 3PL 2PL POSS
 aux dem pron prt nm pron pron prt

kakayawa *mati*
 ka- ka- yawa mati
 DUP COMIT be upset 3PL
 pn pron

"I carried the dead peccaries that your husbands killed, who you like so much, and they are in the water."

115 *Aya* *owa* *kasawari* *nofe* *ka* *mebone* *me* *fama* ,
 aya owa ka- sawari nofa+M ka me -bone me fama+F
 this 1SG.O COMIT frustrate recently POSS 3PL INT+F 3PL.S be two
 dem pron vt prt prt pron pron vi

me *soki* *okomisa* *mati*
 me soki o- ka- na -misa+F mati
 3PL.O tie up 1SG.S COMIT AUX up 3PL.O
 pron vt aux pron

"There are two for the one who always complains about me, that I tied up."

116 *Te* *tai* *toama*
 tee tai to- ha -ma
 2PL.S be ahead CH AUX back
 pron vi aux

"You go on ahead."

117 *Oyotoabana* *oke*
 o- yoto -habana o- ke
 1SG.S follow FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt

"I will come behind."

118 *Me* *te* *towakahi* , *bani* *me* *me* *weye*
 me tee to- ka- ka -hi , bani me me weye
 3PL.O 2PL.S away COMIT go/come IMP+F animal 3PL.O 3PL.S carry
 pron pron vt nm pron pron vt

naba *mati*
 na -haba mati
 AUX FUT+F 3PL.S
 aux pron

"You go with the ones who will carry the animals."

119 *Me* *itariyahi*
 me ita -ra -yahi
 3PL.S stay NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron vi

"No one should stay in the village."

120 *Me* *nafi* *toabone* *onara* *oni* ,
 me nafi to- ha -habone ati o- na -hara o- ni
 3PL.POSS all CH be INT+F say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 pron pn vc vt prt

AWITA FA YAFI

me nafi
 me nafi
 3PL.POSS all
 pron pn
 "Everyone should go."

121 *Me nafi toka me faya tafe itari*
 me nafi to- ka+F me faya tafa+M ita -rI+M
 3PL.POSS all away go/come 3PL.POSS so eat sit raised surface
 pron pn vi pron conj vi vi

, *hinakaso hinatafe itari* ,
 hinaka aso hi- na- tafa+M ita -rI+M
 3SG.POSS father's sister OC CAUS eat sit raised surface
 nf vt vi

hinakaso hinatafe ya faya
 hinaka aso hi- na- tafa+M ya faya
 3SG.POSS father's sister OC CAUS eat ADJU so
 nf vt prt conj

tokomake bai bai nokorise ya ahi
 to- ka -makI bahi , bahi noko -risa.NOM+M ya ahi
 away go/come following sun sun point down ADJU then
 vi nm nm vi prt dem

'They all went. He sat in the house eating. He sat as his mother-in-law gave him food. After his mother-in-law fed him, he went after the others, at noon.'

122 *Bai nokorise ya*
 bahi noko -risa.NOM+M ya
 sun point down ADJU
 nm vi prt

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

'At noon he went after the others.'

123 *Fawa nematamonaka ahi*
 fawa na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 disappear AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi aux dem

'He disappeared.'

124 *Hiyama me one weweye*
 hiyama me one we- weye
 white-lipped peccary 3PL other+F DUP carry
 nm pron adj pn

wataremetemoneni
 wata -ra -hemete -mone -ni
 exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi

'There weren't enough people to carry all the peccaries.'

125 *Owa kasawari nofe sawibonaka*
 owa ka- sawari nofa+M sawi -hibona -ka
 1SG.O COMIT frustrate recently be present INT+M DECL+M
 pron vt prt vi

"The one who always complains about me is going to go along."

AWITA FA YAFI

126 *Fati* *ati* *kokoma* *naba*
 fati ati ko- koma na -haba
 3SG.POSS.wife voice DUP hurt AUX FUT+F
 nf pn vi aux

'His wife wasn't afraid to ask him.'

127 *Tisawihabone* , *tisawihabone* *ati*
 ti- sawi -habone ti- sawi -habone ati
 2SG.S be present INT+F 2SG.S be present INT+F say
 vi vi vt

narene

na -hare -ne
 AUX IP.E+M BKG+M
 aux

""He said you should go, too.""

128 *Aa* , *yama* *bete* *rima* *tina*
 aa yama bete na -rima ti- na
 (pause) thing pull AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX
 interj nf vt aux aux

'Don't break the thing.'⁷⁵

129 *Yama* *horo* *tiwiti* *hine* *ya*
 yama horo ti- to- na -witI hine ya
 thing drag 2SG.S away AUX out only ADJU
 nf vt aux pron prt

'Just pull it along.'

130 *Osawiabone* *ati* *nanoho* ?
 o- sawi -habone ati na.NOM+M -no -ho
 1SG.S be present INT+F say AUX IP.N+M DUP
 vi vt aux

""Did he say I should go?""

131 *Ee* *tisawiabone* *ati* *ne* *ati* *narene*
 ee ti- sawi -habone ati na+M ati na -hare -ne
 yes 2SG.S be present INT+F say AUX say AUX IP.E+M BKG+M
 interj vi vt aux vt aux

""Yes, he said you should go.""

132 *Tika* *hiyamabone* *me* *famamoneni*
 ti- ka hiyama -bone me fama -hamone -ni
 2SG.POSS POSS white-lipped peccary INT+F 3PL.S be two REP+F BKG+F
 prt nm pron vi

""He said there are two peccaries for you.""

133 *Ee* *osawiabana* *oke*
 ee o- sawi -habana o- ke
 yes 1SG.S be present FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 interj vi prt

""All right, I will go.""

134 *Me* *wete* *hikamisamone* *me* *hinarani*
 me wete hi- ka- na -misa -hamone me ati hi- na -hara -ni
 3PL.O tie OC COMIT AUX up REP+F 3PL.O say OC AUX IP.E+F BKG+F
 pron vt aux pron vt

75 This sentence and the next Siko said to a child who was present.

AWITA FA YAFI

"He said he tied them up."

135 *Me weye tinabone bisa*
 me weye ti- na -habone bisa
 3PL.O carry 2SG.S AUX INT+F also
 pron vt aux prt

"You are going to carry them."

136 *Tikasawari tinofe ka ati amane*
 ti- ka- sawari ti- nofa+M ka ati ama -ne
 2SG.S COMIT frustrate 2SG.S recently which voice be BKG+M
 vt prt prt pn vc

"He said this because you always complain about him."

137 *Tikasawari tinofarene*
 ti- ka- sawari ti- nofa -hare -ne
 2SG.S COMIT frustrate 2SG.S recently IP.E+M BKG+M
 vt prt

"You always complain about him."

138 *Ee okasawari onofareka*
 ee o- ka- sawari o- nofa -hare -ka
 yes 1SG.S COMIT frustrate 1SG.S recently IP.E+M DECL+M
 interj vt prt

"Right, I always complain about him."

139 *Tokomake me me kamemetemoneke*
 to- ka -makI me me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come following 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi pron pron vi

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He went. The others were coming back.'

140 *Hiyama me me kobo nami ya yana*
 hiyama me me kobo na -ma.NOM+F ya yana
 white-lipped peccary 3PL 3PL.S arrive AUX back ADJU start
 nm pron vi aux prt vi
ne tokomake tokomakematamonaka
 na+M to- ka -makI to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 AUX away go/come following away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux vi vi

'After the others had arrived back at the village, he left, and went after the other one.'

141 *Tokomake tokomaki ya*
 to- ka -makI to- ka -makI.NOM ya
 away go/come following away go/come following ADJU
 vi vi prt
hiyama tofi me kiha me weye ne bari
 hiyama tofi me kiha+M me weye na+M bari
 white-lipped peccary epiphyte sp 3PL.S have 3PL.O carry AUX back
 nm nm pron vt pron vt aux pn

AWITA FA YAFI

hiyematamona

hiya -himata -mona
be bad FP.N+M REP+M
vi

'As he was going, the other one was carrying the peccaries that had the *tofi* aerial roots, and his back was bad.'

142 **Bari tofi atine tiwaterini** ?
bari tofi atine ti- awa -tee -ra -ni
back epiphyte sp thorn+M 2SG.S see HAB NEG BKG+F
pn nm pn vt

'Have you seen the thorns on the *tofi* aerial roots?'

143 **Bari okookoko nematamonaka ahi**
bari oko- okoko na -himata -mona -ka ahi
back DUP be peeled off AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
pn vi aux dem

'His back was messed up.'

144 **Hoo hiyama me koro osabana**
hoo hiyama me koro o- to- na -kosa -habana
whew white-lipped peccary 3PL.O throw 1SG.S CH AUX middle FUT+F
interj nm pron vt aux

oke

o- ke
1SG.S DECL+F
prt

""Whew, I'm going to leave the peccaries behind.""

145 **Owa me kakasoma ra owa tiwa**
owa me ka- ka- soma na -ra+F owa ti- awa
1SG.O 3PL.S DUP COMIT help AUX NEG 1SG.O 2SG.S see
pron pron vt aux pron vt

""There is no one helping me.""

146 **Me tokomake me fawa**
me to- ka -makI , me fawa
3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.S disappear
pron vi pron vi

tosami ya Tiwa kasomebonaka ati
to- na -kosa -ma.NOM+F ya , tiwa ka- soma -hibona -ka ati
CH AUX middle back ADJU 2SG.O COMIT help INT+M DECL+M say
aux prt pron vt vt vt

ne kamaki awane fati ati
na+M ka -makI+M awa -ne , fati ati
AUX go/come following seem+M BKG+M 3SG.POSS.wife say
aux vi sec nf vt

nemetemone

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

'They went and entered the forest. "He said he would help you, and he is coming," his wife said.'

147 **Kamaki kamakimatamonaka**
ka -makI+M ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
go/come following go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi vi

AWITA FA YAFI

'He came on.'

148 *Waha towiti towawite*
 waha to- na -witI+M to- waa -witI ,
 turn away AUX out away stand out
 vi aux vi

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

'The other one went off the trail and waited as he came.'

149 *Kamaki Hoo yama otosi katomake*
 ka -makI+M , hoo yama o- tosi katoma -ke
 go/come following whew thing 1SG.POSS waist attack DECL+F
 vi interj nf pn vt

'He came on. "Whew, this thing is hurting my lower back."'

150 *Tofi tofi fito kanehinoho tisehibona*
 tofi tofi fito ka- na -hino -ho , tisa -hibona
 epiphyte sp epiphyte sp rush COMIT AUX IP.N+M DUP undo INT+M
 nm nm vi aux vt

tofi hikasawari yama tisehimatamonaka
 tofi hi- ka- sawari+M , yama tisa -himata -mona -ka
 epiphyte sp OC COMIT frustrate thing undo FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vt nf vt

'He tried to untie the knotted *tofi* roots but he couldn't. He was trying to untie it.'

151 *Yama tise yama hikasawari bata*
 yama tisa+M , yama hi- ka- sawari+M bata
 thing undo thing OC COMIT frustrate surprise
 nf vt nf vt vt

hikanamebanoho
 hi- ka- na -ma -hiba -no -ho
 OC COMIT AUX back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 aux

'He was trying to untie it, but couldn't, and then the other one surprised him.'

152 *Yaka nakosamakimatamonaka*
 yaka na -kosa -makI -himata -mona -ka
 walk AUX middle following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'He walked fast to catch up with him.'

153 *Himata himata bisi* ?
 himata himata bisi
 what? what? scratch
 interrog interrog vt

""What are you picking at?""

154 *Hiyama me okatisabone me e*
 hiyama me o- ka- tisa -habone me ee
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 1SG.S COMIT undo INT+F 3PL.O 1IN.S
 nm pron vt pron pron

AWITA FA YAFI

weye nikimahabone mati
 weye na -kima -habone mati
 carry AUX two INT+F 3PL.O
 vt aux pron

"I'm trying to untie the peccaries, so that we can each carry one."

155 *Me weye timisamahi*
 me weye ti- na -misa -ma -hi
 3PL.O carry 2SG.S AUX up back IMP+F
 pron vt aux

"Put them back on your back."

156 *Hiya tiwa yoko okobe*
 hiya tiwa yoko o- ka- na -be
 come on 2SG.O push 1SG.S COMIT AUX IMMED+F
 interj pron vt aux

"Here, I'll push the pack onto you."

157 *Me weye himisametemone*
 me weye hi- na -misa -ma -hemete -mone
 3PL.O carry OC AUX up back FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vt aux

'He put them back on his back.'

158 *Otosi hiyakare*
 o- tosi hiya -ka -re
 1SG.POSS waist be bad DECL NEG+F
 pn vi

"My lower back is bad."

159 *Titosi amosaba awineni*
 ti- tosi amosa -haba awine -ni
 2SG.S waist be good FUT+F seem+F BKG+F
 pn vi sec

"Your lower back will be all right."

160 *Ka namaba awineke*
 kaa na -ma -haba awine -ke
 get better AUX back FUT+F seem+F DECL+F
 vi aux sec

"It will heal."

161 *Me weye himisami ya Hike ya me wara*
 me weye hi- na -misa -ma.NOM+F ya hike ya me wara
 3PL.O carry OC AUX up back ADJU far ADJU 3PL.O grab
 pron vt aux prt nf prt pron vt

tinabanake

ti- to- na -habana -ke
 2SG.S CH AUX FUT+F DECL+F
 aux

'After he put them back on his back, "Up ahead you will take them."

162 *Me wara obeya hike ya*
 me wara o- to- na -be -ya hike ya
 3PL.O grab 1SG.S CH AUX IMMED+F now far ADJU
 pron vt aux nf prt

"I will take them up ahead."

AWITA FA YAFI

171 *Tiwa okasomene yama yaborini*
 tiwa o- ka- soma -hene yama yabo -ra -ni
 2SG.O 1SG.S COMIT help IRR+F thing be far NEG BKG+F
 pron vt nf vi

"I would help you, but it's not far."

172 *Hiyama me weye namisame ati ehene*
 hiyama me weye na -misa -ma+M ati ehene
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O carry AUX up back voice because of+M
 nm pron vt aux pn post

ati yoko namarematamonane kasawari aawa
 ati yoko na -ma -ra -himata -mona -ne ka- sawari.NFIN a- awa
 voice stop AUX back NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M COMIT resist DUP feel
 pn vi aux result vt
toe karo
 to- ha.NOM+M karo
 CH AUX because
 aux prt

'He put the peccaries back on his back, because he told him to. He wouldn't stop pestering him, because he remembered how he had been complained about.'

173 *Hiyama me hinawanamisamata*
 hiyama me hi- to- na- wana -misa -ma -tasa+F
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O OC away CAUS be attached up back again
 nm pron vt

me Me tiwakamakihi
 me me ti- to- ka- ka -makI -hi
 3PL.O 3PL.O 2SG.S away COMIT go/come following IMP+F
 pron pron vt

'He put the peccaries back on him. "Take them."'

174 *Me tikababa me amake*
 me ti- kaba -haba me ama -ke
 3PL.O 2SG.S eat FUT+F 3PL.O SEC DECL+F
 pron vt pron sec

"You are going to eat them."

175 *Me okobaraba me amake*
 me o- kaba -ra -haba me ama -ke
 3PL.O 1SG.S eat NEG FUT+F 3PL.O SEC DECL+F
 pron vt pron sec

"I'm not going to eat them."

176 *Tika hiyama mebone me ta ona*
 ti- ka hiyama me -bone me taa o- na+F
 2SG.POSS POSS white-lipped peccary 3PL INT+F 3PL.O give 1SG.S AUX
 prt nm pron pron vt aux

me amake
 me ama -ke
 3PL.O SEC DECL+F
 pron sec

"I am giving you the peccaries."

AWITA FA YAFI

177 **Tokomakematamonaka** *ohi nima*
to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka ohi na -nima
away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M cry AUX about to
vi vi aux

biti rari
na -biti na -ra -haari
AUX a little AUX NEG IP.E+M
aux aux

'He went on, he was about to cry.'

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

'He went on.'

179 **Tokomake** , *Hoo ati nematamona*
to- ka -makI hoo ati na -himata -mona
away go/come following whew say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
vi interj vt aux

'He went on. "Whew," he said.'

180 *Ife amare kamakihari mati ati*
ife ama -ra+M ka -makI -haari mati ati
this+M be NEG go/come following IP.E+M 3SG.POSS.mother say
dem vc vi nf vt

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

""That must be him coming," his mother said.'

181 **Kamaki** *kamakimatamona ahi*
ka -makI+M ka -makI -himata -mona ahi
go/come following go/come following FP.N+M REP+M then
vi vi dem

'He was still coming behind.'

182 **Kamaki** , *yama kakasi raba ra hiri*
ka -makI+M yama ka- kasi na -raba na -ra+F hiri
go/come following thing DUP be naughty AUX a bit AUX NEG do
vi nf vi aux aux vt

ne yoyoto tosi nematamonaka
na+M yo- yoto to- na -sii na -himata -mona -ka
AUX DUP follow CH AUX slowly along the way AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux vi aux aux

hike ya ahi , hahaha nari ahi
hike ya ahi ha- haahaa na -haari ahi
far ADJU there DUP laugh AUX IP.E+M then
nf prt dem vi aux dem

'He was coming behind, being naughty. He came along a ways behind, slowly, laughing to himself.'

183 **Eeto** *raba rini waha*
e- eheto na -raba na -ra -ni waha
DUP be good AUX a bit AUX NEG BKG+F now
vi aux aux prt

""This is good now.""

AWITA FA YAFI

184 *Faya kamaki hiyama me* ,
 faya ka -makI+M hiyama me
 so go/come following white-lipped peccary 3PL
 conj vi nm pron
hiyama me koro nisematamonaka ahi
 hiyama me koro na -risa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.0 throw AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm pron vt aux dem

iii
 iii
 (sound of falling)
 sound

'He came and threw off the peccaries. They fell down, iii.'

185 *Hoo manakoba amara ama*
 hoo manako -ba ama -ra+F ama
 whew revenge FUT be NEG SEC
 interj pn vc sec

'''Whew, I'm going to make him pay.'''

186 *Manakoba amani*
 manako -ba ama -ni
 revenge FUT be BKG+F
 pn vc

'''I'm going to get him back.'''

187 *Ee manako tihabisabaya*
 ee manako ti- to- ha -bisa -ba -ya
 yes revenge 2SG.S CH pay back also IMMED+M now
 interj nf vd

'''Yes, you get him back.'''

188 *Iti fare fe tonihatasebanoho* ?
 iti fare fee to- niha- ha -tasa -hiba -no -ho
 grandfather same+M 3SG.O CH CAUS be again FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 nm dem pron vt

'Grandpa, he made him do it again, right?'

189 *Ee fare he tonihatasebanoho*
 ee fare hee to- niha- ha -tasa -hiba -no -ho
 yes same+M 3SG.O CH CAUS be again FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 interj dem pron vt

'Yes, he made him do it again.'

190 *Manako amaraba ama* ?
 manako ama -ra -haba ama
 revenge be NEG FUT+F SEC
 nf vc sec

'''I'm going to get you back.'''

191 *Manakoba amake*
 manako -ba ama -ke
 revenge FUT be DECL+F
 pn vc

'''I'm going to get you back.'''

AWITA FA YAFI

192 *Manako owa tihibeya*
 manako owa ti- to- ha -be -ya
 revenge 1SG.O 2SG.S CH pay back IMMED+F now
 nf pron vd

"Get me back."

193 *Kamaki tokomake faya hinaka*
 ka -makI+M to- ka -makI faya hinaka
 go/come following away go/come following so 3SG.POSS
 vi vi conj pron

hiyama bako hinakaso
 hiyama bako hinaka aso
 white-lipped peccary chest+M 3SG.POSS father's sister
 nm pn nf

hikaware bako kabe
 hi- ka- waa -rI bako kaba+M
 OC COMIT cook raised surface chest+M eat
 vt pn vt

towitaremaka Hee manako te ibe
 to- ita -rI -makI , hee , manako tee ibe
 away sit raised surface following hey revenge 2PL.POSS RECIP
 vi interj nf pron pn

tohikima na toahi
 to- ha -kima.LIST na to- ha -hi
 CH pay back two AUX CH AUX IMP+F
 vd aux aux

'He went to the house. His mother-in-law cooked the breast of one of the peccaries, and he sat there and ate it. "Hey, you get him back."

194 *Te ibe kasawari nofa teni*
 tee ibe ka- sawari nofa+F tee -ni
 2PL.POSS RECIP COMIT frustrate recently 2PL.POSS BKG+F
 pron pn vt prt pron

hinakaso ati nemetemoneke
 hinaka aso ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 3SG.POSS father's sister say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vt aux

"You are always complaining about each other," his mother-in-law said.'

195 *Me haha hikanematamona tosi ahi*
 me haahaa hi- ka- na -himata -mona tosi ahi
 3PL.S laugh OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M waist then
 pron vi aux pn dem

'The others were laughing at his lower back.'

196 *Tofi inoino raba tere*
 tofi ino- ino na -raba na -tee -ra+M
 epiphyte sp DUP be sharp AUX a bit AUX HAB NEG
 nm vi aux aux

karimematamonane bari ataro
 karima -himata -mona -ne bari ataro
 suffer from FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M back skin+M
 vt pn pn

'He got *tofi* roots on the skin of his back, and they are very spiny.'

AWITA FA YAFI

197 *Faya hiyama me toke hiyama*
 faya hiyama me toka+M hiyama
 so white-lipped peccary 3PL.O partially burn white-lipped peccary
 conj nm pron vt nm

me tokematamonaka
 me toka -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.O partially burn FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt

'He burned the hair off the peccaries.'

198 *Hiyama me toke hiyama me*
 hiyama me toka+M hiyama me
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O partially burn white-lipped peccary 3PL.O
 nm pron vt nm pron

bobi ne bati bati hiyama me
 bobi na+M bati bati hiyama me
 slit AUX 3SG.POSS.father 3SG.POSS.father white-lipped peccary 3PL.O
 vt aux nm nm nm pron

bobi nematamona hiyama me hitoka
 bobi na -himata -mona hiyama me hi- toka+F
 slit AUX FP.N+M REP+M white-lipped peccary 3PL.O OC partially burn
 vt aux nm pron vt

mati
 mati
 3PL.O
 pron

'He burned the hair off the peccaries. He gutted them, his father gutted the peccaries that he had burned the hair off of.'

199 *Abi hiyama me bobi tina*
 abi hiyama me bobi ti- na
 father white-lipped peccary 3PL.O slit 2SG.S AUX
 nm nm pron vt aux

""Father, cut up the peccaries.""

200 *Me tabasi tibeya*
 me tabasi ti- na -be -ya
 3PL.O roast on grill 2SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 pron vt aux

""Roast them on the rack.""

201 *Owa me yokoarake*
 owa me yoko -hara -ke
 1SG.O 3PL.S bring misfortune on IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron pron vt

""They caused misfortune for me.""

202 *Me ka kakasawari kasawari , tama*
 me ka ka- ka- sawari ka- sawari tama
 3PL POSS DUP COMIT frustrate COMIT frustrate hold onto
 pron prt nf vt vt

tikani tinofa me ka hiyama tiwa
 ti- ka- na ti- nofa+F me ka hiyama tiwa
 2SG.S COMIT AUX 2SG.S recently 3PL POSS white-lipped peccary 2SG.O
 aux prt pron prt nm pron

AWITA FA YAFI

me ma tonihineni
 me maa to- niha- ha -ne -ni
 3PL.S be tired CH CAUS AUX CONT+F BKG+F
 pron vi aux

"You were always holding a grudge against them, and their peccaries tired you out."

203 *Hiyama me , hiyama me me bobi*
 hiyama me hiyama me me bobi
 white-lipped peccary 3PL white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S slit
 nm pron nm pron pron vt

na hiyama me me tabasi
 na+F hiyama me me tabasi
 AUX white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill
 aux nm pron pron vt

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

'They gutted the peccaries and roasted the peccaries on the rack.'

204 *Hiyama me me tabasi na me ,*
 hiyama me me tabasi na+F me
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt aux pron

kawemetemone ahi
 ka- waa -hemete -mone ahi
 COMIT stand FP.N+F REP+F then
 vi dem

'They roasted the peccaries, and they were on the rack.'

205 *Hii hiyama me katomematamona ,*
 hii hiyama me katoma -himata -mona
 wow! white-lipped peccary 3PL.O attack FP.N+M REP+M
 interj nm pron vt

Awita Fa yafi
 Awita Fa yafi
 (name of stream) inhabitant of
 npropf pn

'Wow, he killed lots of peccaries, the Awita Fa Yafi man.'

206 *Awita Fa yafi hiyama me*
 Awita Fa yafi hiyama me
 (name of stream) inhabitant of white-lipped peccary 3PL.O
 npropf pn nm pron

katomematamonane
 katoma -himata -mona -ne
 attack FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vt

'The Awita Fa Yafi man killed lots of peccaries.'

207 *Me , hiyama me kaba natiha me ,*
 me hiyama me kaba nahatI+F me
 3PL white-lipped peccary 3PL.O eat daytime 3PL.S
 pron nm pron vt prt pron

AWITA FA YAFI

'The two of them went a different direction. They went out to get back at each other.'

212 *Me towaka me , me*
 me to- ka- ka+F me , me
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron

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

'The two of them went out.'

213 *Me towaka me fawa*
 me to- ka- ka+F me fawa
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S disappear
 pron vi pron vi

tokasawitia , me fawa kani ya ,
 to- ka- na -kosa -witI+F , me fawa kani na.NOM+F ya ,
 away COMIT AUX middle out 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX ADJU
 aux pron vi aux prt

me fawa kani ya wafa me ati
 me fawa ka- na.NOM+F ya wafa me ati
 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX ADJU woolly monkey 3PL.POSS voice
 pron vi aux prt nm pron pn

me towasiwitia me , me ati
 me to- wasi -witI+F me , me ati
 3PL.S away find out 3PL.S 3PL.POSS voice
 pron vt pron pron pn

saimetemoneke
 sai -hemete -mone -ke
 be heard FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'They went out, and disappeared into the forest. After they disappeared, they came upon the voices of woolly monkeys. The woolly monkeys could be heard.'

214 *Siya siya siya*
 siya siya siya
 (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey)
 sound sound sound

siya siya siya
 siya siya siya
 (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey)
 sound sound sound

siya siya me ati
 siya siya me ati
 (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey) 3PL.S say
 sound sound pron vt

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

'"Siya, siya," they were saying.'

215 *Aa me tikaraboa , me*
 aa me ti- karaboha , me
 oh yes 3PL.O 2SG.S shoot with blowgun 3PL.O
 interj pron vt pron

AWITA FA YAFI

'He shot all the monkeys with darts.'

222	Wafa	me	foro	nemetemoneke	ahi
	wafa	me	foro	na -hemete -mone -ke	ahi
	woolly monkey	3PL.S	fall	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	then
	nm	pron	vi	aux	dem

'The monkeys fell.'

223	Hinaka	sare	tokowemetemone
	hinaka	sarehe	to- ka- waa -hemete -mone
	3SG.POSS	blowgun dart	away COMIT stand FP.N+F REP+F
	pron	nf	vi

'His darts hit their marks.'

224	Fora	hinemetemoneke	ahi
	fora	hi- na -hemete -mone -ke	ahi
	shoot with blowgun	OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	then
	vt	aux	dem

'He hit them with darts.'

225	Anoti	anoti	ayo
	anoti	anoti	ayo
	3SG.POSS older brother	3SG.POSS older brother	call older brother
	nm	nm	vt

hinahi	he	kakasawari	tohe	he	kakasawari
hi- na+M	hee	ka- ka- sawari	to- ha+M	hee	ka- ka- sawari
OC AUX	3SG.O	DUP COMIT frustrate	CH AUX	3SG.O	DUP COMIT frustrate
aux	pron	vt	aux	pron	vt

tohe	ene	watarematamonaka	fari
to- ha+M	ehene	wata -ra -himata -mona -ka	faari
CH AUX	victim of+M	exist NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	that one+M
aux	pn	vi	dem

'His older cousin, who he called "older brother," who was always complaining about him, didn't kill many monkeys.'

226	Faya wafa	me	fora	nematamonaka
	faya wafa	me	fora	na -himata -mona -ka
	so woolly monkey	3PL.O	shoot with blowgun	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	conj nm	pron	vt	aux

'He shot the monkeys with darts.'

227	Wafa	me	fora	ne	ya
	wafa	me	fora	na.NOM+M	ya
	woolly monkey	3PL.O	shoot with blowgun	AUX	ADJU
	nm	pron	vt	aux	prt

kamaki	kamaki	hiware
ka -makI+M	ka -makI+M	hi- awa -ra+M
go/come following	go/come following	OC see NEG
vi	vi	vt

kamakibisematamona
ka -makI -bisa -himata -mona
go/come following also FP.N+M REP+M
vi

'After he shot the monkeys with darts, he came toward his cousin. But the cousin didn't see him as he too came toward him.'

AWITA FA YAFI

228 *Kamaki* *wafa* *me* *kiyo*
 ka -makI+M wafa me kiyo
 go/come following woolly monkey 3PL.O chase
 vi nm pron vt

namakiti *me* *fora*
 na -makI -hitI+M me fora
 AUX following along the way 3PL.O shoot with blowgun
 aux pron vt

namakiti , *nokosi* *ya* *wafa*
 na -makI -hitI+M , nokosi ya wafa
 AUX following along the way in front of ADJU woolly monkey
 aux pn prt nm

karaboematamonaka *ahi* *faa tokoo saa*
 karaboha -himata -mona -ka ahi faa tokoo saa
 shoot with blowgun FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then (dart hitting animal)
 vt dem sound

'He came on running after the monkeys, and shooting at them. In front of him his cousin hit a monkey, faa tokoo saa.'

229 *Faya* *me* , *kiyari* *nemetemoneke* *me*
 faya me , kiya -ri na -hemete -mone -ke me
 so 3PL.S yell DISTR AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.O
 conj pron vi aux pron

fora *hina* *mati* *ahi* , *wafa* *biti* *mati*
 fora hi- na+F mati ahi , wafa biti mati
 shoot with blowgun OC AUX 3PL.O then woolly monkey young+M 3PL
 vt aux pron dem nm adj pron

'They cried out as he hit them, the young monkeys.'

230 *Yama* *hinaka* *sare* *tokowaremetemoneni*
 yama hinaka sarehe to- ka- waa -ra -hemete -mone -ni
 thing 3SG.POSS blowgun dart away COMIT stand NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 nf pron nf vi

'His darts found their marks.'

231 *Wafa* *me* *foro* *kanikima* *nemetemoneke* *ahi*
 wafa me foro na -kanikima na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 woolly monkey 3PL.S fall AUX scattered AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F here
 nm pron vi aux aux dem

'The monkeys were falling down all over.'

232 *Wafa* *me* *foro* *na* *me* , *Hima*
 wafa me foro na+F me , hima
 woolly monkey 3PL.S fall AUX 3PL.S let's go
 nm pron vi aux pron interj

'The monkeys were falling. "Let's go."'

233 *Wafa* *me* *ati* *fawa* *nisi* *ya* ,
 wafa me ati fawa na -risa.NOM+F ya
 woolly monkey 3PL.POSS voice stop AUX down ADJU
 nm pron pn vi aux prt

tokomakeno *kame* *wafa* *biti* *me*
 to- ka -makI -hino ka -ma+M wafa biti me
 away go/come following IP.N+M go/come back woolly monkey young+M 3PL.O
 vi vi nm adj pron

AWITA FA YAFI

tiwa kane kame , tasi name , Oof
 tiwa ka- na+M ka -ma+M , tasi na -ma+M , oof
 carry COMMIT AUX go/come back emerge AUX back hoo
 vt aux vi vi aux interj

'When the monkeys stopped crying out, he came from where he had gone, carrying some young monkeys on his shoulder. He appeared. "Whew."'

234 *Wamematamonaka , wafana famarawa*
 waa -ma -himata -mona -ka , wafana fama -rawa+F
 stand back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M female woolly monkey be two F.PL
 vi nf vi

tama karawari
 tama ka- na -rawa -haari
 hold onto COMMIT AUX F.PL IP.E+M
 vt aux

'He stood there, holding two female monkeys in his hands.'

235 *Me fora tini ?*
 me fora ti- na -ni
 3PL.O shoot with blowgun 2SG.S AUX BKG+F
 pron vt aux

"Did you shoot them with darts?"

236 *Me karaboi owatorarake*
 me karaboha.NFIN o- wato -ra -hara -ke
 3PL.O shoot with blowgun 1SG.S know NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vt vt

"I couldn't hit them."

237 *Wafa me kami ama ahi*
 wafa me ka -ma.NOM+F ama ahi
 woolly monkey 3PL.S go/come back be there
 nm pron vi vc dem

"But the monkeys came this way."

238 *Wafa me tokomi ahi*
 wafa me to- ka -ma.NOM+F ahi
 woolly monkey 3PL.S away go/come back there
 nm pron vi dem

"The monkeys went the other way."

239 *Me ka matehe ohi kanani*
 me ka matehe ohi ka- na -hani
 3PL POSS children cry COMMIT AUX IP.N+F
 pron prt nf vi aux

owakamine o
 o- ka- ka -ma -ne o-
 1SG.S COMMIT go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S
 vt prt

"I'm bringing two of their young ones that were crying."

240 *Wafa me fora tina me ka matehe*
 wafa me fora ti- na+F me ka matehe
 woolly monkey 3PL.O shoot with blowgun 2SG.S AUX 3PL POSS children
 nm pron vt aux pron prt nf

AWITA FA YAFI

245 *Me towakama me me towakama*
 me to- ka- ka -ma+F me me to- ka- ka -ma+F
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back
 pron vi pron pron vi

me wafa me fara me yaka ni ya
 me wafa me fara me yaka na.NOM+F ya
 3PL.S woolly monkey 3PL same+F 3PL.S move AUX ADJU
 pron nm pron dem pron vi aux prt

wafa me abowi yaka nemetemone ahi
 wafa me abohi yaka na -hemete -mone ahi
 woolly monkey 3PL.POSS dead body walk AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 nm pron pn vi aux dem

'They went there. The monkeys had fallen dead in a line right below where they had been up high.'

246 *Me me hiwakama me me ta*
 me me hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F me me taa
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back 3PL.O 3PL.S be piled up
 pron pron vt pron pron vi

torememetemone ahi
 to- na -rI -ma -hemete -mone ahi
 away AUX raised surface back FP.N+F REP+F then
 aux dem

'They took them. They were in a pile.'

247 *Me me hinakamata me me ta*
 me me hi- na- ka -ma -tasa+F me me taa
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC CAUS go/come back again 3PL.O 3PL.S be piled up
 pron pron vt pron pron vi

torema haha me yana hikani
 to- na -rI -ma+F , haaha me yana hi- ka- na.NOM+F
 away AUX raised surface back this+F 3PL.O start OC COMIT AUX
 aux dem pron vi vt

ka me me hiyabamata me me ta
 ka me me hi- yaba -ma -tasa+F me me taa
 which 3PL.O 3PL.S OC pick up back again 3PL.O 3PL.S be piled up
 prt pron pron v pron pron vi

torema wafa me iso
 to- na -rI -ma+F , wafa me iso
 away AUX raised surface back woolly monkey 3PL.O carry off
 aux nm pron vt

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

'They came back and got some more. They were in the pile. Then they picked up the first ones he had killed. They were in the pile. They were carrying the monkeys.'

248 *Wafa me iso na me wafa me me*
 wafa me iso na+F me wafa me me
 woolly monkey 3PL.O carry off AUX 3PL.S woolly monkey 3PL 3PL
 nm pron vt aux pron nm pron pron

wafa me me wete nemetemoneke
 wafa me me wete na -hemete -mone -ke
 woolly monkey 3PL.O 3PL.S tie AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron pron vt aux

'They carried the monkeys. They tied up the monkeys.'

AWITA FA YAFI

249 *Me me wete hina me , me*
 me me wete hi- na+F me , me
 3PL.O 3PL.S tie OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron pron vt aux pron pron

homemetemone ahi
 homa -hemete -mone ahi
 lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F then
 vi dem

'They tied them up, and they were in a bunch on the ground.'

250 *Fare he kasawari nofahi , me nafi*
 fare hee ka- sawari nofa+M , me nafi
 same+M 3SG.O COMIT frustrate recently 3PL.POSS all
 dem pron vt prt pron pn

hihahemetemone fahi , ma toabona karo
 hi- iha -hemete -mone fahi , maa to- ha.NOM+M -bona karo
 OC have FP.N+F REP+F then be tired CH AUX INT+M so that
 vt dem vi aux prt

'The one who always complained about him carried them all, so he would get tired out.'

251 *Ma toabona ka me nafi*
 maa to- ha.NOM+M -bona ka me nafi
 be tired CH AUX INT+M so that 3PL.POSS all
 vi aux prt pron pn

hihemetemone
 hi- iha -hemete -mone
 OC have FP.N+F REP+F
 vt

'He took them all so he would get tired out.'

252 *Me hinaka me tatama rama , Me nafi weye*
 me hinaka me ta- tama rama , me nafi weye
 3PL 3SG.POSS 3PL.S DUP be many unusual 3PL.POSS all carry
 pron pron pron vi prt pron pn vt

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

'But he had just a few. "You carry them all."'

253 *Ha me weye okoba ha*
 haa me weye o- ka- na.NOM -ba haa
 DEM 3PL.O carry 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT DEM
 dem pron vt aux dem

'"I will carry these few."'

254 *Me weye okoba haro*
 me weye o- ka- na.NOM -ba haaro
 3PL.O carry 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT that one+F
 pron vt vt dem

'"I will carry these few."'

255 *Tika tika me fama , oko me ya*
 ti- ka ti- ka me fama+F , o- ka me ya
 2SG.POSS POSS 2SG.POSS POSS 3PL.S be two 1SG.POSS POSS 3PL ADJU
 prt prt pron vi prt pron prt

AWITA FA YAFI

me *taba* *me* *weye* *okanabanake*
 me taba+F me weye o- ka- na -habana -ke
 3PL.S be together 3PL.O carry 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+F DECL+F
 pron vi pron vt aux

"I will carry your two, together with mine."

256 *Me* *weye* *okanaro* *e*
 me weye o- ka- na -haaro ee
 3PL.O carry 1SG.S COMIT AUX PFUT+F 1IN.S
 pron vt aux pron

towakamaba *eke*
 to- ka- ka -ma -haba ee -ke
 away COMIT go/come back FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F
 vi pron

"I will carry them and we will go back."

257 *Me* *nafi* *wete* *tina* *haro*
 me nafi wete ti- na haaro
 3PL.POSS all tie 2SG.S AUX that one+F
 pron pn vt aux dem

"Tie them all together."

258 *Wafa* *me* *wete* *nematamonaka* *ahi*
 wafa me wete na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 woolly monkey 3PL.O tie AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm pron vt aux dem

'He tied the monkeys.'

259 *Wafa* *me* *wete* *ne* , *wafa* *me* *wete* *ne*
 wafa me wete na+M , wafa me wete na+M
 woolly monkey 3PL.O tie AUX woolly monkey 3PL.O tie AUX
 nm pron vt aux nm pron vt aux

wafa *me* *iiti* *nematamona*
 wafa me i- iti na -himata -mona
 woolly monkey 3PL.O DUP pick up AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm pron vt aux

'He tied the monkeys. He tried lifting the monkeys.'

260 *Ahe* , *kanahake*
 ahe , kanaha -ke
 oh man be heavy DECL+F
 interj vi

"Oh man, it's heavy."

261 *Me* *wara* *obeya* *hike* *ya*
 me wara o- to- na -be -ya hike ya
 3PL.O grab 1SG.S CH AUX IMMED+F now far ADJU
 pron vt aux nf prt

"I will take my turn carrying them up ahead."

262 *Me* *weweye* *tinibahi*
 me we- weye ti- na -baha -hi
 3PL.O DUP carry 2SG.S AUX before IMP+F
 pron vt aux

"You carry them first."

AWITA FA YAFI

263 *Me wara hinabone hikeyematamonane*
 me wara hi- to- na -habone hi- keyeha -himata -mona -ne
 3PL.O grab OC CH AUX INT+F OC deceive FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 pron vt aux vt

'He tricked him into carrying them.'

264 *Hikeye hikeye weyeye hinihe tai*
 hi- keyeha+M , hi- keyeha+M weye -ye hi- niha- na+M tai
 OC deceive OC deceive carry DUP OC CAUS AUX be ahead
 vt vt vt aux vi

hinihame Tai tihama
 hi- to- niha- ha -ma+M tai ti- to- ha -ma
 OC CH CAUS AUX back be ahead 2SG.S CH AUX back
 aux vi aux

'He tricked him and made him carry them. He made him go ahead. "You go ahead."'

265 *Mi omatibe*
 mii o- na -mata -be
 defecate 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F
 vi aux

"I need to defecate."

266 *Mi nebona mi re*
 mii na -hibona , mii na -ra+M ,
 defecate AUX INT+M defecate AUX NEG
 vi aux vi aux

itarimatamonaka
 ita -rI -himata -mona -ka
 sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He went to defecate, but he didn't defecate. He just sat on a log.'

267 *Itari tokome tokome ma*
 ita -rI+M to- ka -ma+M , to- ka -ma+M maa
 sit raised surface away go/come back away go/come back be tired
 vi vi vi vi

toeno hasi neno itarino , tabiyo
 to- ha -hino hasi na -hino ita -rI -hino ,
 CH AUX IP.N+M rest AUX IP.N+M sit raised surface IP.N+M
 aux vi aux vi absence
 pn

yama aawa tosi nemata
 yama a- awa to- na -sii na -himata
 thing DUP see CH AUX slowly along the way AUX FP.N+M
 nf vt aux aux

'He sat there. The other one went on. He was tired, so he sat on a log and rested. The other one went along looking for him.'

268 *Tokomake tokomake tokomake*
 to- ka -makI to- ka -makI to- ka -makI
 away go/come following away go/come following away go/come following
 vi vi vi

tokomake , itarimatamonaka
 to- ka -makI , ita -rI -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come following sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi

'He went after him. He was sitting there.'

AWITA FA YAFI

269 *See* , *ma* *toaka*
 see , maa to- ha -ka
 oh no be tired CH AUX DECL+M
 interj vi aux

"Oh no, he's tired."

270 *Hine* *ma* *toa* *na*
 hine maa to- ha.NOM+M na
 only be tired CH AUX AUX
 pron vi aux aux

"Well, just let him be tired."

271 *Faya* *tokomake* *hiwasimaki* , *Fara*
 faya to- ka -makI hi- to- wasi -makI+M fara
 so away go/come following OC away find following same+F
 conj vi vt dem

'He went after him and came upon him. "Well?'"

272 *Hoo* , *ma* *oha* *oke*
 hoo , maa o- to- ha+F o- ke
 whew be tired 1SG.S CH AUX 1SG.S DECL+F
 interj vi aux prt

"Whew, I'm tired."

273 *Ma* *oha* *owitarine* *oni*
 maa o- to- ha+F o- ita -rI -ne o- ni
 be tired 1SG.S CH AUX 1SG.S sit raised surface CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi aux vi prt

"I'm sitting here because I'm tired."

274 *Me* *wara* *tinahi*
 me wara ti- to- na -hi
 3PL.O grab 2SG.S CH AUX IMP+F
 pron vt aux

"You take them now."

275 *Hike* *ya* *me* *wara* *obeya* , *hike* *ya*
 hike ya me wara o- to- na -be -ya , hike ya
 far ADJU 3PL.O grab 1SG.S CH AUX IMMED+F now far ADJU
 nf prt pron vt aux nf prt

"I will take my turn up ahead."

276 *Hike* *ya* *hike* *ya* *hike* *ya* *fa* *kaya* *ni* *ya* , *yama*
 hike ya hike ya hike ya faha kaya na.NOM+F ya , yama
 far ADJU far ADJU far ADJU water lie AUX ADJU thing
 nf prt nf prt nf prt nf vi aux prt nf

yabori *ka* *fa* *kaya* *ni* *ya* *me* *wara*
 yabo -ra+F ka faha kaya na.NOM+F ya me wara
 be far NEG LOC water lie AUX ADJU 3PL.O grab
 vi prt nf vi aux prt pron vt

onabana *fahi*
 o- to- na -habana fahi
 1SG.S CH AUX FUT+F then
 aux dem

"Up ahead where there is a stream nearby, I will take my turn."

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277 *Me wara hinabone me hiwakama*
 me wara hi- to- na -habone me hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F
 3PL.O grab OC CH AUX INT+F 3PL.O OC away COMMIT go/come back
 pron vt aux pron vt

me weye himisamatasa me
 me weye hi- na -misa -ma -tasa+F me
 3PL.O carry OC AUX up back again 3PL.O
 pron vt aux pron

hiwakama tokomematamonaka
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F , to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 OC away COMMIT go/come back away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt vi

'Because he said he was going to take his turn, he took them and put them on his back again. He took them and went on.'

278 *Tokome tokome Hoo ma*
 to- ka -ma+M , to- ka -ma+M , hoo , ma
 away go/come back away go/come back whew be tired
 vi vi interj vi

ohini
 o- to- ha -ni
 1SG.S CH AUX BKG+F
 aux

'He went on. "Whew, I'm tired."'

279 *Ma ohini*
 maa o- to- ha -ni
 be tired 1SG.S CH AUX BKG+F
 vi aux

'I'm tired.'

280 *Ma ohini*
 maa o- to- ha -ni
 be tired 1SG.S CH AUX BKG+F
 vi aux

'I'm tired.'

281 *Fa kaya na fa kaya na , fa fawebona waso bete*
 faha kaya na+F faha kaya na+F , faha fawa -hibona waso bete
 water lie AUX water lie AUX water drink INT+M leaf pull
 nf vi aux nf vi aux nf vt nf vt

nake waso bete nake waso waso keho
 na -kI , waso bete na -kI waso waso keho
 AUX coming leaf pull AUX coming leaf leaf wrap around
 aux nf vt aux nf nf vt

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

'There was a stream. He pulled off a leaf to drink water. He made a cup with the leaf.'

282 *Waso keho kane , fa kabi kane fa*
 waso keho ka- na+M , faha kabi ka- na+M faha
 leaf wrap around COMMIT AUX water dip out COMMIT AUX water
 nf vt aux nf vt aux nf

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fawematamonaka

fawa -himata -mona -ka
 drink FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

vt

'He made a cup with the leaf. He dipped some water and drank water.'

283 *Fa fawe , fa fawe , Hoo , aya me wara*
 faha fawa+M , faha fawa+M , hoo , aya me wara
 water drink water drink whew this 3PL.O grab
 nf vt nf vt interj dem pron vt

tiba ahi ?

ti- na.NOM -ba ahi
 2SG.S AUX FUT here
 aux dem

'He drank water. "Whew, is this where you are going to take your turn?"'

284 *Hike ya onara oke*
 hike ya ati o- na -hara o- ke
 far ADJU say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 nf prt vt prt

"I said further on."

285 *Yama yabomakare ahi*
 yama yabo -ma -ka -re ahi
 thing be far back DECL+M NEG+F there
 nf vi dem

"It's not far now."

286 *Tabora toineke ayata karo*
 tabora to- ha -ne -ke ayata karo
 village CH be CONT+F DECL+F near LOC
 nf vc nf prt

"The village is nearby."

287 *Hoo , ma oha owa aawa re tiwa*
 hoo maa o- to- ha+F owa a- awa na -ra+M ti- awa
 whew be tired 1SG.S CH AUX 1SG.O DUP see AUX NEG 2SG.S see
 interj vi aux pron vt aux vt

"Whew, I'm tired. Look at him, he doesn't have pity on me."

288 *Yama yabomarini*
 yama yabo -ma -ra -ni
 thing be far back NEG BKG+F
 nf vi

"It's not far anymore."

289 *Me weweye ro tinahi*
 me we- weye na -ro ti- na -hi
 3PL.O DUP carry AUX without stopping 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 pron vt aux aux

"You carry them."

290 *Oka me kanahabisa me weye one*
 o- ka me kanaha -bisa+F me weye o- na -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS 3PL.S be heavy also 3PL.O carry 1SG.S AUX CONT+F
 prt pron vi pron vt aux

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oke

o- ke
1SG.S DECL+F
prt

"The ones I'm carrying are heavy, too."

291 *Faya me towakama , ati*
faya me to- ka- ka -ma+F , ati
so 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back voice
conj pron vi pn

kasiromako wafa me towakame ,
kasiro -mako wafa me to- ka- ka -ma+M ,
persist for this reason+M woolly monkey 3PL.O away COMIT go/come back
vi nm pron vt

tokomematamonaka boti ya ahi yama weye
to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka boti ya ahi yama weye
away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M way down ADJU then thing carry
vi nf prt dem nf vt

nari ahi
na -haari ahi
AUX IP.E+M then
aux dem

'So they went on. Because the other one was a good talker, he took the monkeys on. He went on carrying the pack. He was bent over and could hardly be seen under the load.'

292 *Tokome tasi toname me hora*
to- ka -ma+M tasi to- na -ma+M me hora
away go/come back emerge away AUX back 3PL.S complain
vi vi aux pron vi

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

'He went on, and came into the village clearing. The people exclaimed about him.'

293 *Manakobisabone rama ahi*
manako -bisa -bone rama ahi
revenge also INT+F unusual then
pn prt dem

"There is the payment."

294 *Fawa namaki , ehene weye hibise*
fawa na -makI+M , ehene weye hi- na -bisa+M
disappear AUX following victim of+M carry OC AUX also
vi aux pn vt aux

awane mati ati nemetemone
awa -ne mati ati na -hemete -mone
seem+M BKG+M 3SG.POSS.mother say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
sec nf vt aux

"He is way back there carrying what my son killed," his mother said.'

295 *Manako te ibe tohikima nahi*
manako tee ibe to- ha -kima.LIST na -hi
revenge 2PL.POSS RECIP CH pay back two AUX IMP+F
nf pron pn vd aux

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onofara
 ati o- na nofa -hara o- ni
 say 1SG.S AUX recently IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vt prt
 "I told you to get even."

296 **Manakobone** , **kamakire**
 manako -bone ka -makI -ra+M
 revenge INT+F go/come following NEG
 pn vi

kamakirematamonane
 ka -makI -ra -himata -mona -ne
 go/come following NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi
 'He didn't come behind.'

297 **Wehimatamonane**
 waa -himata -mona -ne
 stand FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi

'He was standing there.'

298 **Tokome** **ene** **hora** **ne** , **wafa** **me**
 to- ka -ma+M ehene hora na+M wafa me
 away go/come back result of+M complain AUX woolly monkey 3PL.O
 vi pn vi aux nm pron

koro nisematamona
 koro na -risa -himata -mona
 throw AUX down FP.N+M REP+M
 vt aux

'The first one threw down the monkeys on the ground, as the people exclaimed about him.'

299 **Wafa** **me** **tamara** **mera** **weye** **kane**
 wafa me tama -ra+F mera weye ka- na+M
 woolly monkey 3PL.S be many NEG 3PL.O carry COMIT AUX
 nm pron vi pron vt aux

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

'The other went after him, carrying just a few monkeys.'

300 **Tokomake** , **tokomake** **kobo**
 to- ka -makI to- ka -makI kobo
 away go/come following away go/come following arrive
 vi vi vi

tonamake , **wafa** **me** **ibarise** **Oof** ,
 to- na -makI wafa me iba -risa+M oof
 away AUX following woolly monkey 3PL.O set down down hoo
 aux nm pron vt interj

hoo
 hoo
 humph
 interj

'He went and arrived. He set down the monkeys. "Whew, hoo."'

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301 **Mama** **ihi** **tohematamonane** **wafa**
 ma- maa ihi to- ha -himata -mona -ne wafa
 DUP be tired victim of+F CH be FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M woolly monkey
 nf pn vc nm

me **weye** **nari**
 me weye na -haari
 3PL.O carry AUX IP.E+M
 pron vt aux

'He was exhausted, carrying the monkeys.'

302 **Hiba** **owa** **ma** **tonihi** **ama**
 hiba owa maa to- niha- ha+M ama
 wait 1SG.O be tired CH CAUS AUX SEC
 interj pron vi aux sec

'He tired me out.'

303 **Manakobisa** **ohawebe** **ama** **owa** **te** **awaba**
 manako -bisa o- to- ha -waha -hiba ama owa tee awa -haba
 revenge also 1SG.S CH AUX change FUT+M SEC 1SG.O 2PL.S see FUT+F
 pn vt sec pron pron vt

te
 tee
 2PL.S
 pron

'I'm going to pay him back, you will see.'

304 **Faya** **afi** **nebona** **tokifiwame**
 faya afi na -hibona to- ka -fI -waha -ma+M
 so bathe AUX INT+M away go/come water change back
 conj vi aux vi

wafa **me** **me** **hitisa** **me** **ta**
 wafa me me hi- tisa+F me taa
 woolly monkey 3PL.O 3PL.S OC undo 3PL.S be piled up
 nm pron pron vt pron vi

torekanikima **nemetemoneke** **ahi**
 to- na -rI -kanikima na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 away AUX raised surface scattered AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux aux dem

'He went to the water to bathe. They untied the monkeys, and they were all scattered in a pile.'

305 **Me** **me** **hitisa** **me** **so** **kanikimemetemone** **ahi**
 me me hi- tisa+F me soo na -kanikima -hemete -mone ahi
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC undo 3PL.S lie AUX scattered FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron pron vt pron vi aux dem

'They untied them, and they were all scattered on the ground.'

306 **Biti** **me** **biti** **me** **weye** **kanaha** **biti** **me**
 biti me biti me weye ka- na+F biti me
 young+M 3PL young+M 3PL.S carry COMIT AUX young+M 3PL.S
 adj pron adj pron vt aux adj pron

hekitino **sawi** **biti**
 hi- ka- iti -hino sawi+M , biti
 OC COMIT pick up IP.N+M be present young+M
 vt vi adj

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sawimatamonaka

sawi -himata -mona -ka
 be present FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'The young monkey that they had picked up was there.'

307 *Afi ne afi toname kame Wafa*
 afi na+M afi to- na -ma+M ka -ma+M , wafa
 bathe AUX bathe away AUX back go/come back woolly monkey
 vi aux vi aux vi nm

me weye tinani me tiwa
 me weye ti- na -hani me ti- awa
 3PL.O carry 2SG.S AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O 2SG.S see
 pron vt aux pron vt

'He bathed. He went and bathed and came back. "Look at the monkeys that you carried."'

308 *Wafa me tama me weye one*
 wafa me tama+F me weye o- na -ne
 woolly monkey 3PL.S be many 3PL.O carry 1SG.S AUX CONT+F
 nm pron vi pron vt aux

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

'"I carried a lot of monkeys."'

309 *Manakobisaboneke*

manako -bisa -bone -ke
 revenge also INT+F DECL+F
 pn

'"I'm going to get him back."'

310 *Ee manakobisa tihebanane*
 ee manako -bisa ti- to- ha -hibana -ne
 yes revenge also 2SG.S CH AUX FUT+M BKG+M
 interj pn vt

'"Sure, you are going to get him back."'

311 *Towaki forima orareka*
 to- ka- ka.NFIN forima o- na -ra -hare -ka
 away COMIT go/come do properly 1SG.S AUX NEG IP.E+M DECL+M
 vt vi aux

'"I need to go out in the forest with him again."'

312 *Yama fora omakoni ama o*
 yama fora o- na -makoni ama o-
 thing shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX for this reason+F SEC 1SG.S
 nf vt aux sec prt

'"I didn't kill many animals with my blowgun."'

313 *Yama fora orara oke*
 yama fora o- na -ra -hara o- ke
 thing shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX NEG IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 nf vt aux prt

'"I didn't kill animals with my blowgun."'

AWITA FA YAFI

- 314 *Yama* *fora* *ora* *owa ni yama*
 yama fora o- na -ra+F owa ni yama
 thing shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX NEG 1SG to thing
 nf vt aux pron prt nf
- fora* *ne* , *ka wafa* *me weye*
 fora na+M , ka wafa me weye
 shoot with blowgun AUX which woolly monkey 3PL.O carry
 vt aux prt nm pron vt
- one* *oke* *ee* *ati* *nematamonaka*
 o- na -ne o- ke ee ati na -himata -mona -ka
 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F (pause) say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux prt interj vt aux
- "I didn't kill animals, but he killed woolly monkeys when he was with me, and I am carrying them," he said.'

- 315 *Faya* *me* , *haha* *rama* *nematamonane*
 faya me , haahaa na -rama na -himata -mona -ne
 so 3PL laugh AUX unusual AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 conj pron vi aux aux
- 'He laughed.'

- 316 *Haha* *rama* *ne* *wine* *tafematamonane*
 haahaa na -rama na+M wina+M tafa -himata -mona -ne
 laugh AUX unusual AUX lie in hammock eat FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi aux aux vi vi
- 'He laughed, and ate as he lay in his hammock.'

- 317 *Fati* *tefe* *hiwasirawe* *tafe* , *tafe*
 fati tefe hi- wasi -rawa+M tafa+M , tafa+M
 3SG.POSS.wife food+M OC find F.PL eat eat
 nf pn vt vi vi
- wina* *ne* , *tafi* *hawa* *toe* *ya* , *Hiba*
 wina.LIST na+M , tafa.NFIN hawa toe ha.NOM+M ya , hiba
 lie in hammock AUX eat be finished CH AUX ADJU wait
 vi aux vi vi aux prt interj
- afi* *omate*
 afi o- na -mate
 bathe 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F
 vi aux
- 'His wives cooked his food and he ate. He ate as he lay in his hammock. When he was done eating, "I'm going to bathe."

- 318 *Ota* *tataba* *rini*
 otaa ta- taba na -ra -ni
 1EX.S DUP be together AUX NEG BKG+F
 pron vi aux
- "Aren't we going along?"

- 319 *E* *tabibe*
 ee taba -be
 1IN.S be together IMMED+F
 pron vi
- "We'll go together."

- 320 *Te* *kakamake*
 tee ka- ka -makI
 2PL.S COMIT go/come following
 pron vi

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"You two come."

321	<i>Te</i>	<i>nafi</i>	<i>aafi</i>	<i>rima</i>		<i>nahi</i>	<i>hiba</i>	
	tee	nafi	a- afi	na -rima		na -hi	hiba	
	2PL.POSS	all	DUP bathe	AUX NEG.IMP+F		AUX IMP+F	wait	
	pron	pn	vi	aux		aux	interj	

"You all bathe together."

322	<i>E</i>	<i>tafa</i>	<i>hiwi</i>	<i>nofa</i>	<i>amani</i>	,	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hinaka</i>
	ee	tafa+F	hiwa	nofa+F	ama -ni		me	me	ka	hinaka
	1IN.S	eat	be hot	recently	SEC BKG+F		3PL	3PL	POSS	3SG.POSS
	pron	vi	vi	prt	sec		pron	pron	prt	pron

koma *ati* *nemetemone*
koma ati na -hemete -mone
daughter-in-law say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
nf vt aux

"When we eat we get hot," his daughter-in-law said.'

323	<i>Faya</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>towakama</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>
	faya	me	to- ka- ka	-ma+F	me	me
	so	3PL.S	away	COMIT go/come back	3PL.S	3PL.S
	conj	pron	vi		pron	pron

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

'They went.'

324	<i>Me</i>	<i>tokoma</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>afi</i>	<i>tonama</i>		<i>me</i>	,
	me	to- ka	-ma+F	me	afi	to- na	-ma+F	me	
	3PL.S	away go/come back		3PL.S	bathe	away	AUX back	3PL.S	
	pron	vi		pron	vi	aux		pron	

wafa *me* *me* *tokemetemoneke* *ahi*
wafa me me toka -hemete -mone -ke ahi
woolly monkey 3PL.O 3PL.S partially burn FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
nm pron pron vt dem

'They went and bathed. They singed the hair off the woolly monkeys.'

325	<i>Me</i>	<i>bobi</i>	<i>nati</i>		<i>ita</i>	,	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>bobi</i>
	me	bobi	na nahatI+M		ita.LIST		me	me	bobi
	3PL.O	slit	AUX daytime		sit		3PL.O	3PL.S	slit
	pron	vt	aux		vi		pron	pron	vt

hinemetemoneke *ahi* *wafa* *yebote* *mati*
hi- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi wafa yehebote mati
OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then woolly monkey fatty 3PL
aux dem nm adj pron

'He sat cutting them up all day. They cut them up, the fat monkeys.'

326	<i>Me</i>	<i>yoti</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>hikaba</i>	,	<i>me</i>	<i>yoti</i>
	me	yoti		me	hi- kaba.LIST		me	yoti
	3PL.POSS	intestines+F		3PL.S	OC eat		3PL.POSS	intestines+F
	pron	pn		pron	vt		pron	pn

me *hikaba* *hinemetemoneni*
me hi- kaba+F hi- na -hemete -mone -ni
3PL.S OC eat OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
pron vt aux

'They ate the intestines.'

AWITA FA YAFI

327 *Me* *yoti* *me* *hikabamina* , *me* *wahati* ,
 me yoti me hi- kaba -mina+F , me wahati ,
 3PL.POSS intestines+F 3PL.S OC eat morning 3PL.POSS liver
 pron pn pron vt pron pn

me *wati* *me* *hikabemetemoneni* *ahi* .
 me wahati me hi- kaba -hemete -mone -ni ahi .
 3PL.POSS liver 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F then
 pron pn pron vt dem

'They ate the intestines the next day, also the livers.'

328 *Me* *yoti* *me* *hiwariemetemone* -hemete -mone
 me yoti me hi- waa -rI -hemete -mone
 3PL.POSS intestines+F 3PL.S OC cook raised surface FP.N+F REP+F
 pron pn pron vt

me *nafi* , *hinaka* *komarawaha* .
 me nafi , hinaka koma -rawa -ha .
 3PL.POSS all 3SG.POSS daughter-in-law F.PL DUP
 pron pn pron nf

'They cooked the intestines of the monkeys, all of them, his daughters-in-law.'

329 *Hinaka* *koma* *tafarawemetemoneke* *ahi* .
 hinaka koma tafa -rawa -hemete -mone -ke ahi .
 3SG.POSS daughter-in-law eat F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron nf vi dem

'His daughters-in-law ate.'

330 *Hinaka* *koma* *tafarawa* , *bani* *me* *me* *ai*
 hinaka koma tafa -rawa+F , bani me me ai
 3SG.POSS daughter-in-law eat F.PL animal 3PL.O 3PL.S work on
 pron nf vi nm pron pron vt

na *me* *ni* *ya* *sasawiwa* *namatamona* .
 na+F me ni ya sa- sawi -waha na.NOM+M -mata -mona .
 AUX 3PL to ADJU DUP be present change AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 aux pron prt prt vi aux

'His daughters-in-law ate. He didn't stay with them as they were working on the animals.'

331 *Wiwina* *nematamonaka* *kamahari* .
 wi- wina na -himata -mona -ka ka -ma -haari .
 DUP lie in hammock AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M go/come back IP.E+M
 vi aux vi

'The other one lay in his hammock after he got back.'

332 *Winame* *Haa* *ma* *ohara* *oke*
 wina -ma+M haa maa o- to- ha -hara o- ke
 lie in hammock back hey be tired 1SG.S CH AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi interj vi aux prt

'He lay in his hammock. "I'm tired."'

333 *Me* *kanaha* *me* *weye* *onara* *oni* , *ati*
 me kanaha+F me weye o- na -hara o- ni , ati
 3PL.S be heavy 3PL.O carry 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F say
 pron vi pron vt aux prt vt

AWITA FA YAFI

nematamona

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

'I carried the heavy monkeys," he said.'

334 *Hahi wafa me weye ne hiwa katome*
haahi wafa me weye na+M hiwa katoma+M
this one+M woolly monkey 3PL.O carry AUX 3SG.REFL.M attack
dem nm pron vt aux pron vt

komakomama , kawinematamonane
koma- koma -ma ka- wina -himata -mona -ne
DUP hurt DUP COMIT lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
vi vi

'He had really exerted himself as he carried the monkeys. He was hurting, and he lay in his hammock.'

335 *Hoo otosi komakoma na wafa me weye*
hoo o- tosi koma- koma na+F wafa me weye
whew 1SG.POSS waist DUP hurt AUX woolly monkey 3PL.O carry
interj pn vi aux nm pron vt

otasine oke
o- na -tasa -ne o- ke
1SG.S AUX again CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
aux prt

'Whew, my back is hurting, and I carried monkeys again.'

336 *Ebe ebe*
ebe ebe
dear dear
voc voc

'Dear.'

337 *Faya kamematamona*
faya ka -ma -himata -mona
so go/come back FP.N+M REP+M
conj vi

'He came back.'

338 *Winame tafamatase tafame ya me*
wina -ma+M tafa -ma -tasa+M tafa -ma.NOM+M ya me
lie in hammock back eat back again eat back ADJU 3PL
vi vi vi prt pron

amo wina hinaka sare me fawa
amo.LIST wina.LIST hinaka sarehe me fawa
sleep lie in hammock 3SG.POSS blowgun dart 3PL disappear
vi vi pron nf pron vi

torememoneni
to- na -ra -hemete -mone -ni
CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
aux

'He lay in his hammock back home. He ate back home and lay in his hammock. His darts were not all gone.'

339 *Hinaka wati ta ahaba , wiwina*
hinaka wati taa ahaba.LIST wi- wina
3SG.POSS arrow contrast end DUP lie in hammock
pron nm prt vi vi

AWITA FA YAFI

kawe		wiwina		kawe		kise
ka- na -waha+M		wi- wina		ka- na -waha+M		ka -risa+M
COMIT AUX change		DUP lie in hammock		COMIT AUX change		go/come down
aux		vi		aux		vi

Aii	wafa		me	watakakeni	
Aii	wafa		me	wataka -ke -ni	
wow!	woolly monkey		3PL.S	be fatty DECL+F IP.N+F	
interj nm			pron vi		

'But his arrows were all gone. He stayed in his hammock a while longer, and then got out. "Wow, the monkeys are fat."

340	Wafa		me	fora		ne	ka	wafa	
	wafa		me	fora		na+M	ka	wafa	
	woolly monkey		3PL.O	shoot with blowgun		AUX	POSS	woolly monkey	
	nm		pron vt			aux prt	nm		
	me	weye	ona		me	wafa	me	weye	ne
	me	weye	o- na+F	me	wafa	me	weye	na+M	
	3PL.O	carry	1SG.S AUX	3PL.O	woolly monkey	3PL.O	carry	AUX	
	pron vt	aux		pron nm		pron vt	aux		
	me	onafama		me	weye	kane		wafa	me
	me	o- na- fama+F	me	weye	ka- na+M	wafa		me	
	3PL.O	1SG.S CAUS be two	3PL.O	carry	COMIT AUX	woolly monkey		3PL	
	pron vt		pron vt	aux		nm		pron	
	wafa		me	fora		ne	ama	fari	
	wafa		me	fora		na+M	ama	faari	
	woolly monkey		3PL.O	shoot with blowgun		AUX	SEC	that one+M	
	nm		pron vt			aux sec	dem		

"I carried his monkeys, and he carried my two monkeys. He killed a lot of monkeys."

341	Wafa		me	fora		oraharake
	wafa		me	fora		o- na -ra -hara -ke
	woolly monkey		3PL.O	shoot with blowgun		1SG.S AUX NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
	nm		pron vt			aux

"I didn't kill many monkeys."

342	Owahara		o	hawi	ya
	o- waa -hara		o-	hawi	ya
	1SG.S stand IP.E+F		1SG.S	trail	ADJU
	vi		prt	nf	prt

"I was standing on the trail."

343	Hawi	ya	wafa		me	kama		me	me	
	hawi	ya	wafa		me	ka -ma+F	me	me		
	trail	ADJU	woolly monkey		3PL.S	go/come back	3PL.S	3PL.O		
	nf	prt	nm		pron vi		pron	pron		
	onafama		me	me	weye	hikana		me	ama	ha
	o- na- fama+F		me	me	weye	hi- ka- na+F	me	ama	haa	
	1SG.S CAUS be two		3PL.O	3PL.S	carry	OC COMIT AUX	3PL.O	SEC	DEM	
	vt		pron	pron	vt	aux	pron	sec	dem	

"The monkeys came on the trail and I killed two of them, and he carried them."

344	Faya	hima		hinebano		tasa	hima
	faya	hima		hi- na -hiba -no		tasa	hima
	so	call to go		OC AUX FUT+M IP.N+M		again	let's go
	conj	vt		aux		prt	interj

AWITA FA YAFI

hinebona **manakobisabonehe** , **ma**
 hi- na -hibona manako -bisa -bone -he , maa
 OC AUX INT+M revenge also INT+F DUP be tired
 aux pn vi

toaremonaha
 to- ha -ra -himona -ha
 CH AUX NEG REP+M DUP
 aux

"Then he called him to go. He wanted to get him back. He said he hadn't gotten tired yet."

345 **Hima** **yama** **e** **yete** **nabone** **onara**
 hima yama ee yete na -habone ati o- na -hara
 let's go thing 1IN.S hunt AUX INT+F say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F
 interj nf pron vt aux vt

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

"Come on. Let's go hunting."

346 **E** **towakabone** **onara** **oni**
 ee to- ka- ka -habone ati o- na -hara o- ni
 1IN.S away COMIT go/come INT+F say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 pron vi vt vt prt

"Let's go the two of us."

347 **Yama** **yama** **e** **yete** **nibana** ?
 yama yama ee yete na+F -bana
 thing thing 1IN.S hunt AUX FUT
 nf nf pron vt aux

"Shall we go hunting?"

348 **Ee** **yama** **e** **yete** **nabone** **onara** **oni**
 ee yama ee yete na -habone ati o- na -hara o- ni
 yes thing 1IN.S hunt AUX INT+F say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 interj nf pron vt aux vt prt

"Yes, let's go hunting."

349 **Oko** **manakone** **oko** **manakone** **watakere**
 o- ka manakone o- ka manakone wata -ke -re
 1SG.POSS POSS price 1SG.POSS POSS price exist DECL+F NEG+F
 prt pn prt pn vi

"I didn't get you back yet."

350 **Yama** **weye** **ona** **wafa** **me** **weye**
 yama weye.LIST o- na+F wafa me weye.LIST
 thing carry 1SG.S AUX woolly monkey 3PL.O carry
 nf vt aux nm pron vt

hiyama **me** **weye** , **oni** **ka** **oko**
 hiyama me weye , o- na.NOM+F ka o- ka
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O carry 1SG.S AUX because 1SG.POSS POSS
 nm pron vt aux prt prt

manakone **watakere**
 manakone wata -ka -re
 price exist DECL NEG+F
 pn vi

AWITA FA YAFI

"I carried animals. I carried woolly monkeys, and I carried white-lipped peccaries, and I didn't pay you back yet."

351 *Ee* , *e* *towakaba* *ere*
 ee , ee to- ka- ka -haba ere
 yes 1IN.S away COMIT go/come FUT+F 1IN.S
 interj pron vi pron

"All right, let's go."

352 *Me* *towakabone* *me* , *Manakobisa* *te* *ibe*
 me to- ka- ka -habone me , manako -bisa tee ibe
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come INT+F 3PL revenge also 2PL.POSS RECIP
 pron vi pron pn pron pn

tohikima *na* *toahi* *me* *ka* *ami* *ati*
 to- ha -kima.LIST na to- ha -hi me ka ami ati
 CH pay back two AUX CH AUX IMP+F 3PL POSS mother say
 vd aux aux pron prt nf vt

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

'They were going to go. "You get each other back," their mother said.'

353 *Te* *ibe* *manako* *tohikima* *nahi*
 tee ibe manako to- ha -kima.LIST na -hi
 2PL.POSS RECIP revenge CH pay back two AUX IMP+F
 pron pn nf vd aux

"You get each other back."

354 *Me* , *faya* *me* *towakemetemoneke*
 me , faya me to- ka- ka -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL so 3PL.S away COMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron conj pron vi

'So the two of them went off.'

355 *Me* *towaka* *me* , *faya* *bani* *me* *fawa*
 me to- ka- ka+F me , faya bani me fawa
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S so animal 3PL.S disappear
 pron vi pron conj nm pron vi

toni *ya* *me* *towaka* *me* , *me*
 to- na.NOM+F ya me to- ka- ka+F me , me
 CH AUX ADJU 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S 3PL.S
 aux prt pron vi pron pron

towaka *me* *fawa* *tokasawitia* , *bai*
 to- ka- ka+F me fawa to- ka- na -kosa -witI+F , bai
 away COMIT go/come 3PL.S disappear away COMIT AUX middle out sun
 vi pron vi aux nm

itematamonaka *me* *kakami* *kari*
 ita -himata -mona -ka me ka- ka -ma.NOM+F kari
 sit FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.S COMIT go/come back which+M
 vi pron vi prt

'They went off. When the meat was all gone, they went out. They went, and they disappeared into the forest. It was sundown when they came back.'

AWITA FA YAFI

356 *Me* *bosa* *kana* *me* , *bani* *me* *me*
 me bosa ka- na+F me , bani me me
 3PL.S get up early COMIT AUX 3PL.S animal 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron nm pron pron

fora *nani* *me* , *faya* *wafa* *me*
 fora na -hani me , faya wafa me
 shoot with blowgun AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S so woolly monkey 3PL.O
 vt aux pron conj nm pron

fora *tasematamona* *yowi* *mati* ,
 fora na -tasa -himata -mona yowi mati ,
 shoot with blowgun AUX again FP.N+M REP+M brown capuchin 3PL
 vt aux nm pron

kisorawaha *tamakori* *mati* , *mayawari* *mati* .
 kiso -rawa -ha tamakori mati , mayawari mati
 white-fronted capuchin F.PL DUP saki 3PL titi 3PL
 nf nm pron nm pron

'They got up early and shot game with their blowguns. He killed lots of woolly monkeys again, also brown capuchins, white-fronted capuchins, sakis, and titis.'

357 *Bani* *me* *tokowanana*
 bani me to- ka- wana -na -na
 animal 3PL.S CH COMIT be attached DUP DUP
 nm pron vi

kawemetemoneni *biyo* ,
 ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ni , biyo ,
 COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F spider monkey
 aux nf

biyorawaha
 biyo -rawa -ha
 spider monkey F.PL DUP
 nf

'The animals were all tied together, with some additional ones tied on the sides. There were spider monkeys, too.'

358 *Faya* *bani* *mera* *fora* *ne* , *faya* *weyeye*
 faya bani mera fora na+M , faya weye -ye
 so animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX so carry DUP
 conj nm pron vt aux conj vt

hinihatase *Bani* *me* *wete* *tinahi* .
 hi- niha- na -tasa+M , bani me wete ti- na -hi
 OC CAUS AUX again animal 3PL.O tie 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 aux nm pron vt aux

'He killed the animals, and had the other one carry them. "You tie up the animals."'

359 *Me* *wara* *obeya* *ahi* , *me* *nafi* .
 me wara o- to- na -be -ya ahi , me nafi
 3PL.O grab 1SG.S CH AUX IMMED+F now there 3PL.POSS all
 pron vt aux dem pron pn

'"I will take my turn at carrying them, all of them."'

360 *Me* *weye* *ona* *me* *tatafo* *nofa* *me*
 me weye o- to- na+F me ta- tafo na nofa+F me
 3PL.O carry 1SG.S away AUX 3PL.S DUP be light AUX recently 3PL.S
 pron vt aux pron vi aux pron

AWITA FA YAFI

ama , **ati** **nematamonaka** **ahi** .
ama , ati na -himata -mona -ka ahi
SEC say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
sec vt aux dem
'I have been carrying them and they are very heavy,' he said.'

361 **Ati** **ne** , **haha** **hikanematamonane** .
ati na+M , haahaa hi- ka na -himata -mona -ne
say AUX laugh OC go/come AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
vt aux vi aux
'He laughed at him.'

362 **Haha** **hikane** , **Kanaharaba** **me** **awineke** .
haahaa hi- ka- na+M , kanaha -ra -haba me awine -ke
laugh OC COMIT AUX be heavy NEG FUT+F 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
vi aux vi pron sec
'He laughed at him. "They won't be heavy."

363 **E** **famake** **waha** .
ee fama -ke waha
1IN.S be two DECL+F now
pron vi prt
'""There are two of us.""

364 **Ohonarabana** **oke** **ha** **owa** .
o- hona -ra -habana o- ke haa owa
1SG.S have something NEG FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F DEM 1SG
vi prt dem pron
'I'm not going to carry anything.'

365 **E** **ka** **karaboa** **tiwa** **okana** **e** **ka** **wati** ,
ee ka karaboha tiwa o- ka- na.LIST ee ka wati
1IN POSS blowgun carry 1SG.S COMIT AUX 1IN POSS arrow
pron prt nf vt aux pron prt nm
yama **na** **tiwa** **okanabana** **oke** **ahi** .
yama na tiwa o- ka- na -habana o- ke ahi
thing AUX carry 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F then
nf aux vt aux prt dem
'I will carry our blowguns and our arrows and other things.'

366 **Faya** **bani** **me** **me** **wete** **nemetemoneke** **ahi** .
faya bani me me wete na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
so animal 3PL.O 3PL.S tie AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
conj nm pron pron vt aux dem
'So they tied up the animals.'

367 **Wete** **ne** , **biyorawaha** **wafa** **mati**
wete na+M , biyo -rawa -ha wafa mati
return AUX spider monkey F.PL DUP woolly monkey 3PL
vt aux nf nm pron
yowi **mati** **kisorawaha** **tamakori** **mati** **me**
yowi mati kiso -rawa -ha tamakori mati me
brown capuchin 3PL white-fronted capuchin F.PL DUP saki 3PL 3PL.S
nm pron nf nm pron pron

AWITA FA YAFI

tokowanana

to- ka- wana -na -na ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ke
 CH COMMIT be attached DUP DUP COMMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux

'He tied them. Spider monkeys, woolly monkeys, brown capuchins, white-fronted capuchins, sakis. Some were hanging on the outside of the main mass.'

kawemetemoneke

368 *Faya me* , *faya me* *mati me* *hinawata* ,
 faya me , faya me mati me hi- na- wata+F
 so 3PL so 3PL.POSS line+F 3PL.S OC CAUS be located
 conj pron conj pron pn pron vt

me fafamawa *nemetemoneke*
 me fa- fama -waha na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S DUP be two change AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

'They lashed on the headband. The two of them worked together.'

369 *Hike ya tokomi* *tokomi* *ya me*
 hike ya to- ka -ma.NOM+F to- ka -ma.NOM+F ya me
 far ADJU away go/come back away go/come back ADJU 3PL.O
 nf prt vi vi prt pron

wara otasabanake *fahi*
 wara o- to- na -tasa -habana -ke fahi
 grab 1SG.S CH AUX again FUT+F DECL+F then
 vt aux dem

'I will take my turn in carrying them up ahead.'

370 *Owa tikeyebe*
 owa ti- keyeha -be
 1SG.O 2SG.S deceive IMMED+F
 pron vt

'You are going to fool me.'

371 *Tiwa okeye* *okere*
 tiwa o- keyeha o- ke -re
 2SG.O 1SG.S deceive 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F
 pron vt prt

'I'm not fooling you.'

372 *Tiwa okeyerini*
 tiwa o- keyeha -ra -ni
 2SG.O 1SG.S deceive NEG BKG+F
 pron vt

'I'm not fooling you.'

373 *E famake*
 ee fama -ke
 1IN.S be two DECL+F
 pron vi

'There are two of us.'

374 *E famake*
 ee fama -ke
 1IN.S be two DECL+F
 pron vi

'There are two of us.'

AWITA FA YAFI

375 *E ibe kakasoma nabanake*
 ee ibe ka- ka- soma na -habana -ke
 1IN.POSS RECIP DUP COMIT help AUX FUT+F DECL+F
 pron pn vt aux

"We will relieve each other."

376 *Faya me , me yana tokana me , bani me*
 faya me , me yana to- ka- na+F me , bani me
 so 3PL 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S animal 3PL.O
 conj pron pron vi aux pron nm pron
me matoa me bani me weye namise Haro me
 me mato+F me bani me weye na -misa+M haaro me
 3PL.S tie 3PL.S animal 3PL.O carry AUX up that one+F 3PL.O
 pron vt pron nm pron vt aux dem pron

weweye

we- weye
 DUP carry
 vt

'So they got ready to go. He tied the animals together and lifted the animals up on his back. "Here, you try lifting them."

377 *Me weye namise Tai tiama*
 me weye na -misa+M tai ti- to- ha -ma
 3PL.O carry AUX up be ahead 2SG.S CH AUX back
 pron vt aux vi aux

'He lifted them on his back. "You go on ahead."

378 *Tika karaboara ?*
 ti- ka karaboha -ra
 2SG.POSS POSS blowgun NPQ
 prt nf

"Where is your blowgun?"

379 *Karaboha waine ha*
 karaboha waa -ne haa
 blowgun stand CONT+F DEM
 nf vi dem

"The blowgun is leaning there on a tree."

380 *Tika sare , tika sare*
 ti- ka sarehe , ti- ka sarehe
 2SG.POSS POSS blowgun dart 2SG.POSS POSS blowgun dart
 prt nf prt nf

sana okanabana oke
 sana o- ka- na -habana o- ke
 carry strapped on shoulder 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vt aux prt

"I will take your darts."

381 *Faya tai tohame tokome*
 faya tai to- ha -ma+M to- ka -ma+M
 so be ahead CH AUX back away go/come back
 conj vi aux vi

tokomematamonaka ahi ma toebana
 to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi ma to- ha -hibana
 away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then be tired CH AUX FUT+M
 vi dem vi aux

AWITA FA YAFI

tasa
tasa
again
prt

'So he went on ahead. He went. He was going to be tired again.'

382 *Faya ma toatase*
faya maa to- ha -tasa+M
so be tired CH AUX again
conj vi aux

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

'He got tired again. The other one came up.'

383 *Kamaki kamaki ahi hasi ne*
ka -makI+M ka -makI+M ahi hasi na+M
go/come following go/come following then rest AUX
vi vi dem vi aux

itari Oof oof oof
ita -rI+M oof oof oof
sit raised surface hoo hoo hoo
vi interj interj interj

'He came up. The other one was sitting, resting. "Whew."'

384 *Ma tihini* ?
maa ti- to- ha -ni
be tired 2SG.S CH AUX BKG+F
vi aux

'"Are you tired?"'

385 *Ma ohara oke*
maa o- to- ha -hara o- ke
be tired 1SG.S CH AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
vi aux prt

'"I'm tired."'

386 *Tikamake me wara tibeya*
ti- ka -makI me wara ti- to- na -be -ya
2SG.S go/come following 3PL.O grab 2SG.S CH AUX IMMED+F now
vi pron vt aux

'"Come here and take your turn."'

387 *Yama yayabo riya*
yama ya- yabo na -ra+F -ya
thing DUP be far AUX NEG now
nf vi aux

'"It's not far now."'

388 *Yama yabokare*
yama yabo -ka -re
thing be far DECL NEG+F
nf vi

'"It's not far."'

AWITA FA YAFI

397 *Hikeye* *tokomematamonaka* , *bani* *me*
 hi- keyeha+M to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka , bani me
 OC deceive away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M animal 3PL.O
 vt vi nm pron

weye ni
 weye na.NFIN
 carry AUX
 vt aux

'He had fooled him. He went on, carrying the animals.'

398 *Tokome* , *tokome* *kame* ,
 to- ka -ma+M to- ka -ma+M ka -ma+M ,
 away go/come back away go/come back go/come back
 vi vi vi

tokomake *karaboha* *tiwa* *kamisame*
 to- ka -makI karaboha tiwa ka- na -misa -ma+M
 away go/come following blowgun carry COMIT AUX up back
 vi nf vt aux

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

'He went on. The other one went on behind him. He lifted up the blowguns and went on.'

399 *Tokomake* *tokomaki* *ya* , *yaka*
 to- ka -makI to- ka -makI.NOM ya , yaka
 away go/come following away go/come following ADJU walk
 vi vi prt vi

nematamonaka *ahi* *boti* *ya*
 na -himata -mona -ka ahi boti ya
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M there way down ADJU
 aux dem nf prt

'He went on. He could hardly be seen under the big load.'

400 *Yaka* *ne* *tokome* , *yama* *yayabo* *raba* *ni*
 yaka na+M to- ka -ma+M , yama ya- yabo na -raba na.NOM+F
 walk AUX away go/come back thing DUP be far AUX a bit AUX
 vi aux vi nf vi aux aux

ya , *faya* *awa* *homa* *mese* *ya* *itari* ,
 ya faya awa homa+M mese ya ita -rI+M ,
 ADJU so tree lie on ground surface ADJU sit raised surface
 prt conj nf vi pn prt vi

itaririsematamona
 ita -rI -risa -himata -mona
 sit raised surface down FP.N+M REP+M
 vi

'He went on walking. A little ways on he sat down on a log.'

401 *Wakabote* *nematamona*
 waa -kabote na -himata -mona
 stand quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi aux

'The other one stopped.'

AWITA FA YAFI

409 *Ati kakasi raba nahare*
 ati ka- kasi na -raba na -hare
 voice DUP be naughty AUX a bit AUX IP.E+M
 pn vi aux aux

"He really talks."

410 *Manako tiwa ohawabana oke*
 manako tiwa o- to- ha -waha -habana o- ke
 revenge 2SG.O 1SG.S CH pay back change FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 nf pron vd prt

"I'm going to get you back."

411 *Ee manako owa tihibeya*
 ee manako owa ti- to- ha -be -ya
 yes revenge 1SG.O 2SG.S CH pay back IMMED+F now
 interj nf pron vd

"Yes, you will get me back."

412 *Manako owa tihabana tike*
 manako owa ti- to- ha -habana ti- ke
 revenge other+M 2SG.S CH pay back FUT+F 2SG.S DECL+F
 nf adj vd prt

"You will get me back."

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

'He went on.'

414 *Yana namise tokome*
 yana na -misa+M to- ka -ma.NOM+M
 start AUX up away go/come back
 vi aux vi

tokomematamonaka ma toari iso
 to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka maa to- ha -haari iso
 away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M be tired CH AUX IP.E+M leg+M
 vi vi aux pn

fawa tokanari ahi iso ya
 fawa to- ka- na -haari ahi iso ya
 disappear CH COMMIT AUX IP.E+M then leg+M ADJU
 vi aux dem pn prt

'He got up and went on. He was tired as he went on. His legs didn't have any strength.'

415 *Tokome ya wehimatamonaka*
 to- ka -ma.NOM+M ya waa -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come back ADJU stand FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi prt vi

'He went on. Then he stood there.'

416 *Wehi wawa kawahe ya yana tone*
 waa+M wa- waa ka- na -waha.NOM+M ya yana to- na+M
 stand DUP stand COMMIT AUX change ADJU start CH AUX
 vi vi aux prt vi aux

AWITA FA YAFI

tokomake , *tokomake* , *tabora ya tabora*
to- ka -makI , to- ka -makI , tabora ya tabora
away go/come following away go/come following village ADJU village
vi vi nf prt nf
ya yaka nematamona ahi hike ya
ya yaka na -himata -mona ahi hike ya
ADJU walk AUX FP.N+M REP+M then far ADJU
prt vi aux dem nf prt

'He stood for a while. Then he started out and went on. He went on to the village up ahead.'

417 *Hari kamahari hari bani me weye*
haari ka -ma -haari haari bani me weye
that one+M go/come back look+M that one+M animal 3PL.O carry
dem vi dem nm pron vt

nari
na -haari
AUX IP.E+M
aux

""There he is, he came back, carrying game.""

418 *Owa kamakire bani me kayoto*
owa ka -makI -ra+M bani me ka- yoto
other+M go/come following NEG animal 3PL.O COMMIT follow
adj vi nm pron vt

awaka ehene
awa -ka ehene
seem+M DECL+M because of+M
sec post

""The other one isn't here yet because he must be coming behind him, carrying lots game.""

419 *Manakobisabone ati ne rama ahi me ati*
manako -bisa -bone ati na+M rama ahi me ati
revenge also INT+F say AUX unusual then 3PL.S say
pn vt aux prt dem pron vt

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

""He must have gotten him back," they said.'

420 *Hora kawahemetemone ahi*
hora ka- na -waha -hemete -mone ahi
exclaim COMMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F then
vi aux dem

'They exclaimed.'

421 *Me hora kawa me Kamakikara*
me hora ka- na -waha+F me ka -makI -ka -ra
3PL.S exclaim COMMIT AUX change 3PL.S go/come following DECL NEG
pron vi aux pron vi

hari
haari
that one+M
dem

'They exclaimed. "He hasn't come.'"

AWITA FA YAFI

422 *Home* *awaka*
 homa+M awa -ka
 lie on ground seem+M DECL+M
 vi sec

"He must have fallen down."

423 *Karaboa* *tiwa* *kani* *kamaki* *tasi* *namaki*
 karaboha tiwa ka- na.NFIN ka -makI+M tasi na -makI+M
 blowgun carry COMIT AUX go/come following emerge AUX following
 nf vt aux vi vi aux

, *Kamakihari* *ha* *hinita*
 ka -makI -haari haa hinita
 go/come following look+M DEM alone
 vi dem pn

'He came carrying the blowguns. He appeared. "There he is. He doesn't have anything."

424 *Kamakiari* *hari*
 ka -makI -haari hari
 go/come following look+M that one+M
 vi dem

"He has come."

425 *Kamaki* *tasi* *namaki* *kamaki* , *karaboa*
 ka -makI+M tasi na -makI+M ka -makI+M , karaboha
 go/come following emerge AUX following go/come following blowgun
 vi vi aux vi nf

nawate *karaboa* *kanawa* , *sare*
 na- wata+M karaboha ka- na- waa.LIST , sarehe
 CAUS be located blowgun COMIT CAUS stand blowgun dart
 vt nf vt nf

kanawa *sare* *kanawine* , *sare*
 ka- na- waa.LIST sarehe ka- na- wina+M , sarehe
 COMIT CAUS stand blowgun dart COMIT CAUS hang blowgun dart
 vt nf vt nf

kanawine , *Hoo*
 ka- na- wina+M , hoo
 COMIT CAUS hang whew
 vt interj

'He came. He appeared. He came. He leaned the blowgun against something. He hung the darts up.

"Whew."⁷⁶

426 *Bani* *me* *fora* *ne* *kame* *ama* *ahi*
 bani me fora na+M ka -ma+M ama ahi
 animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX go/come back SEC then
 nm pron vt aux vi sec dem

"The one who killed the animals with his blowgun came back."

427 *Te* *awe*
 tee awa+M
 2PL.S see
 pron vt

"You saw him."

76 The phrases *karabowa nawate* and *karabowa kanawa* are false starts.

AWITA FA YAFI

428 *Ota awareka*
 otaa awa -hare -ka
 1EX.S see IP.E+M DECL+M
 pron vt

"We saw him."

429 *Hinaka bani me homine ha*
 hinaka bani me homa -ne haa
 3SG.POSS animal 3PL.S lie on ground CONT+F DEM
 pron nm pron vi dem

"His animals are lying there on the ground."

430 *Me ota tisineni*
 me otaa tisa -ne -ni
 3PL.O 1EX.S shoot with arrow CONT+F BKG+F
 pron pron vt

"We untied them."

431 *Bani me me yokemetemone bani biti mati*
 bani me me yoka -hemete -mone bani biti mati
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on coals FP.N+F REP+F animal small+M 3PL
 nm pron pron vt nm adj pron

me fora hina mati mayawari mati tamakori
 me fora hi- na+F mati mayawari mati tamakori
 3PL.O shoot with blowgun OC AUX 3PL.O titi 3PL saki
 pron vt aux pron nm pron nm

kisorawaha yowi mati
 kiso -rawa -ha yowi mati
 white-fronted capuchin F.PL DUP brown capuchin 3PL
 nf nm pron

'They roasted the animals, the small animals that he had killed with his blowgun. Titi monkeys, sakis, white-fronted capuchins, brown capuchins.'

432 *Bani me me ibori kawemetemoneke ahi*
 bani me me ibori ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S carry COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nm pron pron vt aux dem

'They picked up the animals.'

433 *Me kakasi raba reba tikasawari*
 me ka- kasi na -raba na -ra -hiba ti- ka- sawari+M
 3PL DUP be naughty AUX a bit AUX NEG FUT+M 2SG.S COMIT frustrate
 pron vi aux aux vt

tinofamako tiwa ma
 ti- nofa+M -mako tiwa maa
 2SG.S recently for this reason+M 2SG.O be tired
 prt pron vi

tonihifako ne
 to- niha- ha -fako na+M
 CH CAUS AUX constantly AUX
 aux aux

"He doesn't let you alone. You were always complaining about him, and now he is always tiring you out."⁷⁷

⁷⁷ *Me* is a false start.

AWITA FA YAFI

446 *Me haha hikane* , *Owa te haha kana*
 me haahaa hi- ka- na+M , owa tee haahaa ka- na+F
 3PL.S laugh OC COMIT AUX 1SG.O 2PL.S laugh COMIT AUX
 pron vi aux pron pron vi aux

manako oharaba *ama oni*
 manako o- to- ha -ra -haba ama o- ni
 revenge 1SG.S CH pay back NEG FUT+F SEC 1SG.S BKG+F
 nf vd sec prt

"They were laughing at him. "You are laughing at me, but I'm going to get him back."

447 *Ati* , *ati amane*
 ati , ati ama -ne
 voice voice be BKG+M
 pn pn vc

"That's what he says."

448 *Ehene watareba* *ati amaka*
 ehene wata -ra -hiba ati ama -ka
 victim of+M exist NEG FUT+M voice be DECL+M
 pn vi pn vc

"He's just talking, he won't kill a lot of game."

449 *Ehene watareba* *ama fahi*
 ehene wata -ra -hiba ama fahi
 victim of+M exist NEG FUT+M be then
 pn vi vc dem

"He won't kill a lot of game."

450 *Fare ma toatasehiba* *ati amaka*
 fare maa to- ha -tasa -hiba ati ama -ka
 same+M be tired CH AUX again FUT+M voice be DECL+M
 dem vi aux pn vc

"He'll just get tired out again."

451 *Hiba* , *ma toarebona* *te kakatoma*
 hiba , maa to- ha -ra -hibona tee ka- katoma
 wait be tired CH AUX NEG INT+M 2PL.S COMIT look at
 interj vi aux pron vt

"You will see if I get tired out again."

452 *Hiba hima otasebanane*
 hiba hima o- na -tasa -hibana -ne
 wait call to go 1SG.S AUX again FUT+M BKG+M
 interj vt aux

"I'm going to call him to go out with me again."

453 *Hima hinebona* *wati hikane* , *hima*
 hima hi- na -hibona wati hi- ka- na+M hima
 call to go OC AUX INT+M plan against OC COMIT AUX call to go
 vt aux vt aux vt

hinebona wati hikane , *me amo nabone*
 hi- na -hibona wati hi- ka- na+M me amo na -habone
 OC AUX INT+M plan against OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S sleep AUX INT+F
 aux vt aux pron vi aux

AWITA FA YAFI

bani me me kaba natia bani me me kaba natia
 bani me me kaba nahatI+F bani me me kaba nahatI+F
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S eat daytime animal 3PL.O 3PL.S eat daytime
 nm pron pron vt prt nm pron pron vt prt

, *bani me me kaba natiemetemone*
 bani me me kaba nahatI -hemete -mone
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S eat daytime FP.N+F REP+F
 nm pron pron vt prt

'He decided to go after him, and he was going to call him to go out with him. They ate the meat all day so they could sleep.'

454 *Manako manako tiwa tohebona ati narene*
 manako manako tiwa to- ha -hibona ati na -hare -ne
 revenge revenge 2SG.O CH pay back INT+M say AUX IP.E+M BKG+M
 nf nf pron vd vt aux
 , *fati ati nemetemoneke*
 fati ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 3SG.POSS.wife say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vt aux

'''He says he is going to get you back," his wife said.''''

455 *Ee manako owa toebanaka*
 ee manako owa to- ha -hibana -ka
 yes revenge 1SG.O CH pay back FUT+M DECL+M
 interj nf pron vd

'''Yes, he is going to get me back.''''

456 *Manako ma tihabone ma*
 manako maa ti- to- ha -habone maa
 revenge be tired 2SG.S CH AUX INT+F be tired
 nf vi aux vi
tihabone ati nemona me hinarene
 ti- to- ha -habone ati na -himona me ati hi- na -hare -ne
 2SG.S CH AUX INT+F say AUX REP+M 3PL.S say OC AUX IP.E+M BKG+M
 aux vt aux pron vt

'''They say he said you are going to pay by getting tired out.''''

457 *Ee ma ohabana oke*
 ee maa o- to- ha -habana o- ke
 yes be tired 1SG.S CH AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 interj vi aux prt

'''Yes, I will get tired out.''''

458 *Ma oha owa hora tikibana ?*
 maa o- to- ha+F owa hora ti- ka- na+F -bana
 be tired 1SG.S CH AUX 1SG.O scold 2SG.S COMIT AUX FUT
 vi aux pron vt aux

'''When I am tired are you going to say, 'I told you so'?''''

459 *Tikatao ama o ?*
 tikatao ama o-
 2SG.POSS.son be 1SG.S
 nm vc prt

'''Am I your son?''''

AWITA FA YAFI

460 *Hine ma oha oke*
 hine maa o- to- ha o- ke
 only be tired 1SG.S CH AUX 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron vi aux prt

"Just let me get tired out."

461 *Hiba owa kakasawari toherimako*
 hiba owa ka- ka- sawari to- ha -hiri -mako
 soon after 1SG.O DUP COMIT frustrate CH AUX RP.E+M for this reason+M
 conj pron vt aux

owa te yoyoko toharo teke
 owa tee yo- yoko to- ha -haaro tee -ke
 1SG.O 2PL.S DUP bring misfortune on CH AUX IP.E+F 2PL.S DECL+F
 pron pron vt aux pron

"You were the cause of him complaining about me."

462 *Owa kakasawari toerimako ma*
 owa ka- ka- sawari to- ha -hiri -mako
 1SG.O DUP COMIT frustrate CH AUX RP.E+M for this reason+M be tired
 pron vt aux vi

toi nofe amane owehene
 to- ha nofa+M ama -ne o- ehene
 CH AUX recently SEC BKG+M 1SG.POSS because of
 aux prt sec pn

"Because he was always complaining about me, I am tiring him out all the time now."

463 *Ee kasawari hihiri toerimako*
 ee ka- sawari hi- hiri to- ha -hiri -mako
 (pause) COMIT frustrate DUP do CH AUX RP.E+M for this reason+M
 interj nf vt aux

bani me weye nofe amaka owehene
 bani me weye na nofa+M ama -ka o- ehene
 animal 3PL.O carry AUX recently SEC DECL+M 1SG.POSS because of
 nm pron vt prt sec pn

"Because he was always complaining about me, I have made him carry the game."

464 *Manako tiwa towakatasebona ati nemonane*
 manako tiwa to- ka- ka -tasa -hibona ati na -himona -ne
 revenge 2SG.O away COMIT go/come again INT+M say AUX REP+M BKG+M
 nf pron vt vt aux

"They say he said he is going to take you out in the forest in order to get you back."

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

'So they slept.'

466 *Me amo na me tafamina me naho natiha me*
 me amo na+F me tafa -mina+F me naho nahatI+F me
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S eat morning 3PL.S stay daytime 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron vi pron vi prt pron

me nao natia me me nao natia yama yama
 me naho nahatI+F me me naho nahatI+F yama yama
 3PL.S stand daytime 3PL.S 3PL.S stay daytime thing thing
 pron vi prt pron pron vi prt nf nf

AWITA FA YAFI

nofarebano , **yama nofarebanoho**
 nofa -ra -hiba -no , yama nofa -ra -hiba -no -ho
 want NEG FUT+M IP.N+M thing want NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vt nf vt

'They slept. They stayed in the village the next day, eating. He didn't want to go out anymore.'

467 **Oof** , **kake** **he** **aate** **ne** , **he** **aate**
 oof , ka -kI hee a- ate na+M , hee a- ate
 hoo go/come coming 3SG.O DUP ask AUX 3SG.O DUP ask
 interj vi pron vt aux pron vt

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

'"Whew." He spoke to him.'

468 **E** **towakabone** **ona** **yama** **owati**
 ee to- ka- ka -habone ati o- na+F yama o- ati
 1IN.S away COMIT go/come INT+F say 1SG.S AUX thing 1SG.POSS voice
 pron vi vt nf pn

nofarara **oke**
 nofa -ra -hara o- ke
 want NEG IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vt prt

'"I had said we would go out, but I changed my mind."

469 **Yama** **onofarara** **o**
 yama o- nofa -ra -hara o-
 thing 1SG.S want NEG IP.E+F 1SG.S
 nf vt prt

'"I changed my mind."

470 **Ha** **ya** **ha** **ya** **e** **towakawaba**
 haa ya haa ya ee to- ka- ka -waha -haba
 DEM ADJU DEM ADJU 1IN.S away COMIT go/come change FUT+F
 dem prt dem prt pron vi

eke
 ee -ke
 1IN.S DECL+F
 pron

'"We'll go out some other day."

471 **Faya** **me** , **towakabone** **ati** **ne** **ati**
 faya me , to- ka- ka -habone ati na+M ati
 so 3PL.S away COMIT go/come INT+F say AUX voice
 conj pron vi vt aux pn

hiyawe , **yama** , **weye** **ni** **kanahi** **nofamone** **ati**
 hiyawa+M , yama , weye na.NFIN kanaha nofa -hamone ati
 have an idea thing carry AUX be heavy recently REP+F say
 vi nf vt aux vi prt vt

namako , **hiwa** **kayawematamona** **fahi**
 na -mako , hiwa ka- yawa -himata -mona fahi
 AUX for this reason+M 3SG.REFL.M COMIT be upset FP.N+M REP+M then
 aux pron vt dem

'He had said they would go out together, but he changed his mind. He thought about how heavy it was to carry the loads, and he wanted to spare himself.'

AWITA FA YAFI

472 *Hiwa* *kayawe* , *faya* *hiwa* *kayawe* ,
 hiwa ka- yawa+M , faya hiwa ka- yawa+M ,
 3SG.REFL.M COMIT be upset so 3SG.REFL.M COMIT be upset
 pron vt conj pron vt

hiwa *kayawematamonaka*
 hiwa ka- yawa -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.REFL.M COMIT be upset FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt

'He wanted to spare himself.'

473 *Hiwa* *kayawe* , *toki*
 hiwa ka- yawa+M , to- ka.NFIN
 3SG.REFL.M COMIT be upset away go/come
 pron vt vi

nofawarematamona *waha* , *ma*
 nofa -waha -ra -himata -mona waha , maa
 want change NEG FP.N+M REP+M now be tired
 vt prt vi

toifakomako
 to- ha -fako -mako
 CH AUX constantly for this reason+M
 aux

'He wanted to spare himself. He didn't want to go out anymore, because he had been tired out so many times.'

474 *Hiwa* *kayawe* *itawematamonaka* *fahi*
 hiwa ka- yawa+M ita -waha -himata -mona -ka fahi
 3SG.REFL.M COMIT be upset stay change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 pron vt vi dem

'He wanted to spare himself, so he stayed in the village now.'

475 *Faya* *fati* , *fati* *ya* *tabarawe* , *Aa*
 faya fati , fati ya taba -rawa+M , aa
 so 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife ADJU be together F.PL aha
 conj nf nf prt vi interj

oko *wati* *te* , *oko* *wati* *te* *tiwa* *kana*
 o- ka wati tee , o- ka wati tee tiwa ka- na+F
 1SG.POSS POSS arrow 2PL 1SG.POSS POSS arrow 2PL.S carry COMIT AUX
 prt nm pron prt nm pron vt aux

, *karaboa* *tiwa* *okoba*
 karaboha tiwa o- ka- na.NOM -ba
 blowgun carry 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT
 nf vt aux

'He went with his wives. "Here, you carry my arrows, and I'll carry my blowgun."'

476 *Fati* , *fati* *ya* *tabarawe* *toke*
 fati , fati ya taba -rawa+M to- ka+M
 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife ADJU be together F.PL away go/come
 nf nf prt vi vi

, *karaboa* *tiwa* *kani* *ohari* , *karaboa* *tiwa* *kani*
 karaboha tiwa ka- na.NFIN ohari+M , karaboha tiwa ka- na.NFIN
 blowgun carry COMIT AUX be one blowgun carry COMIT AUX
 nf vt aux vi nf vt aux

ohari *toke* *faya* *me* *tokemetemoneke*
 ohari.NFIN to- ka+M faya me to- ka -hemete -mone -ke
 be only away go/come so 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi vi conj pron vi

'He went out with his wives. He carried just his blowgun. They went out.'

AWITA FA YAFI

477 *Me toka me , fati nabati yanarawaro*
 me to- ka+F me , fati nabati yana -rawa -haaro
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S 3SG.POSS.wife stomach grow F.PL IP.E+F
 pron vi pron nf pn vi

'They went out. His wives were pregnant.'

478 *Fati nabati yanarawa towakarawe*
 fati nabati yana -rawa+F to- ka- ka -rawa+M
 3SG.POSS.wife stomach grow F.PL away COMIT go/come F.PL
 nf pn vi vt

Oof hiba owa te yoyoko toararo
 oof hiba owa tee yo- yoko to- ha -ra -haro
 hoo recently 1SG.O 2PL.S DUP bring misfortune on CH AUX NEG RP.E+F
 interj conj pron pron vt aux

te amake
 tee ama -ke
 2PL.S SEC DECL+F
 pron sec

'He took his pregnant wives out. "Because of you he complained about me."

479 *Owa yokoyoko toehiri , owa , naba*
 owa yoko- yoko to- ha -hiri , owa , naba
 1SG.O DUP bring misfortune on CH AUX RP.E+M 1SG.O pregnant
 pron vt aux pron vi

tohawa hari
 to- ha -waha.CONT+M haari
 CH AUX change that one+M
 aux dem

""The one who caused me misfortune is now pregnant.""⁷⁹

480 *Owa te , owa te yokoyoko toaro*
 owa tee , owa tee yoko- yoko to- ha -haro
 1SG.O 2PL 1SG.O 2PL.S DUP bring misfortune on CH AUX RP.E+F
 pron pron pron pron vt aux

te ka yibote ma toi nofe ama owatino
 tee ka yibote maa to- ha nofa+M ama owatino
 2PL POSS husband be tired CH AUX recently SEC exclamation
 pron prt nm vi aux prt sec interj

""Because he wanted you, your husband is always tired out.""

481 *Te ene ene , ene ya , te tafehene*
 tee ehene ehene , ehene ya , tee tafa -hene
 2PL victim of+M victim of+M victim of+M ADJU 2PL.S eat IRR+F
 pron pn pn pn prt pron vi

te tatafa tohine , ati nematamonane
 tee ta- tafa to- ha -ne , ati na -himata -mona -ne
 2PL.S DUP eat CH AUX CONT+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 pron vi aux vt aux

"If you were with him, what would you eat, since he doesn't kill game? You are eating with me," he said.'

79 The second token of *owa* in this sentence is a false start.

AWITA FA YAFI

482 *Bani me tamara me abakani na me*
 bani me tama -ra+F me ahaba -kani na me
 animal 3PL.S be many NEG 3PL.S end one at a time AUX 3PL.S
 nm pron vi pron vi aux pron

hiyi nofararake
 hiya nofa -ra -hara -ke
 be bad recently NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
 vi prt

"When there aren't many animals, they are gone quickly, and it's no good."

483 *Faya , fati hiwakarawe toke*
 faya fati hi- to- ka- ka -rawa+M to- ka+M
 so 3SG.POSS.wife OC away COMIT go/come F.PL away go/come
 conj nf vt vi

wafa me ati saiani me me
 wafa me ati sai -hani me me
 woolly monkey 3PL.POSS voice be heard IP.N+F 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nm pron pn vi pron pron

towasiwitia me , Te yoro na ahi
 to- wasi -witI+F me , tee yoro na ahi
 away find out 3PL.S 2PL.S stay AUX here
 vt pron pron vi aux dem

'His wives went out with him. They came upon the sound of some woolly monkeys. "You two stay here."

484 *Te yoro na ahi*
 tee yoro na+F ahi
 2PL.S stay AUX here
 pron vi aux dem

"You stay here."

485 *Te yoyoro karama niya ahi*
 tee yo- yoro na -karahama na -yahi ahi
 2PL.S DUP stay AUX only do AUX DIST.IMP+F there
 pron vi aux aux dem

"Don't go anywhere else."

486 *Yama aba awineke yomahi*
 yama aba+F awine -ke yomahi
 thing be inhabited seem+F DECL+F jaguar
 nf vi sec nm

"There are animals here, jaguars."

487 *Te towakimisi ya te yoro*
 tee to- ka- ka -misa.NOM+F ya tee yoro
 2PL.S away COMIT go/come up ADJU 2PL.S stay
 pron vi prt pron vi

naribe neme ya ahi
 na -rI -be neme ya ahi
 AUX raised surface IMMED+F up ADJU here
 aux nf prt dem

"You two climb up in a tree and stay up there."

488 *Haha ba tiya*
 ha- haa na -baa ti- na ya
 DUP call AUX at a distance 2SG.S AUX ADJU
 vi aux aux

"One of you call out."

AWITA FA YAFI

489 *Fito onamabana oke*
 fito o- na -ma -habana o- ke
 rush 1SG.S AUX back FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi aux prt

"I will come back running."

490 *Oko wati kawa ahi*
 o- ka wati ka- waa.LIST ahi
 1SG.POSS POSS arrow COMIT stand there
 prt nm vi dem

"My arrows are leaning here."

491 *Te yoro naribe*
 tee yoro na -rI -be
 2PL.S sit AUX raised surface IMMED+F
 pron vi aux

"You stay up there."

492 *Te towakimisa ahi*
 tee to- ka- ka -misa ahi
 2PL.S away COMIT go/come up there
 pron vi dem

"You climb up there."

493 *Te yoro nari ya wati te kanawa*
 tee yoro na -rI.NOM ya wati tee ka- na- waa
 2PL.S stay AUX raised surface ADJU arrow 2PL.S COMIT CAUS stand
 pron vi aux prt nm pron vt
ahi te bofe ya
 ahi tee bofe ya
 then 2PL.POSS below ADJU
 dem pron pn prt

"You sit on a log, and put the arrows on the ground below you."

494 *Wafa me tonakematamonaka*
 wafa me to- na- ka -himata -mona -ka
 woolly monkey 3PL.O away CAUS go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm pron vt

'He went after the woolly monkeys.'

495 *Wafa me wafa me tonake*
 wafa me wafa me to- na- ka+M
 woolly monkey 3PL woolly monkey 3PL.O away CAUS go/come
 nm pron nm pron vt

toke Me tamarabanake
 to- ka.NOM+M me tama -ra -habana -ke
 away go/come 3PL.S be many NEG FUT+F DECL+F
 vi pron vi

'He went after the monkeys. "I'm not going to kill many."

496 *Me famahabana*
 me fama -habana
 3PL.S be two FUT+F
 pron vi

"I will kill two."

AWITA FA YAFI

497 *Toke* *ya* , *wafa* *karaboeno* *kiya*
to- ka.NOM+M ya , wafa karaboha -hino kiya
away go/come ADJU woolly monkey shoot with blowgun IP.N+M yell
vi prt nm vt vi

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

'He went. He hit a monkey with a dart, and it cried out.'

498 *Wafa* *kiya* *kane* , *wafa* *me* *kiyari*
wafa kiya ka- na+M , wafa me kiya -ri
woolly monkey yell COMIT AUX woolly monkey 3PL.S yell DISTR
nm vi aux nm pron vi

nemetemone *me* *fora* *hinani* *mati* *ahi*
na -hemete -mone me fora hi- na -hani mati ahi
AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.O shoot with blowgun OC AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O then
aux pron vt aux pron dem

'The monkey cried out. Other monkeys cried out when he hit them with darts.'

499 *Me* *kamemetemone* *fahi* *me fanawi* *goro*
me ka -ma -hemete -mone fahi me fanawi yoro
3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then women stand
pron vi dem nf vi

nari *ka* *ya*
na -rI.NOM ka ya
AUX raised surface LOC ADJU
aux prt prt

'The monkeys came toward where the women were in the tree.'

500 *Me* *kama* *me* *tokomani* *me*
me ka -ma+F me to- ka -ma -hani me
3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S away go/come back IP.N+F 3PL.O
pron vi pron vi pron

fora *hina* *me* *foro* *nemetemoneke* *ahi*
fora hi- na+F me foro na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
shoot with blowgun OC AUX 3PL.S fall AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F there
vt aux pron vi aux dem

'They came and went on to the other side of them. He was hitting them with darts, and they were falling to the ground.'

501 *Me* *foro* *na* *me* , *yama* *foro* *ni*
me foro na+F me , yama fora na.NFIN
3PL.S fall AUX 3PL.S thing shoot with blowgun AUX
pron vi aux pron nf vt aux

nofamare *kamaki* , *me*
nofa -ma -ra+M ka -makI+M , me
want back NEG go/come following 3PL.S
vt vi pron

tamaremetemoneke
tama -ra -hemete -mone -ke
be many NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vi

'They were falling to the ground. He didn't want to hit any more, and he turned back. He had killed just a few.'

AWITA FA YAFI

502	Yama	fora		ni	nofamare		kamaki		
	yama	fora		na.NFIN	nofa -ma -ra+M		ka	-makI+M	
	thing	shoot with	blowgun	AUX	want back	NEG	go/come	following	
	nf	vt		aux	vt		vi		
	wafa		home		wasimake		wafa	tiwa	ni
	wafa		homa+M		wasi -makI		wafa	tiwa	na.NFIN
	woolly monkey		lie on ground		find following		woolly monkey	carry	AUX
	nm		vi		vt		nm	vt	aux
	kamaki				kamakimatamonaka				
	ka	-makI+M			ka	-makI	-himata	-mona	-ka
	go/come	following			go/come	following	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M
	vi				vi				

'He didn't want to kill any more, and he turned back. He found a monkey lying on the ground, and he came back carrying the monkey.'

503	Kamaki		kobo	namaki		Fa	mera	?
	ka	-makI+M	kobo	na -makI+M		faa	me -ra	
	go/come	following	arrive	AUX following		that	3PL NPQ	
	vi		vi	aux		dem	pron	

'He came back and arrived. "Where are they?"'

504	Wafa		me	foro	nara		ahi	
	wafa		me	foro	na -hara		ahi	
	woolly monkey		3PL.S	fall	AUX IP.E+F		there	
	nm		pron	vi	aux		dem	

""The monkeys fell on the ground right over there.""

505	Aya	owa	sona	owa	sona	owa	sona	owa
	aya	owa	sona.LIST	owa	sona.LIST	owa	sona.LIST	owa
	this	other+M	fall	other+M	fall	other+M	fall	other+M
	dem	adj	vi	adj	vi	adj	vi	adj

homa
homa.LIST
lie on ground
vi

""One fell there, another fell there, another fell there, another is lying there.""

506	Aya	ota	bari	ka	ya	me	one		kaso
	aya	otaa	bari	ka	ya	me	one		ka- sona.LIST
	this	1EX.POSS	back	LOC	ADJU	3PL	other+F		COMIT fall
	dem	pron	pn	prt	prt	pron	adj		vi

nara **ahi**
na -hara ahi
AUX IP.E+F then
aux dem

""Others fell behind us.""

507	Yomera	?
	yomee	-ra
	jaguar	NPQ
	nm	

""Where is the jaguar?""

508	Yome	watararene
	yomee	wata -ra -hare -ne
	jaguar	exist NEG IP.E+M BKG+M
	nm	vi

AWITA FA YAFI

""There is no jaguar.""

509 *Yome wato awaka*
 yomee wato+M awa -ka
 jaguar be afraid seem+M DECL+M
 nm vi sec

""The jaguar is wary.""

510 *Yome wato awane me ati ne Hima e*
 yomee wato+M awa -ne me ati na+M hima ee
 jaguar be afraid seem+M BKG+M 3PL say AUX let's go 1IN.S
 nm vi sec pron vt aux interj pron

tokoma

to- ka -ma
 away go/come back
 vi

""The jaguar is wary," he said. "Come on, let's go home.""⁸⁰

511 *E tokomibeya*
 ee to- ka -ma -be -ya
 1IN.S away go/come back IMMED+F now
 pron vi

""Let's go home.""

512 *Bani me oyabamakimatibe ha*
 bani me o- to- yaba -makI -mata -be haa
 animal 3PL.O 1SG.S away pick up following short time IMMED+F DEM
 nm pron vt dem

""I will pick up the animals.""

513 *Me te weye kanikima hine ya*
 me tee weye ka- na -kima hine ya
 3PL.O 2PL.S carry COMIT AUX two only ADJU
 pron pron vt aux pron prt

""Each of you take a few of them.""

514 *E tokomibeya*
 ee to- ka -ma -be -ya
 1IN.S away go/come back IMMED+F now
 pron vi

""Let's go.""

515 *Ofimini*
 o- fimi -ni
 1SG.S be hungry BKG+F
 vi

""I'm hungry.""

516 *Faya wafa me soki kasikime me*
 faya wafa me soki ka- na -kosa -kima+M me
 so woolly monkey 3PL.O tie up COMIT AUX middle two 3PL
 conj nm pron vt aux pron
one , fati one me weye hikana me
 one fati one me weye hi- ka- na+F me
 other+F 3SG.POSS.wife other+F 3PL.O carry OC COMIT AUX 3PL
 adj nf adj pron vt aux pron

80 The pronominal *me* is a false start.

AWITA FA YAFI

one	fati		weye	hikana		me	one	weye
one	fati		weye	hi- ka- na+F		me	one	weye
other+F	3SG.POSS.wife		carry	OC COMIT AUX		3PL	other+F	carry
adj	nf		vt	aux		pron	adj	vt
hikana		me	yana	tona	me	tokoma		me
hi- ka- na+F		me	yana	to- na+F	me	to- ka		-ma+F me
OC COMIT AUX		3PL.S	start	CH AUX	3PL.S	away go/come		back 3PL.S
aux		pron	vi	aux	pron	vi		pron
kobo	tonama		wafa		biti	wafa		biti
kobo	to- na -ma+F		wafa		biti	wafa		biti
arrive	away AUX back		woolly monkey		young+M	woolly monkey		young+M
vi	aux		nm		adj	nm		adj
iisi		kabote		nari				
i- isi		na -kabote		na -haari				
DUP be small		AUX quickly		AUX IP.E+M				
vi		aux		aux				

'So they tied up two bunches of monkeys. One wife carried one bunch, and the other wife carried the other. He carried some. They started out and went. They arrived back. There was a [live] young monkey, a very small one.'

517	Faya	me		kobo	tonama		me	wafa	biti
	faya	me		kobo	to- na -ma+F		me	wafa	biti
	so	3PL.S		arrive	away AUX back		3PL.S	woolly monkey	young+M
	conj	pron		vi	aux		pron	nm	adj
	hinakaki			kaitiemetemone			fahi		
	hinaka	aki		kahiti	-hemete -mone		fahi		
	3SG.POSS	mother-in-law		yank first	FP.N+F REP+F		then		
	nf			vt			dem		

'They arrived back. His mother-in-law got the young monkey before anyone else could.'

518	Wafa		te	nawatariyahi	
	wafa		tee	na- wata -ra -yahi	
	woolly monkey		2PL.S	CAUS exist NEG DIST.IMP+F	
	nm		pron	vt	

""You don't raise the monkey.""

519	Wafa		onawatehiba		amane		ati
	wafa		o- na- wata -hiba		ama -ne		ati
	woolly monkey		1SG.S CAUS exist FUT+M		SEC BKG+M		say
	nm		vt		sec		vt

nemetemone

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

'I'm going to raise the monkey," she said.'

520	Faya	me		kobo	tonama		me	wafa	me
	faya	me		kobo	to- na -ma+F		me	wafa	me
	so	3PL.S		arrive	away AUX back		3PL.S	woolly monkey	3PL.O
	conj	pron		vi	aux		pron	nm	pron
	me	tokemetemone							
	me	toka		-hemete -mone					
	3PL.S	partially burn		FP.N+F REP+F					
	pron	vt							

'They arrived back. They singed the hair off the monkeys.'

AWITA FA YAFI

526 *E fami ya me fora onahabone*
 ee fama.NOM+F ya me fora o- na -habone
 1IN.S be two ADJU 3PL.O shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX INT+F
 pron vi prt pron vt aux

me onarake
 me ati o- na -hara -ke
 3PL.O say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vt

"If you go with me, I think I will kill lots of animals."

527 *Owa ma tihariyahi*
 owa maa ti- to- niha- ha -ra -yahi
 1SG.O be tired 2SG.S CH CAUS AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron vi aux

"I don't want you to tire me out."

528 *Owa ma tinihi tinofara tike*
 owa maa ti- to- niha- ha ti- nofa -hara ti- ke
 1SG.O be tired 2SG.S CH CAUS AUX 2SG.S recently IP.E+F 2SG.S DECL+F
 pron vi aux prt prt

"You are always tiring me out."

529 *Haha nematamonane*
 haahaa na -himata -mona -ne
 laugh AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi aux

'He laughed.'

530 *Haha ne anoti ati haha kane*
 haahaa na+M anoti ati haahaa ka- na+M
 laugh AUX 3SG.POSS older brother voice laugh COMMIT AUX
 vi aux nm pn vi aux

'He laughed, laughing at what his cousin had said.'

531 *Himata tikabaribe ma tihari ya*
 himata ti- kaba -ra -be maa ti- to- ha -ra.NOM+F ya
 what? 2SG.S eat NEG IMMED+F be tired 2SG.S CH AUX NEG ADJU
 interrog vt vi aux prt

?

"What are you going to eat, if you don't get tired out?"

532 *Ee yama e weye na tafate amake*
 ee yama ee weye na+M tafate -tee ama -ke
 (pause) thing 1IN.S carry AUX eat HAB SEC DECL+F
 interj nf pron vt aux vi sec

"If we carry things, we eat."

533 *Faya fati ati yana karawemetemone fahi*
 faya fati ati yana ka- na -rawa -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3SG.POSS.wife voice start COMMIT AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj nf pn vi aux dem

'Then his wives spoke.'

AWITA FA YAFI

534 *Bani me tamara me e kaba , me abi*
 bani me tama -ra+F me ee kaba+F , me ahaba.NFIN
 animal 3PL.S be many NEG 3PL.O 1IN.S eat 3PL.S die
 nm pron vi pron pron vt pron vi

kekerewe nofarani , ati nofe ehene te
 ke- kerewe nofa -hara -ni , ati na nofa+M ehene tee
 DUP be slow recently IP.E+F BKG+F say AUX recently victim of+M 2PL.S
 vi prt vt prt pn pron

kakaba toineni , ati narawemetemoneke
 ka- kaba to- ha -ne -ni , ati na -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 DUP eat CH AUX CONT+F BKG+F say AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux vt aux

'"When there are not many animals, they don't last very long when we eat them,' he always says. You are always eating what he kills," they said.'

535 *Fara*
 fara
 same+F
 dem

'"All right."'

536 *Tokamarematamona ahi*
 to- ka -ma -ra -himata -mona ahi
 away go/come back NEG FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi dem

'He didn't go out anymore.'

537 *Itawematamonaka ahi*
 ita -waha -himata -mona -ka ahi
 stay change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M work on
 vi vt

'Now he stayed in the village.'

538 *Ite , iti toyabo ya yama ahi ne ama*
 ita+M , ita.NFIN to- yabo.NOM ya yama ahi na+M ama
 stay sit CH be long ADJU thing work on AUX SEC
 vi vi vi prt nf vt aux sec

'He stayed. He stayed a long time, working.'

539 *Hinaka wati iso , ahi ne wati*
 hinaka wati iso , ahi na+M wati
 3SG.POSS arrow point+M work on AUX arrow
 pron nm pn vt aux nm

nawarima wati
 na- waa -rI -ma.LIST , wati
 CAUS stand raised surface back arrow
 vt nm

nawarime ya sare ta siri
 na- waa -rI -ma.NOM+M ya sarehe taa siri.LIST
 CAUS stand raised surface back ADJU blowgun dart contrast scrape
 vt prt nf prt vt

wati nawarime ya wati wati were
 wati na- waa -rI -ma.NOM+M ya wati wati were
 arrow CAUS stand raised surface back ADJU arrow arrow coat
 nm vt prt nm nm vt

AWITA FA YAFI

kana , **wati** **were** **kane** , **faya** **iita** **toe** ,
ka- na.LIST , wati were ka- na+M , faya i- ita to- ha+M ,
COMIT AUX arrow coat COMIT AUX so DUP stay CH AUX
aux nm vt aux conj vi aux

faya tokamarematamona **fahi** .
faya to- ka -ma -ra -himata -mona fahi
so away go/come back NEG FP.N+M REP+M then
conj vi dem

'He made arrow points, and put new points on the shafts. He also scraped blowgun darts. He also put poison on the arrows. He stayed in the village for a long time, and didn't go out anymore.'

540 **Tokamare** , **tokamarematamonaka** .
to- ka -ma -ra+M , to- ka -ma -ra -himata -mona -ka
away go/come back NEG away go/come back NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi vi

'He didn't go out anymore.'

541 **Tokare** **iita** **tohe** , **hiyama** **me**
to- ka -ra+M i- ita to- ha+M , hiyama me
away go/come NEG DUP stay CH AUX white-lipped peccary 3PL.O
vi vi aux nm pron

me mowa nani **me** **hiyama** **me** ,
me mowa na -hani me hiyama me
3PL.S fight AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S white-lipped peccary 3PL
pron vt aux pron nm pron

hiyama **me** **me** **tisa** **nani** **me**
hiyama me me tisa na -hani me
white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S
nm pron pron vt aux pron

tokomakerematamonane .
to- ka -makI -ra -himata -mona -ne
away go/come following NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
vi

'He stayed in the village and didn't go out. The others were going after white-lipped peccaries, and were killing white-lipped peccaries with arrows, but he didn't go.'

542 **Wine** , **Hiyama** **me** **ni**
wina+M hiyama me ni
lie in hammock white-lipped peccary 3PL to
vi nm pron prt

tisawiribana ?
ti- sawi -ra+F -bana
2SG.S be present NEG FUT
vi

'He was in his hammock. "Aren't you going to go to the peccaries?'"

543 **Hiyama** **me** **ni** **osawiene**
hiyama me ni o- sawi -hene
white-lipped peccary 3PL to 1SG.S be present IRR+F
nm pron prt vi

hiyama **sa** **okani**
hiyama saa okani
white-lipped peccary shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX
nm vt aux

AWITA FA YAFI

558 *Fare amaka*
 fare ama -ka
 same+M be DECL+M
 dem vc

"That was the only one."

559 *Ohari sa okane amane*
 ohari+M saa o- ka- na+M ama -ne
 be one shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX SEC BKG+M
 vi vt aux sec

"I only killed one."

560 *Hiyama me kana na me fito*
 hiyama me kana na+M me fito
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.S run AUX 3PL.S rush
 nm pron vi aux pron result
tokanamakia me tisa te me
 to- ka- na -makI+F me tisa na -tee me
 away COMIT AUX following 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX HAB 3PL.S
 aux pron result aux pron
amake
 ama -ke
 SEC DECL+F
 sec

"White-lipped peccaries run and are charged and they are shot with arrows."

561 *Hiyama me sa okara*
 hiyama me saa o- ka- na -ra+F
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX NEG
 nm pron vt aux
me tokomarake
 me to- ka -ma -hara -ke
 3PL.S away go/come back IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vi

"I didn't hit the other peccaries, they got away."

562 *Faya wati hikaname wati*
 faya wati hi- ka- na -ma+M wati
 so plan against OC COMIT AUX back plan against
 conj vt aux vt

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

'Then he wanted to go after him again.'

563 *Wati hikaname wati hikaname*
 wati hi- ka- na -ma+M wati hi- ka- na -ma+M
 plan against OC COMIT AUX back go after OC COMIT AUX back
 vt aux vt aux

hiwake me abe ha nemetemone
 hi- to- ka- ka+M me abe haa na -hemete -mone
 OC away COMIT go/come 3PL.POSS RECIP call AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vt pron pn vt aux

'He went after him again. He took him out into the forest. They called to each other.'

AWITA FA YAFI

564 *Ayo* , *ayo*
 ayo ayo
 older brother older brother
 nm nm

"Cousin."

565 *Hee*
 hee
 hey
 interj

"What?"

566 *Ayo* *hima*
 ayo hima
 older brother let's go
 nm interj

"Cousin, let's go."

567 *Owa* *owa* *noko* *ra* *awematamonane*
 owa owa noko ra awa -himata -mona -ne
 other+M other+M face+M O see FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 adj adj pn prt vt

'Another man looked at his face.'

568 *Owa* *noko* *awe* *Tiwa* *hima* *ne* *ati* *amaka*
 owa noko awa+M tiwa hima na+M ati ama -ka
 other+M face+M see 2SG.O call to go AUX voice be DECL+M
 adj pn vt pron vt aux pn vc

'Another man looked at his face. "He is calling you to go."

569 *Tiwa* *hima* *nane*
 tiwa hima na.CONT+M -ne
 2SG.O call to go AUX BKG+M
 pron vt aux

"He is calling you to go."

570 *Owa* *hima* *naka*
 owa hima na.CONT+M -ka
 1SG.O let's go AUX DECL+M
 pron interj aux

"He is calling me to go."

571 *Manakobisa* *tihaho*
 manako -bisa ti- to- ha -ho
 revenge also 2SG.S CH pay back IMP+M
 pn vd

"Get him back."

572 *Hibaka* *tika* *yama* *fora* *ni* *totoa*
 hibaka ti- ka yama fora na.NFIN to- to- ha
 where 2SG.POSS POSS thing shoot with blowgun AUX DUP CH be
 interrog prt nf vt aux vc

toari ?

to- ha -ri
 CH AUX CQ+F
 aux

"Can't you kill game, too?"

AWITA FA YAFI

573 **Manakobisa** **yama** **e** **bani** **e** **karaboa** **bani** **e**
 manakobisa yama ee bani ee karaboha+F bani ee
 then thing 1IN animal 1IN.S shoot with blowgun animal 1IN.S
 conj nf pron nm pron vt nm pron

hani **toniatera** **e** **amake**
 hani to- niha- na -tee -ra+F ee ama -ke
 miss CH CAUS AUX HAB NEG 1IN.S SEC DECL+F
 vt aux pron sec

"When we shoot an animal with a blowgun, we don't miss."

574 **Manakobisa** **tiabisaho** **bisa**
 manako -bisa ti- to- ha -bisa -ho bisa
 revenge also 2SG.S CH pay back also IMP+M also
 pn vd prt

"Get him back."

575 **Kakasawari** **tierihi** **tiwa** **mama**
 ka- ka- sawari ti- to- ha -hiri -hi tiwa ma- maa
 DUP COMIT frustrate 2SG.S CH AUX RP.E+M DUP 2SG.O DUP be tired
 vt aux pron nf

toniha **toaka**
 to- niha- ha to- ha -ka
 away CAUS AUX CH AUX DECL+M
 aux aux

"You complained about him, and he has always been tiring you out."

576 **Te** **kasawarimatasaba**
 tee ka- sawari -ma -tasa -ba
 2PL.S COMIT frustrate back again IMMED+M
 pron vt

"Don't complain about him anymore."

577 **Ee** , **hima** , **e** **ibe** **kasawaribeya**
 ee hima ee ibe ka- sawari -be -ya
 yes let's go 1IN.POSS RECIP COMIT frustrate IMMED+F now
 interj interj pron pn vt

"All right, let's go. Let's see who is best."

578 **E** **ibe** **kasawaribeya** **hima**
 ee ibe ka- sawari -be -ya hima
 1IN.POSS RECIP COMIT frustrate IMMED+F now let's go
 pron pn vt interj

"Let's see who is best."

579 **Yana** **tokanemetemoneke**
 yana to- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
 start CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux

'The two of them got ready to go.'

580 **Yana** **tokana** **me** **Hiba** , **wati** **tiwa**
 yana to- ka- na+F me hiba wati tiwa
 start CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S wait arrow carry
 vi aux pron interj nm vt

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okobana ?

o- ka- na -bana
1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT
aux

"They were ready. "Wait, should I take my arrows?"

581 **Wati titiwa kanare**

wati ti- tiwa ka- na -hare
arrow DUP carry COMIT AUX IP.E+M
nm vt aux

"Yes, take the arrows."

582 **Yomahi**

yomahi
jaguar
nm

"There are jaguars."

583 **Yome sa**

yomee saa
jaguar shoot with arrow
nm vt

okanabana

o- ka- na -habana
1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+F
aux

oke

o- ke
1SG.S DECL+F
prt

"I will shoot the jaguar with an arrow."

584 **Hima tai**

hima tai ti- to- ha
let's go be ahead 2SG.S CH AUX
interj vi aux

"Let's go, you go on ahead."

585 **Tai**

tiawite
tai ti- to- ha -witI
be ahead 2SG.S CH AUX out
vi aux

"You go ahead."

586 **Oyotobana**

o- yoto -bana o-
1SG.S follow FUT 1SG.S
vi prt

"I will follow."

587 **Faya tai**

faya tai to- ha -himata -mona -ka
so be ahead CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
conj vi aux

'So he went ahead.'

588 **Tai**

toawite **me**
tai to- ha -witI me
be ahead CH AUX out 3PL.S
vi aux pron

towakemetemoneke

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

'He went ahead. The two of them went out.'

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"Ah, he hasn't shot at the animals yet."

606 *Hikaraboeno* *kiya* *kanematamonaka* *ahi*
 hi- karaboha -hino kiya ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 OC shoot with blowgun IP.N+M yell COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt vi aux dem

'He shot one, and it cried out.'

607 *Me wati* *hikawe* *rama* *me*
 me wati hi- ka- na -waha+M rama me
 3PL plan against OC COMMIT AUX change unusual 3PL.O
 pron vt aux prt pron

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

'He wanted to make him carry lots of them, and he shot at them.'

608 *Me fora* *hina* *me* , *me* *yana*
 me fora hi- na+F me , me yana
 3PL.O shoot with blowgun OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S start
 pron vt aux pron pron vi

tonemetemoneni
 to- na -hemete -mone -ni
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 aux

'He shot at them, and they left.'

609 *Me yana tona* *me* *kamemetemoneke* *fare*
 me yana to- na+F me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke fare
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F same+M
 pron vi aux pron vi dem

ite *ya*
 ita.NOM+M ya
 sit ADJU
 vi prt

'They left and came to where he was sitting.'

610 *Boya* *boya*
 boya boya
 (noise of moving leaves) (noise of moving leaves)
 sound sound

boya , *sare* *sare* *rofi*
 boya , sarehe sarehe rofi
 (noise of moving leaves) blowgun dart blowgun dart twirl in mouth
 sound nf nf vt

kane *sare* *mowari* *soba* *kane* , *karaboa* *karaboa*
 ka- na+M sarehe mowari soba ka- na+M , karaboha karaboha
 COMMIT AUX blowgun dart cotton pull out COMMIT AUX blowgun blowgun
 aux nf pn vt aux nf nf

itikabote *nematamonaka*
 iti -kabote na -himata -mona -ka
 pick up quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux

"Boya, boya," went the leaves and branches. He twirled a dart in his mouth. He pulled some cotton out of the

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holder. He quickly got his blowgun.'

611 *Sare* *yoko* *tokane* *wafa* *taiti*
 sarehe yoko to- ka- na+M wafa tai -tee.NOM
 blowgun dart push CH COMIT AUX woolly monkey be ahead HAB
 nf vt aux nm vi

tohe *karaboematamonaka* *ahi* *kiya*
 to- ha+M karaboha -himata -mona -ka ahi kiya
 CH AUX shoot with blowgun FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then yell
 aux vt dem vi

kanehibana *ahi*
 ka- na -hibana ahi
 COMIT AUX FUT+M then
 aux dem

'He stuffed the dart in the blowgun and he shot the first monkey. It yelled.'

612 *Wafa* *me* *yora* *nemetemoneke* *ahi*
 wafa me yora na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 woolly monkey 3PL.S jump AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nm pron vi aux dem

'The monkeys ran.'

613 *Fai saki* , *fai saki* *me*
 fai saki , fai saki me
 (sound of blowgun arrow) (sound of blowgun arrow) 3PL.O
 sound sound pron

fora *hinemetemoneke* *me* *yaka* *na* *mati*
 fora hi- na -hemete -mone -ke me yaka na+F mati
 shoot with blowgun OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S walk AUX 3PL.S
 vt aux pron vi aux pron

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'"Fai saki, fai saki." He was hitting them as they moved.'

614 *Me* *yaka* *na* *me* *fora* *hinemetemoneke*
 me yaka na me fora hi- na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S walk AUX 3PL.O shoot with blowgun OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux pron vt aux

'He was hitting them as they moved.'

615 *Fora* *hina* *me* , *wafa* *me*
 fora hi- na+F me , wafa me
 shoot with blowgun OC AUX 3PL.O woolly monkey 3PL.O
 vt aux pron nm pron

fora *ne* *wafa* *me* , *hinaka* *sare*
 fora na+M wafa me , hinaka sarehe
 shoot with blowgun AUX woolly monkey 3PL 3SG.POSS blowgun dart
 vt aux nm pron pron nf

totokowa *na* *toharemetemone*
 to- to- ka- waa.LIST na+F to- ha -ra -hemete -mone
 DUP away COMIT stand AUX CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 vi aux aux

'He was hitting the monkeys with darts. His darts were not missing.'

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616 *Aw* *Awita Fa* *yafi* *amaka*
 awi Awita Fa yafi ama -ka
 (name of stream) inhabitant of be DECL+M
 npropf pn vc

'He was an Awita Fa Yafi man.'

617 *Wafa* *me* *fora* *ne* *wafa* *me*
 wafa me fora na+M wafa me
 woolly monkey 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX woolly monkey 3PL
 nm pron vt aux nm pron

kamaki *wafa* *aya* *hikaraboeno*
 ka -makI+M wafa aya hi- karaboaha -hino
 go/come following woolly monkey this OC shoot with blowgun IP.N+M
 vi nm dem vt

kamaki *sonamake* *Kaa* *ene*
 ka -makI+M sona -makI hika ehene
 go/come following fall following wow! victim of+M
 vi vi interj pn

sonamakehari *hari*
 sona -makI -haari haari
 fall following look+M that one+M
 vi dem

'He was hitting the monkeys. A monkey that the other one had hit came toward him and fell to the ground.
 "Oh no, one that he killed fell over there."⁸¹

618 *Wafa* *me* *foro* *nemetemoneke* *ahi*
 wafa me foro na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 woolly monkey 3PL.S fall AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F here
 nm pron vi aux dem

'The monkeys were falling.'

619 *Me* *foro* *na* *me* *wafa* *me* *foro* *ni* *ya*
 me foro na+F me wafa me foro na.NOM+F ya
 3PL.S fall AUX 3PL.S woolly monkey 3PL.S fall AUX ADJU
 pron vi aux pron nm pron vi aux prt

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

'They were falling. The other one came back.'

620 *Wafa* *me* *fama* *me* *tiwa* *kanikime*
 wafa me fama+F me tiwa ka- na -kima+M
 woolly monkey 3PL.S be two 3PL.O carry COMIT AUX two
 nm pron vi pron vt aux

kamaki *Wafa* *me* *fawa* *ni*
 ka -makI+M wafa me fawa na.NOM+F
 go/come following woolly monkey 3PL.S disappear AUX
 vi nm pron vi aux

'He came carrying two monkeys. "The monkeys are all dead."'

621 *Oof* *foofooi*
 oof foofooi
 hoo (whistle)
 interj sound

'He whistled.'

81 The words *wafa me* immediately preceding *kamaki* are a false start.

AWITA FA YAFI

622 *Fio*
fio
(whistle)
sound

'He answered.'

623 *Tikama* *ahi*
ti- ka -ma ahi
2SG.S go/come back here
vi dem

"Come here."

624 *Owita* *oke* *ahi*
o- ita+F o- ke ahi
1SG.S stay 1SG.S DECL+F there
vi prt dem

"I'm sitting here."

625 *Owita* *owitine* *oni*
o- ita+F o- ita -ne o- ni
1SG.S sit 1SG.S sit CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
vi vi prt

"I'm still sitting in the same place."

626 *Bani* *me* *wafa* *me* *tokomi* *ahi*
bani me wafa me to- ka -ma.NOM+F ahi
animal 3PL woolly monkey 3PL.S away go/come back there
nm pron nm pron vi dem

"The monkeys went away."

627 *Wafa* *me* *foro* *ni* *ahi*
wafa me foro na.NOM+F ahi
woolly monkey 3PL.S fall AUX there
nm pron vi aux dem

"The monkeys are all killed."

628 *Afa* *tiwehene* *foro* *nine* ?
afa ti- ehene foro na -ne
this+F 2SG.POSS victim of fall AUX CONT+F
dem pn vi aux

"Did you kill them?"

629 *Owene* *watakare*
o- ehene wata -ka -re
1SG.POSS victim of exist DECL NEG+F
pn vi

"I didn't kill many."

630 *Wafa* *me* *onafama* *me* *ama* *ha*
wafa me o- na- fama+F me ama haa
woolly monkey 3PL.O 1SG.S CAUS be two 3PL.O SEC DEM
nm pron vt pron sec dem

"I only killed two monkeys."

AWITA FA YAFI

637 *Yome ene kayawa nakani ona*
 yomee ehene ka- yawa.CONT+M na+M -kani ati o- na+F
 jaguar victim of+M COMIT be excited AUX CNTRFACT say 1SG.S AUX
 nm pn vi aux aux

"I thought there was a jaguar that was making the monkeys all excited."

638 *Hine ya me tekatomani me awine ?*
 hine ya me ti- ka- katoma -hani me awine
 only ADJU 3PL.O 2SG.S COMIT look at IP.N+F 3PL.O seem+F
 pron prt pron vt pron sec

"Did you just watch them?"

639 *Me owakatamarake*
 me o- ka- katoma -hara -ke
 3PL.O 1SG.S COMIT look at IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vt

"I watched them."

640 *Me fora onabone me wati*
 me fora o- na -habone me wati
 3PL.O shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX INT+F 3PL.O plan against
 pron vt aux pron vt

okana me onafamawaine waha
 o- ka- na+F me o- na- fama -waha -ne waha
 1SG.S COMIT AUX 3PL.O 1SG.S CAUS be two change CONT+F now
 aux pron vt prt

"I was determined to kill a lot of them, but I only killed two."

641 *Me onafamawaine oke*
 me o- na- fama -waha -ne o- ke
 3PL.O 1SG.S CAUS be two change CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron vt prt

"I only killed two."

642 *Me wafana famarawa me kowato*
 me wafana fama -rawa+F me kowato
 3PL female woolly monkey be two F.PL 3PL.S be four
 pron nf vi pron vi

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

"There are two females, four altogether."

643 *Me kowato nineke*
 me kowato na -ne -ke
 3PL.S be four AUX CONT+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

"There are four."

644 *Faya me amani*
 faya me ama -ni
 enough 3PL.S SEC BKG+F
 adj pron sec

"That's enough."

AWITA FA YAFI

645 *Yama kanahi nofi amani*
 yama kanaha nofa.NOM+F ama -ni
 thing be heavy recently be BKG+F
 nf vi prt vc

"The loads are always heavy."

646 *Faya me amake*
 faya me ama -ke
 enough 3PL.S be DECL+F
 adj pron vc

"That's enough."

647 *Hine me tokomi na*
 hine me to- ka -ma.NOM+F na
 only 3PL.S away go/come back AUX
 pron pron vi aux

"Let them go away."

648 *Me tokomarahe ahi*
 me to- ka -ma -hara -ke ahi
 3PL.S away go/come back IP.E+F DECL+F there
 pron vi dem

"They went that way."

649 *Awa me were hina foro ni ahi*
 awa me were hi- na+F foro na.NOM+F ahi
 tree 3PL.S throw OC AUX fall AUX there
 nf pron vt aux vi aux dem

"They were knocking branches down."

650 *Wafa awa me were na me , awa me were*
 wafa awa me were na+F me , awa me were
 woolly monkey tree 3PL.S throw AUX 3PL.S tree 3PL.S throw
 nm nf pron vt aux pron nf pron vt

hina foro ninihi ?
 hi- na+F foro na.NOM+F -ni -hi
 OC AUX fall AUX IP.N+F DUP
 aux vi aux

"Were they knocking branches down?"

651 *E towamakibana* ?
 ee to- awa -makI -bana
 1IN.S away see following FUT
 pron vt

"Should we go after them to see them?"

652 *Tika wafa me mata namata mata*
 ti- ka wafa me mata na -mata mata
 2SG.POSS POSS woolly monkey 3PL.S for now AUX short time for now
 prt nm pron prt aux prt

"Your two monkeys can stay here."

653 *Me e totowamake namata*
 me ee to- to- awa -makI na -mata
 3PL.O 1IN.S DUP away see following AUX short time
 pron pron vt aux

"Let's go after them to see them."

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654 *Awa foro ni moni toa awineke*
 awa foro na.NFIN moni to- ha+F awine -ke
 tree fall AUX sound CH be seem+F DECL+F
 nf vi aux pn vc sec

"It's probably the noise of branches falling."

655 *E awakere*
 ee awa -ke -re
 1IN.S see DECL+F NEG+F
 pron vt

"I don't know."

656 *Awa sonakanikima narake ahi*
 awa sona -kanikima na -hara -ke ahi
 tree fall scattered AUX IP.E+F DECL+F there
 nf vi aux aux dem

"There were lots of branches falling over there."

657 *E towakamaki ahi*
 ee to- ka- ka -makI ahi
 1IN.S away COMIT go/come following there
 pron vi dem

"Let's go there."

658 *E towakamaki ahi*
 ee to- ka- ka -makI.NOM ahi
 1IN.S away COMIT go/come following there
 pron vi dem

"Let's go there."

659 *Towakamakiemetemoneke*
 to- ka- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke
 away COMIT go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'They went.'

660 *Towakamakia me towakamakia me*
 to- ka- ka -makI+F me to- ka- ka -makI+F me
 away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S
 vi pron vi pron

me towakamakia wafa
 me to- ka- ka -makI+F wafa
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following woolly monkey
 pron vi nm

homemetemoneke

homa -hemete -mone -ke
 lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'They went. There was a female monkey on the ground.'

661 *Homari ha*
 homa -haari haa
 lie on ground look+M DEM
 vi dem

"Look, there's a monkey there on the ground."

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668 *Ta* *torine* *ha*
 taa to- na -rI -ne haa
 be piled up CH AUX raised surface CONT+F DEM
 vi aux dem

"There is a big pile of them."

669 *Wafa* *me* *ta*
 wafa me taa
 woolly monkey 3PL.O be piled up
 nm pron vi

toniharewame , *Wafa* *biti*
 to- niha- na -rI -waha -ma+M wafa biti
 CH CAUS AUX raised surface change back woolly monkey young+M
 aux nm adj

amoseno *abakeno*
 amosa -hino ahaba -ke -no
 be good IP.N+M die DECL IP.N+M
 vi vi

'He piled up the monkeys. "A pretty little monkey is dead."

670 *Wafa* *biti* *okaraboe* *ama* *fa*
 wafa biti o- karaboha+M ama faa
 woolly monkey young+M 1SG.S shoot with blowgun SEC that
 nm adj vt sec dem

"I hit the little monkey with a dart."

671 *Hinaka* *sare* *ini* *winine* *teme* *karo*
 hinaka sarehe ini wina -ne teme karo
 3SG.POSS blowgun dart point+F hang CONT+F foot+M LOC
 pron nf pn vi pn prt

"There is a broken off dart in his foot."

672 *Teme* *okaraboanomako* *kikita*
 teme o- karaboha -no -mako ki- kita
 foot+M 1SG.S shoot with blowgun IP.N+M for this reason+M DUP be strong
 pn vt vi

nanoho
 na.NOM+M -no -ho
 AUX IP.N+M DUP
 aux

"I hit him in the foot, but he is still alive."

673 *Faya* *me* *wafa* *me* *yabemetemoneke*
 faya me wafa me yaba -hemete -mone -ke
 so 3PL woolly monkey 3PL.O pick up FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj pron nm pron vt

wafa *me* *me* *iso* *naba* *mati* *ai*
 wafa me me iso na -haba mati ahi
 woolly monkey 3PL.O 3PL.S carry off AUX FUT+F 3PL.S then
 nm pron pron vt aux pron dem

'They picked up the monkeys, in order to gather them together.'

674 *Kakame* *Me* *one*
 ka- ka -ma+M me one
 COMMIT go/come back 3PL other+F
 vt pron adj

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tiwakamibahi

ti- to- ka- ka -ma -baha -hi
 2SG.S away COMIT go/come back before IMP+F
 vt
 'He brought the monkeys. "You take the others first."'

675 *Ha me oyabamatibeya*

haa me o- yaba -mata -be -ya
 DEM 3PL.O 1SG.S take out short time IMMED+F now
 dem pron vt

'I'm going to pick those others up.'

676 *Wafa me yabematamonaka*

wafa me yaba -himata -mona -ka
 woolly monkey 3PL.O pick up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm pron vt

'He picked up the monkeys.'

677 *Wafa me tiwa kamise kamaki*

wafa me tiwa ka- na -misa+M ka -makI+M
 woolly monkey 3PL.O carry COMIT AUX up go/come following
 nm pron vt aux vi

wafa me ta toniharemake
 wafa me taa to- niha- na -rI -makI
 woolly monkey 3PL.O be piled up CH CAUS AUX raised surface following
 nm pron vi aux

faya wafa me ta tonihare me
 faya wafa me taa to- niha- na -rI me
 so woolly monkey 3PL.O be piled up CH CAUS AUX raised surface 3PL.S
 conj nm pron vi aux pron

towakamatasa me wafa me
 to- ka- ka -ma -tasa+F me wafa me
 away COMIT go/come back again 3PL.S woolly monkey 3PL.O
 vi pron nm pron

yabatasemetemoneke

yaba -tasa -hemete -mone -ke
 pick up again FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'He came carrying the monkeys. He made another pile of monkeys. They piled the monkeys up and then went back and picked up more monkeys.'

678 *Me hiyaba hinamakehite*

me hi- yaba hi- to- na -makI -hitI
 3PL.O OC pick up OC away AUX following along the way
 pron vt aux

Wafa me totokoma raba ra me
 wafa me to- to- ka -ma na -raba na -ra+F me
 woolly monkey 3PL.S DUP away go/come back AUX a bit AUX NEG 3PL.S
 nm pron vi aux aux pron

foro na me e yabineke yama
 foro na+F me ee yaba -ne -ke yama
 fall AUX 3PL.O 1IN.S pick up CONT+F DECL+F thing
 vi aux pron pron vt nf

fofora ora owa
 fo- fora o- na -ra+F owa
 DUP shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX NEG 1SG.S
 vt aux pron

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"They picked up others. "I didn't kill these monkeys. They had all run away, and here they are fallen and we are picking them up."

679 *Bani me wafa me yabemetemone fahi*
 bani me wafa me yaba -hemete -mone fahi
 animal 3PL woolly monkey 3PL.O pick up FP.N+F REP+F then
 nm pron nm pron vt dem

"They picked up the monkeys."

680 *Hima fara me amake*
 hima fara me ama -ke
 let's go same+F 3PL.S be DECL+F
 interj dem pron vc

"Let's go, that's all of them."

681 *Fara me amani*
 fara me ama -ni
 same+F 3PL.S be BKG+F
 dem pron vc

"That's all of them."

682 *Hiba okaraboe ama ahi*
 hiba o- karaboha+M ama ahi
 wait 1SG.S shoot with blowgun SEC there
 interj vt sec dem

"I shot that one."

683 *Okaraboe ama*
 o- karaboha+M ama
 1SG.S shoot with blowgun SEC
 vt sec

"And I shot that one."

684 *Okaraboe ama ahi*
 o- karaboha+M ama ahi
 1SG.S shoot with blowgun SEC there
 vt sec dem

"And I shot that one."

685 *Okaraboe ama*
 o- karaboha+M ama
 1SG.S shoot with blowgun SEC
 vt sec

"And I shot that one."

686 *Okaraboe ama*
 o- karaboha+M ama
 1SG.S shoot with blowgun SEC
 vt sec

"And I shot that one."

687 *Okaraboe ama*
 o- karaboha+M ama
 1SG.S shoot with blowgun be
 vt vc

"And I shot that one."

AWITA FA YAFI

- 688 *Okaraboe* *amane*
o- karaboha+M ama -ne
1SG.S shoot with blowgun SEC BKG+M
vt sec
"\"And I shot that one.\""
- 689 *Me ka abi me fawa tone ahi*
me ka abi me fawa to- na -ne ahi
3PL POSS father 3PL.S disappear CH AUX CONT+F then
pron prt nm pron vi aux dem
"\"Their parents are all dead.\""
- 690 *Wafana ama ha*
wafana ama haa
female woolly monkey SEC DEM
nf sec dem
"\"This one is a female.\""
- 691 *Wafana famarawa ama ha*
wafana fama -rawa+F ama haa
female woolly monkey be two F.PL SEC DEM
nf vi sec dem
"\"There are two female monkeys here.\""
- 692 *Ee fara me amake*
ee fara me ama -ke
yes same+F 3PL.S be DECL+F
interj dem pron vc
"\"OK, that's all of them.\""
- 693 *Fara oko yama fora ni amani*
fara o- ka yama fora na.NFIN ama -ni
same+F 1SG.POSS POSS thing shoot with blowgun AUX be BKG+F
dem prt nf vt aux vc
"\"That's all the ones I shot.\""
- 694 *Fara oko yama fora ni ama ha*
fara o- ka yama fora na.NFIN ama haa
same+F 1SG.POSS POSS thing shoot with blowgun AUX be DEM
dem prt nf vt aux vc dem
"\"That's all the monkeys I shot.\""
- 695 *Me nafi tiwa tikana fa*
me nafi tiwa ti- ka- na faa
3PL.POSS all carry 2SG.S COMIT AUX that
pron pn vt aux dem
"\"You carry them all.\""
- 696 *Me tiwa tikana fa*
me tiwa ti- ka- na faa
3PL.O carry 2SG.S COMIT AUX that
pron vt aux dem
"\"You carry them.\""

AWITA FA YAFI

697 *Tiwa hikana* , *Yama tataforirawara*
 tiwa hi- ka- na+F , yama ta- tafo -ri -rawa -ra+F
 carry OC COMMIT AUX thing DUP be light DISTR F.PL NEG
 vt aux nf vi

tiwarawa watakarawaro
 ti- awa -rawa wataka -rawa -haaro
 2SG.S see F.PL be fatty F.PL IP.E+F
 vt vi

'He carried them. "Look at the heavy monkeys, they are fat."'

698 *Yama watakarawake*
 yama wataka -rawa -ke
 thing be fatty F.PL DECL+F
 nf vi

""They are fat.""

699 *Faya me kakama me wafa me tiwa*
 faya me ka- ka -ma+F me wafa me tiwa
 so 3PL.S COMMIT go/come back 3PL.S woolly monkey 3PL.O carry
 conj pron vi pron nm pron vt

kane wafa me koro kanamematamonaka
 ka- na+M wafa me koro ka- na -ma -himata -mona -ka
 COMMIT AUX woolly monkey 3PL.O throw COMMIT AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux nm pron vt aux

'They came back. He carried the monkeys. When they arrived he threw the monkeys on the ground.'

700 *Hima tamiyara sa tina*
 hima , tamiyara saa ti- na
 let's go tree sp strip off 2SG.S AUX
 interj nm vt aux

""Come on, strip off some inner bark.""

701 *Me wete obeya*
 me wete o- na -be -ya
 3PL.O tie 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 pron vt aux

""I will tie them up.""

702 *Me e weye nibeya*
 me ee weye na -be -ya
 3PL.O 1IN.S carry AUX IMMED+F now
 pron pron vt aux

""Let's carry them.""

703 *Me e weye nibeya*
 me ee weye na -be -ya
 3PL.O 1IN.S carry AUX IMMED+F now
 pron pron vt aux

""Let's carry them.""

704 *Me weye tinibahabanake*
 me weye ti- na -baha -habana -ke
 3PL.O carry 2SG.S AUX before FUT+F DECL+F
 pron vt aux

""You are going to carry them first.""

AWITA FA YAFI

705 *Me weye onibaibeya*
 me weye o- na -baha -be -ya
 3PL.O carry 1SG.S AUX before IMMED+F now
 pron vt aux

"I will carry them first."

706 *Me weye onibaibeya ha owa*
 me weye o- na -baha -be -ya haa owa
 3PL.O carry 1SG.S AUX before IMMED+F now DEM 1SG
 pron vt aux dem pron

"I will carry them first."

707 *Yama weye tinofarara tike*
 yama weye.LIST ti- na nofa -ra -hara ti- ke
 thing carry 2SG.S AUX recently NEG IP.E+F 2SG.S DECL+F
 nf vt aux prt

"You never carry anything."

708 *Otee owati timitamata*
 otee o- ati ti- mita -mata
 stop 1SG.POSS voice 2SG.S hear short time
 interj pn vt

"Be quiet and listen to me."

709 *Hiyama , hiyama me weye ,*
 hiyama , hiyama me weye.LIST ,
 white-lipped peccary white-lipped peccary 3PL.O carry
 nm nm pron vt
hiyama me weye me fumaría mati
 hiyama me weye.LIST me fama -rI+F mati
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O carry 3PL.S be two raised surface 3PL.S
 nm pron vt pron vi pron

"I carried the white-lipped peccaries, two of them tied together."

710 *Manakobisa wafa me weye ona me amani*
 manakobisa wafa me weye o- na+F me ama -ni
 then woolly monkey 3PL.O carry 1SG.S AUX 3PL.O SEC BKG+F
 conj nm pron vt aux pron sec

"Then I carried the woolly monkeys."

711 *Biyo weye orawa , bani me weye*
 biyo weye o- na -rawa+F , bani me weye
 spider monkey carry 1SG.S AUX F.PL animal 3PL.O carry
 nf vt aux nm pron vt
otasibana oke haro
 o- na -tasa.NOM+F -bana o- ke haaro
 1SG.S AUX again FUT 1SG.S DECL+F that one+F
 aux prt dem

"I carried the spider monkeys. Now I am going to carry game again."

712 *Faya me , faya bani me me wete na me , me*
 faya me , faya bani me me wete na+F me , me
 so 3PL so animal 3PL.O 3PL.S tie AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S
 conj pron conj nm pron pron vt aux pron pron

AWITA FA YAFI

hiyaranama *na* *me* , *faya* *me* *hiyaranama* *nemete*
 hiyara -nama na+F me , faya me hiyara -nama na -hemete
 speak to SUPER AUX 3PL.S so 3PL.S speak to SUPER AUX FP.N+F
 vt aux pron conj pron vt aux

fahi .

fahi
 then
 dem

'They talked a lot while they tied up the animals.'

713 *Kame* , *yama* *hiwake* .
 ka -ma+M , yama hiwa -ke
 go/come back thing be hot DECL+F
 vi nf vi

'It's hot.'⁸²

714 *Faya* *me* , *bani* *me* *wete* *nematamona* *kasiro* *ya* .
 faya me , bani me wete na -himata -mona kasiro ya
 so 3PL animal 3PL.O tie AUX FP.N+M REP+M a lot ADJU
 conj pron nm pron vt aux adv prt

'He tied the animals really tight.'

715 *Bani* *me* *soki* *nake* , *me* *kanaharaba* *me*
 bani me soki na -kI , me kanaha -ra -haba me
 animal 3PL.O tie up AUX coming 3PL.S be heavy NEG FUT+F 3PL.O
 nm pron vt aux pron vi pron

soki *nematamona* .
 soki na -himata -mona
 tie up AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vt aux

'He tied the animals together. They were going to be heavy. He tied them really tight.'

716 *Me* *soki* *hina* *me* , *Hima* , *me* *weweye*
 me soki hi- na+F me , hima , me we- weye
 3PL.O tie up OC AUX 3PL.O let's go 3PL.O DUP carry
 pron vt aux pron interj pron vt

tinibahi

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

'He tied them together tightly. "Let's go, you carry them first."'

717 *Me* *wara* *onabanake* .
 me wara o- to- na -habana -ke
 3PL.O grab 1SG.S CH AUX FUT+F DECL+F
 pron vt aux

'I will take my turn carrying them.'

718 *Tiwa* *okeyerabana* *oke* .
 tiwa o- keyeha -ra -habana o- ke
 2SG.O 1SG.S deceive NEG FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron vt prt

'I won't trick you.'

82 Siko was feeling hot.

AWITA FA YAFI

719 *Yama weye ni kanahi nofa amake*
 yama weye na.NFIN kanaha nofa+F ama -ke
 thing carry AUX be heavy recently SEC DECL+F
 nf vt aux vi prt sec

"The loads are always heavy."

720 *Otati komineke haro*
 o- tati koma -ne -ke haaro
 1SG.POSS head hurt CONT+F DECL+F that one+F
 pn vi dem

"My head hurts."

721 *Hoo , otati komarake*
 hoo o- tati koma -hara -ke
 humph 1SG.POSS head hurt IP.E+F DECL+F
 interj pn vi

"Oh man, my head really hurts."

722 *Faya me yana tona , faya me*
 faya me yana to- na+F , faya me
 so 3PL.S start CH AUX so 3PL.S
 conj pron vi aux conj pron

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

'They got ready to go. They left.'

723 *Ee ee , faya me yana tokanemetemone fahi*
 ee ee , faya me yana to- ka- na -hemete -mone fahi
 yes yes so 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 interj interj conj pron vi aux dem

'The two of them were ready.'

724 *Me yana tokana me Hiya me weweye*
 me yana to- ka- na+F me hiya me we- weye
 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S come on 3PL.O DUP carry
 pron vi aux pron interj pron vt

obe
 o- na -be
 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 aux

"They were ready. "All right, I will carry them."

725 *Me weweye onofara me ama*
 me we- weye o- na nofa -ra+F me ama
 3PL.O DUP carry 1SG.S AUX recently NEG 3PL.O SEC
 pron vt aux pron sec

"I always carry them."

726 *Ee me weye obe*
 ee me weye o- na -be
 yes 3PL.O carry 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 interj pron vt aux

"I will carry them."

AWITA FA YAFI

727 *Tika* *ma* *tohi* *ohariananake* *waha*
 ti- ka maa to- ha.NFIN ohari -habana -ke waha
 2SG.POSS POSS be tired CH AUX be one FUT+F DECL+F now
 prt vi aux vi prt

"You will be tired just this one time."

728 *Manakobisa* *oye* *honari* *ya* *wati*
 manakobisa o- yehe hona -ra.NOM+F ya wati
 then 1SG.POSS hand have something NEG ADJU arrow
 conj pn vi prt nm

tatama *okana* *oni* *ya* *e*
 ta- tama o- ka- na o- na.NOM+F ya ee
 DUP hold onto 1SG.S COMIT AUX 1SG.S AUX ADJU 1IN.S
 vt aux prt prt pron

famawahaba *ereke* *waha*
 fama -waha -haba ere -ke waha
 be two change FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F now
 vi pron prt

"Next time I will only take arrows when we go out together."

729 *Ee* *hiyama* *me* *hiyama* *me* *kobo*
 ee , hiyama me , hiyama me kobo
 yes white-lipped peccary 3PL white-lipped peccary 3PL.S meet
 interj nm pron nm pron result

ni *ya* *e* *famaba* *ereke*
 na.NOM+F ya ee fama -haba ere -ke
 AUX ADJU 1IN.S be two FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F
 aux prt pron vi pron

"Yes, if the others find white-lipped peccaries, we will go out together."

730 *Wati* *tiwa* *okana* *karaboa* *tama*
 wati tiwa o- ka- na+F , karaboha tama
 arrow carry 1SG.S COMIT AUX blowgun hold onto
 nm vt aux nf vt

okarabanake
 o- ka- na -ra -habana -ke
 1SG.S COMIT AUX NEG FUT+F DECL+F
 aux

"I will take only arrows, not a blowgun."

731 *Hiyama* *hiyama* *sa*
 hiyama , hiyama saa
 white-lipped peccary white-lipped peccary shoot with arrow
 nm nm vt
okane *ya* *hiyama* *weye* *onehiba*
 o- ka- na.NOM+M ya hiyama weye o- na -hiba
 1SG.S COMIT AUX ADJU white-lipped peccary carry 1SG.S AUX FUT+M
 aux prt nm vt aux

awaka
 awa -ka
 seem+M DECL+M
 sec

"If I kill a peccary, I will carry the peccary."

AWITA FA YAFI

732 **Hiyama** **weweyebisa** **ama** **oke**
 hiyama we- weye -bisa ama o- ke
 white-lipped peccary DUP carry also be 1SG.S DECL+F
 nm pn vc prt

"I do carry peccaries."

733 **Hiyama** **weye** **onehiba** **awane**
 hiyama weye o- na -hiba awa -ne
 white-lipped peccary carry 1SG.S AUX FUT+M seem+M BKG+M
 nm vt aux sec

"I am going to carry a peccary."

734 **Owa** **tikeyebe**
 owa ti- keyeha -be
 1SG.O 2SG.S deceive IMMED+F
 pron vt

"You are going to trick me."

735 **Tiwa** **okeye** **okere**
 tiwa o- keyeha o- ke -re
 2SG.O 1SG.S deceive 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F
 pron vt prt

"I'm not fooling you."

736 **Owa** **tikeye** **tinofara** **tike**
 owa ti- keyeha ti- nofa -hara ti- ke
 1SG.O 2SG.S deceive 2SG.S recently IP.E+F 2SG.S DECL+F
 pron vt prt prt

"You always trick me."

737 **Wafa** **me** **weye** **tase** **wafa** **me** **weye**
 wafa me weye na -tasa+M wafa me weye
 woolly monkey 3PL.O carry AUX again woolly monkey 3PL.O carry
 nm pron vt aux nm pron vt
ne **kame** **kamematamonaka**
 na+M ka -ma+M ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 AUX go/come back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux vi vi

'He carried the monkeys again. He came back carrying the monkeys.'

738 **Faya** **hasi** **name** **wafa** **me** **yaka** **kani**
 faya , hasi na -ma+M wafa me yaka ka- na.NFIN
 so rest AUX back woolly monkey 3PL.O walk COMIT AUX
 conj vi aux nm pron vi aux

watore **wafa** **me** **yaka** **kani**
 wato -ra+M , wafa me yaka ka- na.NFIN
 know NEG woolly monkey 3PL.O walk COMIT AUX
 vt nm pron vi aux

watorematamonaka
 wato -ra -himata -mona -ka
 know NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'He took a rest on the way back. He couldn't walk with the monkeys.'

AWITA FA YAFI

weye na nanoho
 weye na.CONT+M na.NOM+M -no -ho
 carry AUX AUX IP.N+M DUP
 vt aux aux

'He took them. The animals were heavy as he carried them.'

746 **Hiba ma toi nofe ama me ihi**
 hiba maa to- ha nofa+M ama me ihi
 recently be tired CH AUX recently SEC 3PL.POSS because of+F
 conj vi aux prt sec pron post

""They have been tiring him out.""

747 **Tiwehene , tiwehene ma ohi**
 ti- ehene , ti- ehene maa o- to- ha
 2SG.POSS because of 2SG.POSS because of be tired 1SG.S CH AUX
 pn pn vi aux

onofara oke
 o- nofa -hara o- ke
 1SG.S recently IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt prt

""I am always tired out because of you.""

748 **Faya me towakami ya me**
 faya me to- ka- ka -ma.NOM+F ya me
 so 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back ADJU 3PL.S
 conj pron vi prt pron

towakama me faya me tasi tokanama
 to- ka- ka -ma+F me faya me tasi to- ka- na -ma+F
 away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S so 3PL.S emerge away COMIT AUX back
 vi pron conj pron vi aux

me ati koro nakemetemoneke Hehee , siwa
 me ati koro na -kI -hemete -mone -ke hehee , siwa
 3PL.POSS voice be heard AUX coming FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F whoopee play
 pron pn vi aux dem sound

na mati tatao me tao na mati
 na+F mati tatao me tao na+F mati
 AUX 3PL.S shuttlecock 3PL.S hit with one's hand AUX 3PL.S
 aux pron nm pron vt aux pron

'They went on. They went on and came out into the clearing. The voices of the people came to them from the distance, "Hehee," as they were playing, playing with the shuttlecock.'

749 **Tatao me tao na me ati**
 tatao me tao na+F me ati
 shuttlecock 3PL.S (sound of hitting) AUX 3PL.POSS voice
 nm pron sound aux pron pn

saihemetemoneke ahi Tao tao
 sai -hemete -mone -ke ahi tao tao
 be heard FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then (sound of hitting) (sound of hitting)
 vi dem sound sound

tao tao tao
 tao tao tao
 (sound of hitting) (sound of hitting) (sound of hitting)
 sound sound sound

tao tao tao
 tao tao tao
 (sound of hitting) (sound of hitting) (sound of hitting)
 sound sound sound

AWITA FA YAFI

756 **Wafa** **me** **koro** **nise** **Hiba** **okatao** **ma**
wafa me koro na -risa+M hiba okatao maa
woolly monkey 3PL.O throw AUX down recently my son be tired
nm pron vt aux conj nm vi

tonihi **nofare** **okatao** **ma** **toniha**
to- niha- ha nofa -ra+M okatao maa to- niha- ha.CONT+M
CH CAUS AUX recently NEG my son be tired away CAUS AUX
aux prt nm vi aux

nanoho
na.NOM+M -no -ho
AUX IP.N+M DUP
aux

'He threw the monkeys to the ground. "He always tires my son out, and he has tired my son out again.'

757 **Faya** **me** **yana** **tonemetemoneke**
faya me yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke
so 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
conj pron vi aux

'They got working.'

758 **Me** **te** **titisa**
me tee ti- tisa
3PL.O 2PL.S DUP undo
pron pron vt

""Untie them.""

759 **Me** **te** **awibe**
me tee awa -be
3PL.O 2PL.S see IMMED+F
pron pron vt

""Look at them.""

760 **Wafa** **biti** **wana** **hari**
wafa biti wana.CONT+M haari
woolly monkey young+M be attached that one+M
nm adj vi dem

""Look, there is a young monkey holding on [to its dead mother].""

761 **Oko** **wafa** **bitiba** **amane** **ati**
o- ka wafa biti -ba ama -ne , ati
1SG.POSS POSS woolly monkey offspring FUT be BKG+M say
prt nm nm vc vt

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

""It's going to be my young monkey," a woman said.'

762 **Me** **yana** **tona** **me** **wafa** **me**
me yana to- na+F me wafa me
3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S woolly monkey 3PL.O
pron vi aux pron nm pron

tisehemetemoneke **ahi**
tisa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
undo FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
vt dem

AWITA FA YAFI

'They got started. They untied the monkeys.'

763	Hii	wafa	me	sobori	te	awa	ha
	hii	wafa	me	sobo -ri	tee	awa	haa
	wow!	woolly monkey	3PL.POSS	belly PN	2PL.S	see	DEM
	interj	nm	pron	pn	pron	vt	dem

""Wow, look at the fat monkeys!""

764	Wafa	me	ibori	kawahemetemoneke			
	wafa	me	ibori	ka-	na	-waha	-hemete -mone -ke
	woolly monkey	3PL.O	carry	COMIT	AUX	change	FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
	nm	pron	vt	aux			

'They carried off the monkeys.'

765	Oko	wafaba	ama	hari	okobeba	
	o-	ka wafa	-ba ama	haari	o- kaba -hiba	
	1SG.POSS	POSS	woolly monkey	FUT	be that one+M	1SG.S eat FUT+M
	prt	nm		vc	dem	vt

""That monkey is for me to eat.""

766	Tabasi	one	ya	okobebanaka			bisa
	tabasi	o- na.NOM+M	ya	o-	kaba -hibana	-ka	bisa
	roast on grill	1SG.S AUX	ADJU	1SG.S	eat	FUT+M	DECL+M
	vt	aux	prt	vt			prt

ahi	bobono	nari
ahi	bo- bono	na -haari
there	DUP middle-sized	AUX IP.E+M
dem	vi	aux

""I will roast that smaller one on a rack and eat it.""

767	Wafa	ebote	wanite	amaka
	wafa	ehebote	wani -tee	ama -ka
	woolly monkey	big	be tough	HAB
	nm	adj	vi	sec

""A big woolly monkey has tough meat.""

768	Faya	me	bani	me	me	tokemetemoneke
	faya	me	bani	me	me	toka -hemete -mone -ke
	so	3PL	animal	3PL.O	3PL.S	partially burn
	conj	pron	nm	pron	pron	vt

ahi
ahi
then
dem

'They singed the hair off the animals.'

769	Me	toka	me	me	one	yifo	tafa	me
	me	toka+F	me	me	one	yifo	tafa.LIST	me
	3PL.O	partially burn	3PL.S	3PL	other+F	firewood	split	3PL.O
	pron	vt	pron	pron	adj	nf	vt	pron

tokemetemoneke
toka -hemete -mone -ke
partially burn FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vt

'They singed the hair off of them. Some of them cut firewood.'

AWITA FA YAFI

770 *Me toka me , me one me me bobi*
 me toka+F me , me one me me bobi.LIST ,
 3PL.O partially burn 3PL.S 3PL other+F 3PL.O 3PL.S slit
 pron vt pron pron adj pron pron vt

Ai wafa me yoti te awa ha
 ahi wafa me yoti tee awa haa .
 there woolly monkey 3PL.POSS intestines+F 2PL.S see DEM
 dem nm pron pn pron vt dem

"They singed the hair off of them. Some of them cut up the meat. "Wow, look at the monkeys' intestines."

771 *Faya kamaki , Oof , ee , bani me*
 faya ka -makI+M , oof ee , bani me
 so go/come following hoo (pause) animal 3PL.O
 conj vi interj interj nm pron

kakame kame ama ahi
 ka- ka -ma+M ka -ma+M ama ahi
 COMIT go/come back go/come back SEC there
 vt vi sec dem

"He came behind. "Whew, he came bringing the animals."

772 *Bani me kakame ka bani me me ahi*
 bani me ka- ka -ma+M ka bani me me ahi
 animal 3PL.O COMIT go/come back POSS animal 3PL.O 3PL.S work on
 nm pron vt prt nm pron pron vt

na me ati saineni
 na+F me ati sai -ne -ni
 AUX 3PL.POSS voice be heard CONT+F BKG+F
 aux pron pn vi

"They are working on the animals of the one who brought them, you can hear their voices."

773 *Bani me fora ne amaka owa ma*
 bani me fora na+M ama -ka owa maa
 animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX SEC DECL+M 1SG.O be tired
 nm pron vt aux sec pron vi

tonihari
 to- niha- ha -haari
 CH CAUS AUX IP.E+M
 aux

"He killed lots of animals, and he tired me out."

774 *Me wara hinamarake ahi*
 me wara hi- to- na -ma -hara -ke ahi
 3PL.O grab OC CH AUX back IP.E+F DECL+F then
 pron vt aux dem

"He took his turn with them."

775 *Owa ma tonihe ati amaka fari*
 owa maa to- niha- ha+M ati ama -ka faari
 1SG.O be tired CH CAUS AUX voice be DECL+M that one+M
 pron vi aux pn vc dem

"The one who is talking tired me out."

776 *Owa ma tonihe ati ama fari , owa*
 owa maa to- niha- ha+M ati ama faari , owa
 1SG.O be tired CH CAUS AUX voice be that one+M 1SG.O
 pron vi aux pn vc dem pron

AWITA FA YAFI

ma tonihi nofahari
 maa to- niha- ha nofa -haari
 be tired CH CAUS AUX recently IP.E+M
 vi aux prt
 "The one who is talking tired me out, the one who always tires me out."

777 **Me haha nemetemoneke ahi**
 me haahaa na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S laugh AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi aux dem
 "They laughed."

778 **Hiba onoko mosimosi nofa onoko**
 hiba o- noko mosi- mosi na nofa+F o- noko
 recently 1SG.POSS face DUP be shortened AUX recently 1SG.POSS face
 conj pn vi prt pn
mosimosi nine ehene
 mosi- mosi na -ne ehene
 DUP be shortened AUX CONT+F because of+M
 vi aux post
 "My face is shortened, it is always shortened, because of him."

779 **Me haha hikanematamonaka**
 me haahaa hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.S laugh OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vi aux
 "They laughed at him."

780 **Okoyo okoyo manakone**
 o- ka ayo o- ka ayo manakone
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 1SG.POSS POSS older brother price
 nm nm pn
okoyo manakone wawata nofare
 o- ka ayo manakone wa- wata na nofa -ra+M
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother revenge DUP exist AUX recently NEG
 nm pn vi prt
amane
 ama -ne
 SEC BKG+M
 sec
 "My older brother never gets him back."

781 **Okoyo manakone watawata nofare**
 o- ka ayo manakone wata- wata na nofa -ra+M
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother revenge DUP exist AUX recently NEG
 nm pn vi prt
amane
 ama -ne
 SEC BKG+M
 sec
 "My older brother never gets him back."

782 **Okoyo manakone watawehiba amane**
 o- ka ayo manakone wata -waha -hiba ama -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother revenge exist change FUT+M SEC BKG+M
 nm pn vi sec

AWITA FA YAFI

ehene

ehene
because of+M
post
"My brother is going to get him back."

783 **Ee** , **ayo** **manakonebona** **osawiwabone**
ee , ayo manakone -bona o- sawi -waha -habone
yes older brother price INT+M 1SG.S be present change INT+F
interj nm pn vi

oke **hiyama** **me ya**
o- ke hiyama me ya
1SG.S DECL+F white-lipped peccary 3PL ADJU
prt nm pron prt

"Yes, your brother will get me back when I go after white-lipped peccaries."

784 **Hiyama** **me me kobo ni ya**
hiyama me me kobo na.NOM+F ya
white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S meet AUX ADJU
nm pron vt aux prt

osawiwabana **oni**
o- sawi -waha -habana o- ni
1SG.S be present change FUT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
vi prt

"When they find white-lipped peccaries, I will go with them."

785 **Osawi** **ya hiyama sa**
o- sawi.NOM ya hiyama saa
1SG.S be present ADJU white-lipped peccary shoot with arrow
vi prt nm vt

okani **ya hiyama weye nebanaka**
o- ka- na.NOM+F ya hiyama weye na -hibana -ka
1SG.S COMIT AUX ADJU white-lipped peccary carry AUX FUT+M DECL+M
aux prt nm vt aux

"I will go along, and I will kill a peccary and he will carry the peccary."

786 **Oharibanaka**
ohari -hibana -ka
be one FUT+M DECL+M
vi

"It will be just one peccary."

787 **Hiyama** **ohari sa**
hiyama ohari+M saa
white-lipped peccary be one shoot with arrow
nm vi vt

okowabana **o waha**
o- ka- na -waha -habana o- waha
1SG.S COMIT AUX change FUT+F 1SG.S now
aux prt prt

"This time I will just kill just one peccary."

788 **Sa** **okane ya te kabebana**
saa o- ka- na.NOM+M ya tee kaba -hibana
shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX ADJU 2PL.S eat FUT+M
vt aux prt pron vt

AWITA FA YAFI

"I will kill it for you to eat."

789 *Hiyama* *otimakibana*
 hiyama o- to- iti -makI -bana
 white-lipped peccary 1SG.S away take out following FUT
 nm vt

hiyama *sa* *okani* *ya* ?
 hiyama saa o- ka- na.NOM+F ya
 white-lipped peccary shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX ADJU
 nm vt aux prt

"If I kill a peccary, will I take it back?"

790 *Sa* *hikabise* *weye* *obisa* ,
 saa hi- ka- na -bisa+M weye o- na -bisa
 shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX also carry 1SG.S AUX also
 vt aux vt aux

nabanake *ati* *nematamonaka*
 na -habana -ke , ati na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FUT+F DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux vt aux

"I will carry the one that he kills," he said.'

791 *Ee* , *okatao* *ma* *tinihi* *tinofa* *ama*
 ee , okatao maa ti- to- niha- ha ti- nofa+F ama
 yes my son be tired 2SG.S CH CAUS AUX 2SG.S recently SEC
 interj nm vi aux prt sec

tini .
 ti- ni
 2SG.S BKG+F
 prt

"Yes, you are always tiring out my son."

792 *Okatao* *ma* *tinihi* *tinofe* *ma*
 okatao maa ti- to- niha- ha ti- nofa+M maa
 my son be tired 2SG.S CH CAUS AUX 2SG.S recently be tired
 nm vi aux prt vi

toatasa *nanoho* .
 to- ha -tasa.CONT+M na.NOM+M -no -ho
 CH AUX again AUX IP.N+M DUP
 aux aux

"You are always tiring out my son, and here he is tired out again."

793 *Okatao* *ma* *tohi* *nofe* *amane* .
 okatao maa to- ha nofa+M ama -ne
 my son be tired CH AUX recently SEC BKG+M
 nm vi aux prt sec

"My son is always getting tired out."

794 *Okatao* *hiba* *ma* *tohi* *nofare* *ma*
 okatao hiba maa to- ha nofa -ra+M maa
 my son recently be tired CH AUX recently NEG be tired
 nm conj vi aux prt vi

toa *nanoho* .
 to- ha.CONT+M na.NOM+M -no -ho
 CH AUX AUX IP.N+M DUP
 aux aux

"My son is always getting tired out, and here he is tired out again."

AWITA FA YAFI

795 *Faya me me yana tona me , bani me me bobi*
 faya me me yana to- na+F me , bani me me bobi
 so 3PL 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S animal 3PL.O 3PL.S slit
 conj pron pron vi aux pron nm pron pron vt

na me me afi kanabone me
 na+F me me afi ka- na -habone me
 AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S bathe COMMIT AUX INT+F 3PL.S
 aux pron pron vi aux pron

towakama Ayo e afi
 to- ka- ka -ma+F ayo ee afi
 away COMMIT go/come back older parallel cousin 1IN.S bathe
 vi nm pron vi

kanahi
 ka- na -hi
 COMMIT AUX IMP+F
 aux

"They got to work cutting up the animals. The two of them went to bathe. "Cousin, let's bathe."

796 *E afi kanahi hima*
 ee afi ka- na -hi hima
 1IN.S bathe COMMIT AUX IMP+F let's go
 pron vi aux interj

"Let's bathe, come on."

797 *E ka sinabana sina*
 ee ka sina -bana sina
 1IN POSS snuff FUT snuff
 pron prt nf nf

"I want snuff for us."

798 *Sina hisi nima oke yama weye ni*
 sina hisi na -nima o- ke yama weye na.NFIN
 snuff sniff AUX about to 1SG.S DECL+F thing carry AUX
 nf vt aux prt nf result aux

ihi
 ihi
 because of+F
 post

"I want to take snuff, because of carrying the load."

799 *Faya kokori ka sina ha ne*
 faya kokori ka sina haa na+M
 so 3SG.POSS.father-in-law POSS snuff ask for AUX
 conj nm prt nf vt aux

kokori ka sina kanike Koko sina
 kokori ka sina ka- nika+M koko sina
 3SG.POSS.father-in-law POSS snuff COMMIT ask for mother's brother snuff
 nm prt nf vt nm nf

e ri ?
 ee na -ri
 (question) AUX CQ+F
 vi aux

'He called for some of his father-in-law's snuff. He asked his father-in-law for some snuff. "Father-in-law, where is the snuff?"

AWITA FA YAFI

800 *Sina ota hisi nabone otani ota afi*
 sina otaa hisi na -habone otaa -ni otaa afi
 snuff 1EX.S sniff AUX INT+F 1EX.S BKG+F 1EX.S bathe
 nf pron vt aux pron pron vi

kanabone ota
 ka- na -habone otaa
 COMIT AUX INT+F 1EX.S
 aux pron

"We are going to take some snuff before we bathe."

801 *Bani me te ahi na me te kabibe*
 bani me tee ahi na+F me tee kaba -be
 animal 3PL.O 2PL.S work on AUX 3PL.O 2PL.S eat IMMED+F
 nm pron pron vt aux pron pron vt

"You will eat the animals that you are working on."

802 *Me isi ni okobaba me awineke*
 me isi ni o- kaba -haba me awineke -ke
 3PL.POSS little bit 1SG.S eat FUT+F 3PL.POSS seem+F DECL+F
 pron pn vt pron sec

"I will eat a little bit of the meat."

803 *Faya me sina me hisi na me sina me hisi na*
 faya me sina me hisi na+F me , sina me hisi na+F
 so 3PL snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX 3PL.S snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX
 conj pron nf pron vt aux pron nf pron vt aux

me towakamemetemone
 me to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vi

'They took snuff. They took snuff, and went.'

804 *Towakama me afi tokanama me*
 to- ka- ka -ma+F me afi to- ka- na -ma+F me ,
 away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S bathe away COMIT AUX back 3PL.S
 vi pron vi aux pron

Hoo
 hoo
 whew
 interj

"They went and bathed. "Hoo."

805 *Me haha hikanematamonane mama*
 me haahaa hi- ka na -himata -mona -ne ma- maa
 3PL.S laugh OC go/come AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M DUP be tired
 pron vi aux nf

ihi toehinoho
 ihi to- ha -hino -ho
 victim of+F CH be IP.N+M DUP
 pn vc

'They laughed at him, because he was exhausted.'

806 *Me haha hikane me haha*
 me haahaa hi- ka- na+M , me haahaa
 3PL.S laugh OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S laugh
 pron vi aux pron vi

AWITA FA YAFI

hikanematamonaka

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

'They laughed at him.'

807 *Me haha hikane faya , me afi kana me*
 me haahaa hi- ka- na+M faya , me afi ka- na+F me
 3PL.S laugh OC COMIT AUX so 3PL.S bathe COMIT AUX 3PL.S
 pron vi aux conj pron vi aux pron

me afi kana me kakamemetemoneke
 me afi ka- na+F me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S bathe COMIT AUX 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux pron vi

'They laughed at him. The two of them bathed. They came back.'

808 *Me kakama me , Hoo ami ofimi*
 me ka- ka -ma+F me , hoo ami o- fimi
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S whew mother 1SG.S be hungry
 pron vi pron interj nf vi

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

'They came back. "Hoo, Mother, I'm hungry."'

809 *Yama weye ni ihi ofimine oke*
 yama weye na.NFIN ihi o- fimi -ne o- ke
 thing carry AUX because of+F 1SG.S be hungry CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 nf result aux post vi prt

'"I'm hungry from carrying stuff."'

810 *Iyawa tikabahi*
 iyawa ti- kaba -hi
 manioc mash 2SG.S eat IMP+F
 nf vt

'"Eat some manioc mash."'

811 *Okatao ka wafaba tiyokahi*
 okatao ka wafa -ba ti- yoka -hi
 my son POSS woolly monkey FUT 2SG.S roast on coals IMP+F
 nm prt nm vt

'"Put a monkey on the fire for my son."'

812 *Tibanaho hikabebana*
 ti- ibana -ho hi- kaba -hibana
 2SG.S roast IMP+M OC eat FUT+M
 vt vt

'"Roast it on the coals for my son to eat."'

813 *Wafa biti , wafa biti me*
 wafa biti wafa biti me
 woolly monkey young+M woolly monkey young+M 3PL.S
 nm adj nm adj pron

AWITA FA YAFI

yokemetemone

yoka -hemete -mone
 roast on coals FP.N+F REP+F
 vt

'They put a young monkey on the coals.'

814 **Wafa** **biti** **me** **me** **yoka** **me**
 wafa biti me me yoka+F me
 woolly monkey young+M 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on coals 3PL.S
 nm adj pron pron vt pron

wafa **biti** **me** **me** **kabemetemoneke**
 wafa biti me me kaba -hemete -mone -ke
 woolly monkey young+M 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm adj pron pron vt

'They roasted some young monkeys on the coals. They ate the young monkeys.'

815 **Wafa** **me** **me** **kaba** **me** , **wafa** **me**
 wafa me me kaba+F me , wafa me
 woolly monkey 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S woolly monkey 3PL.POSS
 nm pron pron vt pron nm pron

yoti **me** **miri** **nemetemoneke**
 yoti me miri na -hemete -mone -ke
 intestines+F 3PL.S scrape AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pn pron vt aux

'They ate the monkeys. They scraped the fat out of the monkeys' intestines.'

816 **Me** **yoti** **me** **miri** **na** , **me** **yoti**
 me yoti me miri na+F , me yoti
 3PL.POSS intestines+F 3PL.S scrape AUX 3PL.POSS intestines+F
 pron pn pron vt aux pron pn

me **ori** **hinaba** **mati** **ahi**
 me ori hi- na -haba mati ahi
 3PL.S mix OC AUX FUT+F 3PL.POSS then
 pron vt aux pron dem

'They scraped their intestines, so they could mix the fat in broth.'

817 **Sari** , **sari** **me** **ori** **na** **sari** **me** **sori**
 sahari , sahari me ori na+F sahari me sori
 broth broth 3PL.S mix AUX broth 3PL.S eat
 nf nf pron vt aux nf pron vt

nemetemoneke **ahi** **yifari** **rama** **ahi**
 na -hemete -mone -ke ahi yifari rama ahi
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then banana unusual then
 aux dem nf prt dem

'They mixed the broth, and they ate the broth, which had bananas in it.'

818 **Sari** **me** **sori** **na** **me** , **wafa** **me** **tabasi**
 sahari me sori na+F me , wafa me tabasi
 broth 3PL.S eat AUX 3PL.S woolly monkey 3PL.O roast on grill
 nf pron vt aux pron nm pron result

hina **me** **kawemetemoneke** **ahi** **me** **sai** **na**
 hi- na+F me ka- waa -hemete -mone -ke ahi me sai na+F
 OC AUX 3PL.S COMIT stand FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3PL.S sizzle AUX
 aux pron vi dem pron vi aux

AWITA FA YAFI

mati

mati
3PL.S
pron

'They ate the broth. They roasted the monkeys on racks, and they were sizzling.'

819 *Tabasi na me kawa me , Abini sina ?*
tabasi na+F me ka- waa+F me , ahaba -ni sina ?
roast on grill AUX 3PL.S COMIT stand 3PL.S end BKG+F snuff
vt aux pron vi pron vi BKG+F nf

'They were roasted on racks. Is the snuff all gone?'⁸³

820 *Sina abini ?*
sina ahaba -ni ?
snuff end BKG+F
nf vi

'Is the snuff all gone?'

821 *Sina abini sina ?*
sina ahaba -ni sina ?
snuff end BKG+F snuff
nf vi nf

'Is the snuff all gone?'

822 *Sina wawati nabisarehino awane*
sina wa- wati na -bisa -ra -hino awa -ne
snuff DUP remember AUX also NEG IP.N+M seem+M BKG+M
nf vt aux sec

'Why don't you remember to make snuff?'

823 *Faya me kakama me tafama me Hima*
faya me ka- ka -ma+F me tafa -ma+F me hima
so 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S eat back 3PL.S let's go
conj pron vi pron vi pron interj

'They had come back and were eating. "Let's go."'

824 *Bani me yoka me bani me kai me*
bani me yoka+F me bani me kaha.NFIN me
animal 3PL.S roast on coals 3PL.S animal 3PL.S be toasted 3PL.S
nm pron vt pron nm pron vi pron

kaba me yoro nama me , Hoo , ma
kaba+F me yoro na -ma+F me , hoo , maa
eat 3PL.S stay AUX back 3PL.S whew be tired
vt pron vi aux pron interj vi

ohatasahaba

o- to- ha -tasa -haba
1SG.S away AUX again FUT+F
aux

'They were roasting meat on the coals. They were eating roasted animals. The two of them were there. "Hoo, I'm tired again."'

825 *Ayo , ayo tiwehene , manako te*
ayo ayo ti- ehene , manako tee
older brother older brother 2SG.POSS because of revenge 2PL.POSS
nm nm pn nf pron

83 Siko interrupted the story to ask his wife Amoro about the snuff.

AWITA FA YAFI

ibe totoha nofara
ibe to- to- ha na nofa -ra+F
RECIP DUP CH pay back AUX recently NEG
pn vd prt
"Brother, you aren't getting him back."

826 **Manako ohabone manako**
manako o- to- ha -habone manako
revenge 1SG.S CH pay back INT+F revenge
nf vd nf

ohabone yama fora onahara yama
o- to- ha -habone yama fora o- na -hara yama
1SG.S CH pay back INT+F thing shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX NEG+F thing
vd nf vt aux nf

fora orara oke
fora o- na -ra -hara o- ke
shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX NEG IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
vt aux prt

"I would get him back, but I didn't kill animals."⁸⁴

827 **Yama fora ni tinofara tiwa awine**
yama fora na.NFIN ti- nofa -ra+F tiwa awine
thing shoot with blowgun AUX 2SG.S want NEG 2SG.S seem+F
nf vt aux vt pron sec

tini
ti- ni
2SG.S BKG+F
prt

"Why don't you ever kill a lot of animals?"

828 **Yama fora ni onofarake**
yama fora na.NFIN o- nofa -hara -ke
thing shoot with blowgun AUX 1SG.S want IP.E+F DECL+F
nf vt aux vt

"I wanted to kill a lot of animals."

829 **Ai ai wafa me kayawa me**
ahi ahi wafa me ka- yawa+F me
then then woolly monkey 3PL.S COMMIT be excited 3PL.POSS
dem dem nm pron vi pron

ihi owatoara oni
ihi o- wato -hara o- ni
because of+F 1SG.S be afraid IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F
post vi prt

"I was afraid when the monkeys got excited."

830 **Yome ehene kayawa nakani ona**
yomee ehene ka- yawa.CONT+M na+M -kani ati o- na+F
jaguar result of+M COMMIT be excited AUX CNTRFACT say 1SG.S AUX
nm pn vi aux vt

owatoha wafa me okaraboikima
o- wato+F wafa me o- karaboha -kima+F
1SG.S be afraid woolly monkey 3PL.O 1SG.S shoot with blowgun two
vi nm pron vt

84 *Manako ohabone* is probably a grammatical mistake. It should be *manako ohebona*, i.e. with masculine agreement.

AWITA FA YAFI

me **famahara** **fati** **famarawa** , **wafa** **me**
 me fama -hara fati fama -rawa+F wafa me
 3PL.S be two IP.E+F 3SG.POSS.wife be two F.PL woolly monkey 3PL.O
 pron vi nf vi nm pron

okaraboa **me** **tokoma** **mera**
 o- karaboha+F me to- ka -ma+F mera
 1SG.S shoot with blowgun 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.O
 vt pron vi pron

fora **nen** **ka** **wafa** **me** **weye**
 fora na -hino ka wafa me weye
 shoot with blowgun AUX IP.N+M which woolly monkey 3PL.O carry
 vt aux prt nm pron vt

otasine **oni**
 o- na -tasa -ne o- ni
 1SG.S AUX again CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 aux prt

""The monkeys were excited and I thought it was because of a jaguar, and I was afraid. I killed two males and two females. The others went off and he killed them, and I carried them.""

831 **Me** **ota** **iso** **na** **me** **soki** **hina** **me** **weye**
 me otaa iso na+F me soki hi- na+F me weye
 3PL.O 1EX.S carry off AUX 3PL.O tie up OC AUX 3PL.O carry
 pron pron vt aux pron vt aux pron vt

one **oni**
 o- na -ne o- ni
 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 aux prt

""We carried them off, and he tied them up, and I carried them.""

832 **Me** **weye** **hinani** **awineni** ?
 me weye hi- na -hani awine -ni
 3PL.O carry OC AUX IP.N+F seem+F BKG+F
 pron vt aux sec

""Did he carry them?""

833 **Me** **weye** **hinarake** **owati** **ihi**
 me weye hi- na -hara -ke o- ati ihi
 3PL.O carry OC AUX IP.E+F DECL+F 1SG.POSS voice because of+F
 pron vt aux pn post

""I had him carry them.""

834 **Me** **weye** **ni** **hiyaborarake**
 me weye na.NFIN hi- yabo -ra -hara -ke
 3PL.O carry AUX OC be far NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vt aux vi

""He didn't carry them far.""

835 **Hibayata** **me** **weye** **hina** **me** , **wara** **hinama**
 hibayata me weye hi- na+F me , wara hi- to- na -ma+F
 just now 3PL.O carry OC AUX 3PL.O grab OC CH AUX back
 adv pron vt aux pron vt aux

me **wara** **onamarake**
 me wara o- to- na -ma -hara -ke
 3PL.O grab 1SG.S CH AUX back IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vt aux

""He finally carried them. He took his turn, and then I took a turn again.""

AWITA FA YAFI

"You still have darts."

843	Oko		sare		noki		nafisa		ke		haro
	o-	ka	sarehe		noki	nafi	-saa	na	-ke		haaro
	1SG.POSS	POSS	blowgun	dart	pack+F	be big	still	AUX	DECL+F		that one+F
	prt		nf		pn	vi		prt			dem

"My pack of darts is still big."

844	Biyo		okaraboi		ya		biyo		weye
	biyo		o- karaboha.NOM+F		ya		biyo		weye
	spider monkey		1SG.S shoot with blowgun		ADJU		spider monkey		carry
	nf		vt		prt		nf		vt

tinabana **ti**

ti-	na	-habana	ti-
2SG.S	AUX	FUT+F	2SG.S
aux			prt

"When I kill spider monkeys, you will carry spider monkeys."

845 **Ee**

ee

yes

interj

"Right."

TATI WAFO

Free Translation

He was ready. He called to his mother.

"Mother, I'm going out to the forest."

"Go ahead."

"I dreamed. I dreamed, so I'm going out. I dreamed about people being eaten, and I'm going out into the forest."

He went out. He carried a pouch of blowgun darts strapped over one shoulder. He pulled out his blowgun, and carried the blowgun. He also took arrows. He went out. As he went along, at about mid-morning he heard someone calling. "Yoo-hoo."

"That must be my mother calling, to tell the news about some white-lipped peccaries. My mother is calling."

He didn't call out. After a little while, someone said, "Tati Wafo. Tati Wafo."

"It's the voice of a monster," he said.

He listened some more, and the monster's voice came. "Tati Wafo, Tati Wafo," the monster's voice said. The calling was coming toward him.

"It's really a monster."

He got ready to leave. He left and went running, and jumped up into a tree. He looked around. He had two arrows. His other arrows were against a log.

He waited a little, and then two monsters came. One was a little ways behind the other. The one behind came running. When it saw Tati Wafo, it rose up and grabbed on the tree. When it was starting to climb up, he shot it in the throat with an arrow. It fell. The other one came and jumped up. Tati Wafo shot it in the throat with an arrow, and it, too, fell where the two of them would lie on the ground. The two of them lay there on the ground. He came down and stepped on the ground.

"I sure am glad I killed them with the arrows. Let them die."

He went home. He went, and arrived home.

"Mother, I dreamed and you didn't believe me. I killed two monsters with arrows, and they are lying there," he said.

"I didn't tell you to go out," his mother said.

"What's going on?" said his father.

"I killed two monsters with arrows, and they are lying there."

"Are they really monsters?"

"Yes, they are really monsters. They have deep eyes. They are rotting there. They are lying there. You didn't see them. They have long claws. Their claws are like this. The monsters have long claws, and they are lying there on the ground. I would like to pull out their claws, but they are fearsome. It would be good to pull out their claws. I wanted to cut off their hands, but they were fearsome. I came back. I came running back. I stopped to bathe on the way, and I have come back," he said. "They are fearsome. My dream came true. Our dream comes true when we go out into the forest. It was those monsters that I dreamed about. Fortunately the two that I dreamed about died," he said.

He didn't go out in the forest anymore. He stayed in the village.

"They were fearsome. They almost ate me, but I killed them both," he said.

TATI WAFO

Grandpa, he didn't go out anymore? (Yasito)

Right, he didn't go out anymore, because he was afraid. He stayed in the village. His mother didn't want to let him go. But then he went out. He finally went out. He went out, and he killed some game with his blowgun, and brought the animals back, brown capuchins and sakis. He brought the animals back, and his mother burned the hair off the animals.

"Did the monsters follow you?" asked his younger sister.

He spoke to his younger sister. "Yes, I could hear the monsters voice as it came to me. As the monsters voice came, I thought it was your voices as you were calling me, bringing news of white-lipped peccaries. The monster spoke. 'Tati Wafo,' someone said, but that is not my name. [This is not true, it was his name.] The monster called out a name that was not mine."

"Did it come calling?"

"It came toward me calling out. 'Tati Wafo,' the monster said. It was the monster's voice. 'I'm not staying here,' I said. So I ran away, and climbed up a tree. I climbed up, and waited, and the two monsters came. They came. No one pointed me out, but the monster saw me, and jumped up. One jumped up after me. When it was coming up fast, I shot it with an arrow. I shot it in the throat with an arrow, and it fell. The other one came behind and jumped up, and I shot it in the throat with an arrow, too. The two of them died."

"Brother, were they big?"

"The monsters were big. They are this high, lying there on the ground. I killed the big monsters," he said. "Let them die. I thought it was you calling. That's what happens when one goes out into the forest when a storm is threatening. I went out when a storm was threatening. I had dreamed about people being eaten. My dream came true."

"Brother, don't go out anymore."

His younger sister spoke to him, my father always said. The others laughed. They laughed at him.

"Don't laugh. A woman shouldn't go out into the forest alone."

Did the monster give him that name, Tati Wafo? Yes, he was Tati Wafo. It named him.

They were laughing.

"Don't laugh. If one of you goes out into the forest, the monster will eat you, also if you go out together. The monster almost ate me. I was afraid. Because I was afraid, I jumped up in the tree. I was afraid the monster would climb up after me. When they climbed up the tree after me, I killed them, so they would die. Fortunately I killed them both with arrows. The poison killed them," he said.

His mother spoke sternly to him, and he stayed in the village. "Son, don't go out into the forest for a while."

"They knew about you because the others had blown snuff into your nose [to initiate you as a shaman]," his father said. "After you stay here some more, later you will go out in the forest."

"Father, I'm going to break off a *hawa* palm sheath for making blowgun darts, near here. After I have broken off the palm sheath, when I am done breaking off the *hawa* palm sheath, after I have cut out the darts, we will go and get *iha*. I will take *iha* bark off the stalks. When I have coated the arrow points and the dart points with poison, then I will go hunting," he said, my father used to say.

He didn't go out, but stayed in the village. Then he went to get *iha*. He finished the darts and the arrows, and he went to get *iha*. They went to get *iha*. He and his father took the *iha* bark off the stalks. They came back. Then he pulverized the *iha*.

"I'm going to pulverize the *iha*, Father."

So he pulverized the *iha* back in the village, just as he had said.

TATI WAFO

"After I have foamed up the *iha*, after I have stayed in the village, I will go out in the morning."

He was nearly ready. He coated the darts with poison all day long. He also coated the arrows.

"This is a piece of an arrow I shot a monster with. Its eyes were sunken."

"Is that another piece of an arrow that hit a monster?" asked his brother-in-law.

"That is another piece of an arrow that hit a monster. I put them on the ground."

"Let's eat the monsters."

"Go ahead and eat them. Their eyes are sunken way down inside."

"Were their claws long?"

"Their front paws and their back paws had long claws. They had long claws like knives. They had sharp claws, I felt them. I wanted to cut them off, but I thought about it, and I left them there, because I thought another monster might get me [later, on another trip]. They lay there. Let them die. Other monsters will appear."

He was staying in the village. He got up early.

"I'm going to get up early."

"You be careful," his father said. "The shaman's stone is teaching you. Because the others blew snuff into you, the creature of the shaman's stone is teaching you. I don't know. I didn't initiate you as a shaman, someone else did. You should have just met them, but you killed them."

"I don't want to meet the monsters. The monsters were fierce. Because the monsters were fierce, I shot both of them with arrows. Let them die."

He was ready, and he went out.

"Don't say that I am calling you. Don't forget," his mother said.

So he went out. He went, and disappeared into the forest.

"The one who killed the monsters is going into the forest. The [other] creatures of the shaman's stone know him, because the others blew snuff into his nose. The one who killed the creatures of the shaman's stone with arrows is going into the forest."

"Father, is it because they smelled his smell?"

"It's because they smelled his smell. He killed the ones who smelled his smell, and he is going out. Let them die."

He went out. He killed animals with his blowgun. He started back, carrying the animals on his back. He had killed brown capuchins with his blowgun. He came back.

He arrived back. The others untied his animals, and they carried them off. He had hit the monkey in the chest with the dart.

"Did you hit the monkey in the chest?"

"I hit it in the chest. It was looking around to see me, and I hit it in the chest, and it keeled over."

"Oh."

They pulled out the broken-off darts. They pulled out the darts, and burned the hair off the animals.

"Well? Did you come across the Tati Wafo monster?"

"There was no Tati Wafo. Tati Wafo died. Tati Wafo was lying on the ground, I killed it with an arrow. Tati Wafo won't come back, because Tati Wafo is dead, I killed it."

They laughed.

"It is rotting, Tati Wafo. The vultures are pulling its eyes out. Let them eat it. That's what they eat."

Interlinear Presentation

1 **Faya** , **yana** **tonematamona**
 faya , yana to- na -himata -mona
 so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 conj vi aux

'He was ready.'

2 **Yana** **tonematamonaka**
 yana to- na -himata -mona -ka
 start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'He was ready.'

3 **Mati** **ha** **ne** , **Ami** , **ami** ,
 mati haa na+M , ami , ami
 3SG.POSS.mother call AUX mother mother
 nf vt aux nf nf

okabone **oke**
 o- to- ka -habone o- ke
 1SG.S away go/come INT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt

'He called to his mother. "Mother, I'm going out to the forest."'

4 **Tikahi**
 ti- to- ka -hi
 2SG.S away go/come IMP+F
 vi

""Go ahead.""

5 **Owatamihara** **oke**
 o- watami -hara o- ke
 1SG.S dream IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt

""I dreamed.""

6 **Owatamiha** **okibana** **oke**
 o- watami+F o- to- ka+F -bana o- ke
 1SG.S dream 1SG.S away go/come FUT 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi vi prt

""I dreamed, so I'm going out.""

7 **Owatamiha** **okibana** **oke**
 o- watami+F o- to- ka+F -bana o- ke
 1SG.S dream 1SG.S away go/come FUT 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi vi prt

""I dreamed, so I'm going out.""

8 **E** **e** **kabi** **watari** **owara** **oke**
 ee ee kaba.NFIN wata -ri o- awa -hara o- ke
 1IN 1IN.S eat dream PN 1SG.S see IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron pron result pn vt prt

""I dreamed about people being eaten.""

TATI WAFO

9 **E** **kabi** **watari** **owa** , **okibana**
 ee kaba.NFIN wata -ri o- awa+F , o- to- ka+F -bana
 1IN.S eat dream PN 1SG.S see 1SG.S away go/come FUT
 pron result pn vt vi

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

"I dreamed about people being eaten, and I'm going out."

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

'He went out.'

11 **Sare** **sana** **kana** , **karaboa** **horo**
 sarehe sana ka- na.LIST , karaboha horo
 blowgun dart carry strapped on shoulder COMMIT AUX blowgun pull
 nf vt aux nf vt

nake **karaboa** **tiwa** **wati** **tama** **kana**
 na -kI karaboha tiwa.LIST wati tama ka- na.LIST ,
 AUX coming blowgun carry arrow hold onto COMMIT AUX
 aux nf vt nm vt aux

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

'He carried a pouch of blowgun darts strapped over one shoulder. He pulled out his blowgun, and carried the blowgun. He also took arrows.'

12 **Toke** , **toke** **toke** **toke** **ya** , **yama**
 to- ka+M , to- ka+M to- ka+M to- ka.NOM+M ya , yama
 away go/come away go/come away go/come away go/come ADJU thing
 vi vi vi vi prt nf

toyatoyabo **ni** **ya** , **faya** **hinamati** **ha** **ni** **yana**
 toya- to- yabo na.NOM+F ya , faya hinamati haa ni yana
 DUP CH be far AUX ADJU so someone call AUX start
 vi aux prt conj nm vi aux vi

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

'He went out. As he went along, at about mid-morning he heard someone calling.'

13 **Hiii**
 hii
 yoohoo
 interj
 "Yoohoo."

14 **Fa** , **okomi** **amara** **ha** **nine** ,
 faa , o- ka ami ama -ra+F haa na -ne ,
 that 1SG.POSS POSS mother be NEG call AUX CONT+F
 dem nf vc vi aux

TATI WAFO

22 **Yama** **ati** **tohake** , **ati** **nematamonaka**
 yama ati to- ha -ke , ati na -himata -mona -ka
 monster voice CH be DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf pn vc vt aux

'It's the voice of a monster,' he said.'

23 **Hiwa** **wana** **mata**
 hiwa wana.NOM+M mata
 only.M be attached for now
 pron vi prt

'Just let it be attached there for now.'⁸⁵

24 **Yama** **kaforisa** **nini**
 yama ka- forI -risa.LIST na -ni
 thing COMMIT lie on top down AUX BKG+F
 nf vi aux

'It will be put away up high.'

25 **Faya** , **yama** **kamiti** **mati** **toe** **ya** **yama** **ati**
 faya , yama ka- mita.NFIN mati to- ha.NOM+M ya yama ati
 so thing COMMIT hear a lot CH be ADJU monster voice
 conj nf vt adj vc prt nf pn

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

'He listened some more, and the monster's voice came.'

26 **Tati Wafo** , **Tati Wafo** **yama** **ati** **nemetemoneni**
 Tati Wafo Tati Wafo yama ati na -hemete -mone -ni
 (man's name) (man's name) monster say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 npropm npropm nf vt aux

'"Tati Wafo, Tati Wafo," the monster's voice said.'

27 **Ha** **ni** **kamakiha** , **Yama** **ati** **ama**
 haa na.NFIN ka -makI+F , yama ati ama
 call AUX go/come following monster voice be
 vi aux vi nf pn vc

kananihi
 ka na -hani -hi
 DECL AUX IP.N+F DUP
 prt

'The calling was coming toward him. "It's really a monster.'"

28 **Yana** **tonematamona**
 yana to- na -himata -mona
 start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi aux

'He got ready to leave.'

29 **Yana** **tone** **awa** **kana** **ni** **toke** , **awa** **waha** **ya**
 yana to- na+M awa kana na.NFIN to- ka+M , awa waa+F ya
 start CH AUX tree run AUX away go/come tree stand ADJU
 vi aux nf vi aux vi nf vi prt

85 In this sentence and the next, Siko is talking to a child, probably about the tape recorder.

TATI WAFO

yora tomisematamonaka

yora to- na -misa -himata -mona -ka
 jump away AUX up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'He left and went running, and jumped up into a tree.'

30 **Yora tomise**

yora to- na -misa+M	, faya nokowame	, wati wati
jump away AUX up	faya noko -waha -ma+M	wati wati
vi aux	so point change back	arrow arrow
	conj vi	nm nm

famematamonaka

fama -himata -mona -ka
 be two FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He jumped up. He looked around. He had two arrows.'

31 **Hinaka wati owa kawa**

hinaka	wati	owa	kawa	,	yama	nonoki	ne
3SG.POSS	arrow	other+M	COMIT stand		yama	no- noki	na.NOM+M
pron	nm	adj	vi		thing	DUP wait for	AUX
					nf	vt	aux

ya yama kamakia
 ya yama ka -makI+F
 ADJU monster go/come following
 prt nf vi

kakamakerawemetemoneke

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

'His other arrows were against a log. He waited a little, and then two monsters came.'

32 **One yotoba**

one	yoto -baa	nemetemoneke		hike ya
other+F	follow at a distance	na -hemete -mone -ke		hike ya
adj	vi	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F		far ADJU
		aux		nf prt

'One was a little ways behind the other.'

33 **Yotoba**

yoto -baa	na	kana	ni	kamakihane	
follow at a distance	na+F	kana	na.NFIN	ka -makI -hane	
vi	aux	vi	aux	go/come following	
				vi	

Tati Wafo	awaha	yana	na	kobo	nemetemoneke		awa
Tati Wafo	awa+F	yana	na+F	kobo	na -hemete -mone -ke		awa
(man's name)	see	start	AUX	arrive	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F		tree
npropm	vt	vi	aux	vi	aux		nf

ya
 ya
 ADJU
 prt

'The one behind came running. When it saw Tati Wafo, it rose up and grabbed on the tree.'

34 **Faya kobo na na**

faya kobo na+F na+F	, tokomisamakeabone	namiti
so arrive AUX AUX	to- ka -misa -makI -habone	namiti
conj vi aux aux	away go/come up following INT+F	throat
	vi	pn

TATI WAFO

hoti sa hikanemetemoneke ahi
 hoti saa hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 hole shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf vt aux dem

fai saki wati
 fai saki wati
 sound of arrow arrow
 sound nm

'When it was starting to climb up, he shot it in the throat with an arrow.'⁸⁶

35 **Kasohemetemoneke ahi**
 ka- sona -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 COMIT fall FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

'It fell.'

36 **Kasoha one kamakiha yora**
 ka- sona+F one ka -makI+F yora
 COMIT fall other+F go/come following jump
 vi adj vi vi

tomisamakaha Tati Wafo sa
 to- na -misa -makI+F Tati Wafo saa
 away AUX up following (man's name) shoot with arrow
 aux npropm vt

hikatasemetemoneke namiti hoti ahi
 hi- ka- na -tasa -hemete -mone -ke namiti hoti ahi
 OC COMIT AUX again FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F throat hole then
 aux pn nf dem

'It fell. The other one came and jumped up. Tati Wafo shot it in the throat with an arrow, too.'

37 **Namiti sa hikana kasohemetemoneke**
 namiti saa hi- ka- na+F ka- sona -hemete -mone -ke
 throat shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX COMIT fall FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pn vt aux vi

tasa fara mata narawibe ya ahi
 tasa fara mata na -rawa -be ya ahi
 again same+F lie AUX F.PL IMMED+F ADJU then
 prt dem vi aux prt dem

'He shot it in the throat with an arrow, and it, too, fell where the two of them would lie on the ground.'⁸⁷

38 **Mata narawemetemoneke**
 mata na -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 lie AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux

'The two of them lay there on the ground.'

39 **Faya kisame warisame Sa**
 faya ka -risa -ma+M waa -risa -ma+M saa
 so go/come down back stand down back shoot with arrow
 conj vi vi vt

okini owatino
 o- ka- na -ni owatino
 1SG.S COMIT AUX BKG+F exclamation
 aux interj

'He came down and stepped on the ground. "I sure am glad I killed them with the arrows."'

86 The second *na* seems to be a mistake.

87 The suffix *-be* in *mata narawibe ya* is archaic. The form in current use is *-ba-ni* (-FUT-IP.N+F).

TATI WAFO

40 *Hine ahabake*

hine ahaba -ke
only die DECL+F
pron vi

"Let them die."

41 *Tokomematamonaka*

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

'He went home.'

42 *Tokome*

to- ka -ma+M , kobo toname , Ami , ami
away go/come back arrive away AUX back mother mother
vi aux nf nf

owatamiha

o- watami+F
1SG.S dream

owati

o- ati
1SG.POSS voice

tikasawariara

ti- ka- sawari -hara
2SG.S COMIT frustrate IP.E+F

ti

ti-
2SG.S

vi pn vt prt

'He went, and arrived home. "Mother, I dreamed and you didn't believe me."

43 *Yama*

yama , saa okanikimarawa mata
monster shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX two F.PL lie
nf vt aux vi

narawi

na -rawa.NOM+F
AUX F.PL
aux

ahi

ahi
there
dem

ati

ati
say
vt

nematamonane

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

"I killed two monsters with arrows, and they are lying there," he said.'

44 *Tiwa*

tiwa o- yose totoka tihine tini
2SG.O 1SG.S command DUP away go/come 2SG.S CH AUX CONT+F 2SG.S BKG+F
pron vt vi aux prt

mati

mati
3SG.POSS.mother
nf

ati

ati
say
vt

nemetemoneke

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

"I didn't tell you to go out," his mother said.'

45 *Himata*

himata ama -ri -ni
what? be CQ+F IP.N+F
interrog vc

"What's going on?"

46 *Yama*

yama saa okanikimarawa mata
monster shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX two F.PL lie
nf vt aux vi

narawi

na -rawa.NOM+F
AUX F.PL
aux

ahi

ahi
there
dem

TATI WAFO

"I killed two monsters with arrows, and they are lying there."

47 *Yama* *yama* *yokanarawaha* ?
 yama yama yokana -rawa -ha
 monster monster true F.PL DUP
 nf nf adj

"Are they really monsters?"

48 *Ee* *yama* *yokanarawaha* , *noki* *kowiwirawaha* ,
 ee yama yokana -rawa -ha , noki kowi -wi -rawa -ha ,
 yes monster true F.PL DUP eye+F be deep DUP F.PL DUP
 interj nf adj pn vi

noki *kowiwi* *atarawi* *ahi*
 noki kowi -wi bata -rawa.NOM+F ahi
 eye+F be deep DUP be rotten F.PL there
 pn vi vi dem

"Yes, they are really monsters. They have deep eyes. They are rotting there."

49 *Me* *mata* *na* *me* *te* *awi* *toeri* , *ye* *atari*
 me mata na+F me tee awa to- ha -ra.NOM+F , yehe atari
 3PL.S lie AUX 3PL.O 2PL.S see CH AUX NEG finger nail+F
 pron vi aux pron pron vt aux pn pn

yaborawaharo *ahi*
 yabo -rawa -haaro ahi
 be long F.PL IP.E+F this
 vi dem

"They are lying there. You didn't see them. They have long claws."

50 *Ye* *atari* *toara* *ahi*
 yehe atari to- ha -hara ahi
 finger nail+F CH be IP.E+F this
 pn pn vc dem

"Their claws are like this."

51 *Yama* *ye* *atari* *yaborawaha* *mata* *narawarake*
 yama yehe atari yabo -rawa -ha mata na -rawa -hara -ke
 monster finger nail+F be long F.PL DUP lie AUX F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F
 nf pn pn vi vi aux

ahi
 ahi
 there
 dem

"The monsters have long claws, and they are lying there on the ground."

52 *Ye* *atari* *soba* *orawene* *amake*
 yehe atari soba o- na -rawa -hene ama -ke
 finger nail+F pull out 1SG.S AUX F.PL IRR+F SEC DECL+F
 pn pn vt aux sec

"I would like to pull out their claws."

53 *Ye* *atari* *soba* *orawiba* *yama*
 yehe atari soba o- na -rawa.NOM+F -ba yama
 finger nail+F pull out 1SG.S AUX F.PL FUT monster
 pn pn vt aux nf

TATI WAFO

yofinarawarake

yofina -rawa -hara -ke
 cause fear F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F
 vi

"I would like to pull out their claws, but they are fearsome."

54 *Yofinarawarake*

yofina -rawa -hara -ke
 cause fear F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F
 vi

"They are fearsome."

55 *Yama soba narawene*

yama soba na -rawa -hene
 thing pull out AUX F.PL IRR+F
 nf result aux

"It would be good to pull out their claws."

56 *Me ye bobi okasabone yama*
 me yehe bobi o- ka- na -kosa -habone yama
 3PL.POSS hand slit 1SG.S COMIT AUX middle INT+F thing
 pron pn vt aux nf

yofinimakoni

yofina -makoni
 cause fear for this reason+F
 vi

"I wanted to cut off their hands, but they were fearsome."

57 *Yofinarawarake*

yofina -rawa -hara -ke
 cause fear F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F
 vi

"They were fearsome."

58 *Okoma oko bete ni kama afi*
 o- ka -ma+F , o- ka bete ni kama -ma+F afi
 1SG.S go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS run AUX go/come back bathe
 vi prt vi aux vi vi
onakosama okomawahine o waha ati
 o- na -kosa -ma+F o- ka -ma -waha -ne o- waha , ati
 1SG.S AUX middle back 1SG.S go/come back change CONT+F 1SG.S now say
 aux vi prt prt vt

nematamonane

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

"I came back. I came running back. I stopped to bathe on the way, and I have come back," he said.'

59 *Yama yofinarawarake*

yama yofina -rawa -hara -ke
 monster cause fear F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F
 nf vi

"They are fearsome."

TATI WAFO

66 **Faya** *itawa* **tohe** , **Yama** *yofinarawarake*
 faya i- ita -waha to- ha+M yama yofina -rawa -hara -ke
 so DUP sit change CH AUX monster cause fear F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F
 conj vi aux nf vi

'He stayed in the village. "They were fearsome."

67 **Yama** , **owa** *kabarawehene* **onafamarawarake**
 yama owa kaba -rawa -hene o- na- fama -rawa -hara -ke
 monster 1SG.O eat F.PL IRR+F 1SG.S CAUS be two F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F
 nf pron vt vt

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

"They almost ate me, but I killed them both," he said.'

68 **Iti** **totoka** **toharamatamona** **waha** ?
 iti to- to- ka to- ha -ra.NOM+M -mata -mona waha ?
 grandfather DUP away go/come CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M now
 nm vi aux prt

'Grandpa, he didn't go out anymore?'

69 **Ee** **totoka** **toharematamonaka** **mata** ,
 ee to- to- ka to- ha -ra -himata -mona -ka mata
 yes DUP away go/come CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M for now
 interj vi aux prt

kakome **karo**
 ka- komeha.NOM karo
 COMMIT be fearsome because
 vi prt

'Right, he didn't go out anymore, because he was afraid.'

70 **Faya** , **iita** **tohe** **mati** **kakayawa**
 faya i- ita to- ha+M mati ka- ka- yawa
 so DUP stay CH AUX 3SG.POSS.mother DUP COMMIT be upset
 conj vi aux nf vt

hie **mati** **kakayawa** **hie** **faya**
 hi- to- ha+M mati ka- ka- yawa hi- to- ha+M faya
 OC CH AUX 3SG.POSS.mother DUP COMMIT be upset OC CH AUX so
 aux nf vt aux conj

totoka **tohematamona** **fahi**
 to- to- ka to- ha -himata -mona fahi
 DUP away go/come CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi aux dem

'He stayed in the village. His mother didn't want to let him go. But then he went out.'

71 **Tokawe** **me** , **faya** , **toke** **bani** **me**
 to- ka -waha+M me faya to- ka+M bani me
 away go/come change 3PL so away go/come animal 3PL.O
 vi pron conj vi nm pron

fora **nen** **bani** **kakame** , **bani** **me**
 fora na -hino bani ka- ka -ma+M bani me
 shoot with blowgun AUX IP.N+M animal COMMIT go/come back animal 3PL.O
 vt aux nm vt nm pron

TATI WAFO

84 *Owa onahate fahi onara oke*
 o- waa o- nahatI fahi ati o- na -hara o- ke
 1SG.S stand 1SG.S daytime there say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt dem vt prt

""I'm not staying here,' I said.""

85 *Faya oko kana ni toka*
 faya o- ka kana na.NFIN to- ka+F
 so 1SG.POSS POSS run AUX away go/come
 conj prt vi aux vi

okomisawitehara oke
 o- to- ka -misa -witI -hara o- ke
 1SG.S away go/come up out IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt

""So I ran away, and climbed up a tree.""

86 *Okomisawite yama noki ona*
 o- to- ka -misa -witI , yama noki o- na+F ,
 1SG.S away go/come up out monster wait for 1SG.S AUX
 vi nf vt aux

kakamakerawarake ahi
 ka- ka -makI -rawa -hara -ke ahi
 COMIT go/come following F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

""I climbed up, and waited, and the two monsters came.""

87 *Kakamakerawa na owa me yofi*
 ka- ka -makI -rawa na+F , owa me yofi
 COMIT go/come following F.PL AUX 1SG.O 3PL.S show
 vi aux pron pron vt

kara yama owa awani yora
 ka- na -ra+F yama owa awa -hani yora
 COMIT AUX NEG monster 1SG.O see IP.N+F jump
 vt nf pron vt vi

tomisarake ahi
 to- na -misa -hara -ke ahi
 away AUX up IP.E+F DECL+F then
 aux dem

""They came. No one pointed me out, but the monster saw me, and jumped up.""

88 *Yora namisamakia kana ni kimisamabone*
 yora na -misa -makI+F kana na.NFIN ka -misa -ma -habone
 jump AUX up following run AUX go/come up back INT+F
 vi aux vi aux vi

sa okanarake ahi
 saa o- ka- na -hara -ke ahi
 shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX IP.E+F DECL+F then
 vt aux dem

""One jumped up after me. When it was coming up fast, I shot it with an arrow.""

89 *Namiti hoti sa okana kasoharake*
 namiti hoti saa o- ka- na+F ka- sona -hara -ke
 throat hole shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX COMIT fall IP.E+F DECL+F
 pn nf vt aux vi

TATI WAFO

ahi

ahi
then
dem

"I shot it in the throat with an arrow, and it fell."

90 *One yotomake one yora namisamakitasa*
one yoto -makI one yora na -misa -makI -tasa+F
other+F follow following other+F jump AUX up following again
adj vi adj vi aux

sa okatasaharake namiti hoti
saa o- ka- na -tasa -hara -ke namiti hoti
shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX again IP.E+F DECL+F throat hole
vt aux pn nf

"The other one came behind and jumped up, and I shot it in the throat with an arrow, too."

91 *Fawa tokarawaharake*
fawa to- ka- na -rawa -hara -ke
disappear CH COMIT AUX F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F
vi aux

"The two of them died."

92 *Ayo ayo fotarawinihi* ?
ayo ayo fota -rawa.NOM+F -ni -hi
older brother older brother be big F.PL IP.N+F DUP
nm nm vi

"Brother, were they big?"

93 *Yama fotarawarake ahi*
yama fota -rawa -hara -ke ahi
monster be big F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F then
nf vi dem

"The monsters were big."

94 *Mata narawarake ahi*
mata na -rawa -hara -ke ahi
lie AUX F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F this
vi aux dem

"They are this high, lying there on the ground."

95 *Yama howe fawa okanirawarake*
yama howe fawa o- to- ka- niha- na -rawa -hara -ke
monster large disappear 1SG.S CH COMIT CAUS AUX F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F
nf adj vi aux

, *ati nematamonane*
ati na -himata -mona -ne
say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
vt aux

"I killed the big monsters," he said.'

96 *Hine ahabarawakene*
hine ahaba -rawa -ke -ne
only die F.PL DECL+F IRR+F
pron vi

"Let them die."

TATI WAFO

97 *Te ha ni ama nikani onara*
tee haa na.NFIN ama na+F -kani ati o- na -hara
2PL.S call AUX be AUX CNTRFACT say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F
pron vi aux vc aux vt

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

"I thought it was you calling."

98 *Yama noki yawari bofe ya e tokate*
yama noki yawa -ri bofe ya ee to- ka -tee
thing face+F be upset PN during ADJU 1IN.S away go/come HAB
nf pn pn pn prt pron vi

"That's what happens when one goes out into the forest when a storm is threatening."

99 *Yama noki yawari bofe oka e*
yama noki yawa -ri bofe o- to- ka+F ee
thing face+F be upset PN during 1SG.S away go/come 1IN.S
nf pn pn pn vi pron

kabi watari owara oke e kabi
kaba.NFIN wata -ri o- awa -hara o- ke ee kaba.NFIN
eat dream PN 1SG.S see IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F 1IN.S eat
result pn vt prt pron result

watari
wata -ri
dream PN
pn

"I went out when a storm was threatening. I had dreamed about people being eaten."

100 *Yama watariteni onara oke*
yama wata -ri -tee -ni ati o- na -hara o- ke
thing dream PN HAB IP.N+F say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
nf pn vt prt

"My dream came true."

101 *Ayo tikawarabana tini waha*
ayo ti- to- ka -waha -ra -habana ti- ni waha
older brother 2SG.S away go/come change NEG FUT+F 2SG.S BKG+F now
nm vi prt prt

"Brother, don't go out anymore."

102 *Hinakasima hihiyarematamona okobi*
hinaka asima hi- hiyara -himata -mona o- ka abi
3SG.POSS younger sister OC speak to FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father
nf vt nm

aati toemari ahi
a- ati to- ha -himari ahi
DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M then
vt aux dem

'His younger sister spoke to him, my father always said.'

103 *Faya me me haha nemetemoneke*
faya me me haahaa na -hemete -mone -ke
so 3PL 3PL.S laugh AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
conj pron pron vi aux

TATI WAFO

'The others laughed.'

104 *Me haha hikanemata*
 me haahaa hi- ka- na -himata
 3PL.S laugh OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M
 pron vi aux

'They laughed at him.'

105 *Te hahahari na fahi*
 tee ha- haahaa -ri na fahi
 2PL.S DUP laugh DISTR AUX then
 pron vi aux dem

""Don't laugh.""

106 *Hinamati fanawi toke ya hinamati fanawi*
 hinamati fanawi to- ka.NOM+M ya hinamati fanawi
 someone woman away go/come ADJU someone woman
 nm adj vi prt nm adj

""A woman shouldn't go out into the forest alone.""

107 *Efe yama ino hinawatamatamona ka ino*
 efe yama ino hi- na- wata.NOM+M -mata -mona ka ino
 this+M monster name+M OC CAUS exist FP.N+M REP+M which name+M
 dem nf pn vt prt pn

ama ha Tati Wafo ?
 ama haa Tati Wafo
 be DEM (man's name)
 vc dem npropm

'Did the monster give him that name, Tati Wafo?'

108 *Ee Tati Wafo toematamonaka*
 ee Tati Wafo to- ha -himata -mona -ka
 yes (man's name) CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 interj npropm aux

'Yes, he was Tati Wafo.'

109 *Ino hinawatematamonaka*
 ino hi- na- wata -himata -mona -ka
 name+M OC CAUS exist FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pn vt

'It named him.'

110 *Faya me yayana tona me me haha*
 faya me ya- yana to- na+F me me haahaa
 so 3PL.S DUP start CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S laugh
 conj pron vi aux pron pron vi

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

'They were laughing.'

111 *Te hahahari na fahi*
 tee ha- haahaa -ri na fahi
 2PL.S DUP laugh DISTR AUX then
 pron vi aux dem

""Don't laugh.""

TATI WAFO

112 *Te ka owa toke ya te toki ya* ,
 tee ka owa to- ka.NOM+M ya tee to- ka.NOM+F ya
 2PL POSS man away go/come ADJU 2PL.S away go/come ADJU
 pron prt nm vi prt pron vi prt

yama tera kabake
 yama tera kaba -ke
 monster 2PL.O eat DECL+F
 nf pron vt

"If one of you goes out into the forest, the monster will eat you, also if you go out together."

113 *Yama owa kabene*
 yama owa kaba -hene
 thing 1SG.O eat IRR+F
 nf pron vt

"The monster almost ate me."

114 *Owatoa owatoara oke*
 o- wato+F , o- wato -hara o- ke
 1SG.S be afraid 1SG.S be afraid IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi vi prt

"I was afraid."

115 *Owatomakoni yora omisara*
 o- wato -makoni yora o- to- na -misa -hara
 1SG.S be afraid for this reason+F jump 1SG.S away AUX up IP.E+F
 vi vi aux

oke , owa yama nibonemakoni
 o- ke , owa yama na -bone -makoni
 1SG.S DECL+F 1SG.O climb after AUX INT+F for this reason+F
 prt pron vt aux

"Because I was afraid, I jumped up in the tree. I was afraid the monster would climb up after me."

116 *Owa yama ni ya ahabarawibone*
 owa yama na.NOM+F ya ahaba -rawa.NOM+F -bone
 1SG.O climb after AUX ADJU die F.PL INT+F
 pron vt aux prt vi

onimakoni onahabirawarake
 ati o- na -makoni o- na- ahaba -rawa -hara -ke
 say 1SG.S AUX for this reason+F 1SG.S CAUS die F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F
 vt vt

"When they climbed up the tree after me, I killed them, so they would die."

117 *Sa okanikimarawaharake owatino*
 saa o- ka- na -kima -rawa -hara -ke owatino
 shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX two F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F exclamation
 vt aux interj

"Fortunately I killed them both with arrows."

118 *Ia ene toharawarake , ati*
 iha ehene to- ha -rawa -hara -ke , ati
 plant sp victim of+M CH be F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F say
 nm pn vc vt

TATI WAFO

nematamonane

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

'"The poison killed them," he said.'

119 *Faya mati hora hine , iitawa*
faya mati hora hi- na+M , i- ita -waha
so 3SG.POSS.mother scold OC AUX DUP sit change
conj nf vt aux vi

toematamona fahi

to- ha -himata -mona fahi
CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
aux dem

'His mother spoke sternly to him, and he stayed in the village.'

120 *Bese tikariya mata*
bese ti- to- ka -ra -yahi mata
son 2SG.S away go/come NEG DIST.IMP+F for now
voc vi prt

'"Son, don't go out into the forest for a while."'

121 *Hiba , aya tiwa me tiwa me afo ni*
hiba , aya tiwa me tiwa me afo na.NOM+F
wait when 2SG.O 3PL 2SG.O 3PL.S blow snuff into AUX
interj dem pron pron pron pron vt aux

ka , tiwa me afo ni ka yama ,
ka , tiwa me afo na.NOM+F ka yama
because 2SG.O 3PL.S blow snuff into AUX because monster
prt pron pron vt aux prt nf

tiwa watorawa awineke , bati ati
tiwa wato -rawa+F awine -ke , bati ati
2SG.O know F.PL seem+F DECL+F 3SG.POSS.father say
pron vt sec nm vt

nematamonaka

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

'"They knew about you because the others had blown snuff into your nose," his father said.'

122 *Faya , iita tikawai ya ha ya*
faya , i- ita ti- ka- na -waha.NOM+F ya haa ya
so DUP stay 2SG.S COMIT AUX change ADJU DEM ADJU
conj vi aux prt dem prt

tikahabana tike
ti- to- ka -habana ti- ke
2SG.S away go/come FUT+F 2SG.S DECL+F
vi prt

'"After you stay here some more, later you will go out in the forest."'

123 *Abi sare , sare baka*
abi sarehe , sarehe baka
father blowgun dart blowgun dart break
nm nf nf vt

TATI WAFO

128	Sare		hawa		toniha		wati		hawa
	sarehe		hawa		to- niha- ha.LIST		wati		hawa
	blowgun		be finished		CH CAUS AUX		arrow		be finished
	nf		vi		aux		nm		vi
	toniha		ne		iha		tonakawe		iha
	to- niha- ha.LIST		na+M		iha		to- na- ka		-waha+M iha
	CH CAUS AUX		AUX		plant sp		away CAUS go/come		change plant sp
	aux		aux		nm		vt		nm
	me		tonaka		me		faya bati		ya fame
	me		to- na- ka+F		me		faya bati		ya fama+M
	3PL.S		away CAUS go/come		3PL.S		so 3SG.POSS.father		ADJU be two
	pron		vt		pron		conj nm		prt vi
	iha		me		siri		kana		me
	iha		me		siri		ka- na+F		me
	plant sp		3PL.S		scrape		COMIT AUX		3PL.S
	nm		pron		vt		aux		pron
	kakama		me		siri		kana		me
	ka- ka -ma+F		me		siri		ka- ka -ma+F		me
	COMIT go/come back		3PL.S		scrape		COMIT go/come back		3PL.S
	vi		pron		vt		vi		pron
	kakama		me		siri		kana		me
	ka- ka -ma+F		me		siri		ka- ka -ma+F		me
	COMIT go/come back		3PL.S		scrape		COMIT go/come back		3PL.S
	vi		pron		vt		vi		pron
	kanamematamonaka		me		siri		kana		me
	ka- na -ma -himata -mona -ka		me		siri		ka- ka -ma+F		me
	COMIT AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M		3PL.S		scrape		COMIT go/come back		3PL.S
	aux		pron		vt		vi		pron

'He finished the darts and the arrows, and he went to get *iha*. They went to get *iha*. He and his father took the *iha* bark off the stalks. They came back. Then he pulverized the *iha*.'

129	Ia		to		okanamabana		oke
	iha		too		o- to- ka- na -ma -habana		o- ke
	plant sp		pulverize		1SG.S away COMIT AUX back FUT+F		1SG.S DECL+F
	nm		vt		aux		prt

abi
abi
father
nm

'I'm going to pulverize the *iha*, Father.'

130	Faya		iha		to		kaname		fare		ati		ya		Iha
	faya		iha		too		ka- na -ma+M		fare		ati		ya		iha
	so		plant sp		pulverize		COMIT AUX back		same+M		voice		ADJU		plant sp
	conj		nm		vt		aux		dem		pn		prt		nm
	were		onaminaharo		to		kaname		fare		ati		ya		Iha
	were		o- na -mina -haaro		o- ita -haaro		o- ita -haaro		o- ita -haaro		o- ita -haaro		o- ita -haaro		o- ita -haaro
	stir		1SG.S AUX morning PFUT+F		1SG.S stay PFUT+F		1SG.S stay PFUT+F		1SG.S stay PFUT+F		1SG.S stay PFUT+F		1SG.S stay PFUT+F		1SG.S stay PFUT+F
	vt		aux		vi		vi		vi		vi		vi		vi
	okaminahabana		to		kaname		fare		ati		ya		Iha		me
	o- to- ka -mina -habana		o- ita -haaro		o- ita -haaro		o- ita -haaro		o- ita -haaro		o- ita -haaro		o- ita -haaro		o- ita -haaro
	1SG.S away go/come morning FUT+F		1SG.S stay PFUT+F		1SG.S stay PFUT+F		1SG.S stay PFUT+F		1SG.S stay PFUT+F		1SG.S stay PFUT+F		1SG.S stay PFUT+F		1SG.S stay PFUT+F
	vi		vi		vi		vi		vi		vi		vi		vi

'So he pulverized the *iha* back in the village, just as he had said. "After I have foamed up the *iha*, after I have stayed in the village, I will go out in the morning.'

131	Faya		ebe		kobaya		ware		fahi
	faya		ebe		kobaya		waa -hare		fahi
	so		dear		collared peccary		stand IP.E+M		then
	conj		voc		nm		vi		dem

'Dear, there is a collared peccary there in the plaza.'

TATI WAFO

132 *Faya* , *yama* , *yana* *tonehiba* *sare* *were* *nati*
 faya , yama , yana to- na -hiba sarehe were na nahatI+M
 so thing start CH AUX FUT+M blowgun dart coat AUX daytime
 conj nf vi aux nf vt prt

, *sare* *were* *natimatamonaka*
 sarehe were na nahatI -himata -mona -ka
 blowgun dart coat AUX daytime FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf vt prt

'He was nearly ready. He coated the darts with poison all day long.'

133 *Sare* *were* *ne* *wati* *were* *kana*
 sarehe were na+M wati were ka- na.LIST
 blowgun dart coat AUX arrow coat COMMIT AUX
 nf vt aux nm vt aux

'He coated the darts with poison. He also coated the arrows.'

134 *Sa* *okana* *tani* *kote* *ama*
 saa o- ka- na+F tani kote ama
 shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMMIT AUX weapon against piece be
 vt aux pn adj vc

haro
 haaro
 that one+F
 dem

""This is a piece of an arrow I shot a monster with.""

135 *Noki* *kowiwi*
 noki kowi -wi
 eye+F be deep DUP
 pn vi

""Its eyes were sunken.""

136 *Afa* *tani* *kote* *oneni* *ama* ?
 afa tani kote one -ni ama
 this+F weapon against piece other+F IP.N+F be
 dem pn adj vc

""Is that another piece of an arrow that hit a monster?""

137 *Tani* *kote* *one* *ama* *ha*
 tani kote one ama haa
 weapon against piece other+F be DEM
 pn adj vc dem

""That is another piece of an arrow that hit a monster.""

138 *Tani* *kote* *one* *amake* *haro*
 tani kote one ama -ke haaro
 weapon against piece other+F be DECL+F that one+F
 pn adj vc dem

""That is another piece of an arrow that hit a monster.""

139 *So* *onihawamahareka*
 soo o- niha- na -waha -ma -hare -ka
 lie 1SG.S CAUS AUX change back IP.E+M DECL+M
 vi aux

""I put them on the ground.""

TATI WAFO

140 *Yama kabarawehene aawa reno ati ama*
 yama kaba -rawa -hene a- awa na -ra -hino ati ama
 monster eat F.PL IRR+F DUP see AUX NEG IP.N+M voice be
 nf result vt aux pn vc

"Let's eat the monsters."

141 *Tikabarawahara*
 ti- kaba -rawa -hara
 2SG.S eat F.PL IP.E+F
 vt

"Go ahead and eat them."

142 *Tikabarawa yama noki kori te*
 ti- kaba -rawa+F yama noki kori tee
 2SG.S eat F.PL monster eye+F naked+F be inside
 vt nf pn pn vi

narawarake boti ya ahi
 na -rawa -hara -ke boti ya ahi
 AUX F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F inside ADJU there
 aux pn prt dem

"Go ahead and eat them. Their eyes are sunken way down inside."

143 *Ye atari ye atari yaborawarani awine ?*
 yehe atari yehe atari yabo -rawa -ra -hani awine ?
 finger nail+F finger nail+F be far F.PL NEG IP.N+F seem+F
 pn pn pn pn vi sec

"Were their claws long?"

144 *Ye atari yaborawaharake tame atarirawaha*
 yehe atari yabo -rawa -hara -ke tame atari -rawa -ha
 finger nail+F be long F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F foot+F nail+F F.PL DUP
 pn pn vi pn pn

"Their front paws and their back paws had long claws."

145 *Ye atari yaborawarake yimawa nima yimawa*
 yehe atari yabo -rawa -hara -ke yimawa nima yimawa
 finger nail+F be long F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F knife like knife
 pn pn vi nf prt nf

nima
 nima
 like
 prt

"They had long claws like knives."

146 *Yama ye atari inoharake haro boboyo*
 yama yehe atari ino -hara -ke haaro bo- boyo
 monster finger nail+F be sharp IP.E+F DECL+F that one+F DUP feel
 nf pn pn vi dem vt

onaharo
 o- na -haaro
 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F
 aux

"They had sharp claws, I felt them."

TATI WAFO

- 147 **Bobi okasabone** , **ona** , **owati**
 bobi o- ka- na -kosa -habone ati o- na+F o- ati
 slit 1SG.S COMIT AUX middle INT+F say 1SG.S AUX 1SG.POSS voice
 vt aux vt pn
- yama kaminimakoni** , **owakanakosahara** , **yama**
 yama kamina -makoni o- ka- kana -kosa -hara yama
 thing tell for this reason+F 1SG.S COMIT leave middle IP.E+F monster
 nf vt vt nf
- one owa watarabana** , **ona** , **owa**
 one owa wata -ra -habana ati o- na+F owa
 other+F 1SG.O catch NEG FUT+F say 1SG.S AUX 1SG.S
 adj pron vt vt pron
- "I wanted to cut them off, but I thought about it, and I left them there, because I thought another monster might get me."
- 148 **Mata narawarake**
 mata na -rawa -hara -ke
 lie AUX F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F
 vi aux
- "They lay there."
- 149 **Hine abarawake**
 hine ahaba -rawa -ke
 only die F.PL DECL+F
 pron vi
- "Let them die."
- 150 **Hine ahabarawake**
 hine ahaba -rawa -ke
 only die F.PL DECL+F
 pron vi
- "Let them die."
- 151 **Bara iharawabanake**
 bara iha -rawa -habana -ke
 other+F be located F.PL FUT+F DECL+F
 adj vi
- "Other monsters will appear."
- 152 **Faya me** , **ite bosa** , **nematamonaka**
 faya me ita+M bosa na -himata -mona -ka
 so 3PL stay get up early AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj pron vi vi aux
- 'He was staying in the village. He got up early.'
- 153 **Bosa omatibe**
 bosa o- na -mata -be
 get up early 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F
 vi aux
- "I'm going to get up early."
- 154 **Tiwa tiwatomiyahi** , **bati** , **ati**
 tiwa ti- ka- katoma -yahi bati ati
 2SG.O 2SG.S COMIT look at DIST.IMP+F 3SG.POSS.father say
 pron vt nm vt

TATI WAFO

nematamona

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

"You be careful," his father said.'

155 *Yama tiwa kanawana tiwa awine tike*
yama tiwa kanawana+F tiwa awine ti- ke
shaman's stone 2SG.O teach 2SG.O seem+F 2SG.O DECL+F
nf pron vt pron sec prt

"The shaman's stone is teaching you."

156 *Tiwa me aafo tohi ka*
tiwa me a- afo to- ha.NOM+F ka
2SG.O 3PL.S DUP blow snuff into CH AUX because
pron pron vt aux prt

yama abe tiwa kanawana awineni
yama abe tiwa kanawana+F awine -ni
shaman's stone creature+F 2SG.O teach seem+F BKG+F
nf pn pron vt sec

"Because the others blew snuff into you, the creature of the shaman's stone is teaching you."

157 *E awakare*
ee awa -ka -re
1IN.S see DECL NEG+F
pron vt

"I don't know."

158 *Tiwa owa okare bati ati*
tiwa o- awa o- ka -re bati ati
2SG.O 1SG.S see 1SG.S DECL NEG+F 3SG.POSS.father say
pron vt prt nm vt

nematamona

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

"I didn't see you."

159 *Yama abe kobo tinehene abe*
yama abe kobo ti- na -hene abe
shaman's stone creature+F meet 2SG.S AUX IRR+F creature+F
nf pn vt aux pn

tinahabiha tiwa awine tike
ti- na- ahaba+F tiwa awine ti- ke
2SG.S CAUS die 2SG.S seem+F 2SG.S DECL+F
vt pron sec prt

"You should have just met the creatures of the shaman's stone, but you killed them."

160 *Abe kobo hinahara*
abe kobo na -hina -hara
creature+F meet AUX can NEG+F
pn vt aux

"I don't want to meet the monsters."

TATI WAFO

161 *Abe* *kobo* *hinahara*
 abe kobo na -hina -hara
 creature+F meet AUX can NEG+F
 pn vt aux

"I don't want to meet the monsters."

162 *Abe* *hamarake*
 abe hama -hara -ke
 creature+F be mean IP.E+F DECL+F
 pn vi

"The monsters were fierce."

163 *Yama* *abe* *hamimakoni* *yama*
 yama abe hama -makoni yama
 shaman's stone creature+F be mean for this reason+F shaman's stone
 nf pn vi nf

abe , *sa* *okanikimarawarake*
 abe , saa o- ka- na -kima -rawa -hara -ke
 creature+F shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX two F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F
 pn vt aux

"Because the monsters were fierce, I shot both of them with arrows."

164 *Hine* *ahabarawake*
 hine ahaba -rawa -ke
 only die F.PL DECL+F
 pron vi

"Let them die."

165 *Faya* *yana* *tone* , *tokematamonaka*
 faya yana to- na+M , to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 so start CH AUX away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi aux vi

'He was ready, and he went out.'

166 *Tiwa* *ha* *onamone* *tiyahi* , *watore*
 tiwa haa o- na -hamone ati ti- na -yahi , watore
 2SG.O call 1SG.S AUX REP+F say 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F watore
 pron vt aux vt vi

tina *tiwa*
 ti- na+F tiwa
 2SG.S AUX 2SG.S
 aux pron

"Don't say that I am calling you. Don't forget."

167 *Faya* *tokematamonaka*
 faya to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 so away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi

'So he went out.'

168 *Toke* , *fawa* *tosawite* , *Yama*
 to- ka+M , fawa to- na -kosa -witI , yama
 away go/come disappear away AUX middle out , monster
 vi vi aux nf

TATI WAFO

nahabiraweno			toka		ne	me	afoafo		
na-	ahaba	-rawa -hino	to-	ka.LIST	na+M	me	afo-	afo	
CAUS	die	F.PL IP.N+M	away	go/come	AUX	3PL.S	DUP	blow snuff into	
vt			vi		aux	pron	vt		
hie		ka		yama		abe		hiwatohinoho	
hi-	to-	ha+M	ka	yama	abe	hi-	wato	-hino	-ho
OC	CH	AUX	because	shaman's stone	creature+F	OC	know	IP.N+M	DUP
aux			prt	nf	pn	vt			
yama		abe		tisa		naraweno		toka	
yama		abe	tisa	na	-rawa -hino	to-	ka		
shaman's stone	creature+F	shoot with arrow	AUX F.PL	IP.N+M	away go/come	vi			
nf	pn	vt	aux						
ne									
na+M									
AUX									
aux									

'He went, and disappeared into the forest. "The one who killed the monsters is going into the forest. The creatures of the shaman's stone know him, because the others blew snuff into his nose. The one who killed the creatures of the shaman's stone with arrows is going into the forest."

169	Abi	abi	he	maho	hisi	narawi	karo	?
	abi	abi	hee	maho	hisi	na -rawa.NOM+F	karo	
	father	father	3SG.POSS	smell	sniff	AUX F.PL	because	
	nm	nm	pron	pn	vt	aux	prt	

"Father, is it because they smelled his smell?"

170	He	maho	hisi	narawi	karo
	hee	maho	hisi	na -rawa.NOM+F	karo
	3SG.POSS	smell	sniff	AUX F.PL	because
	pron	pn	vt	aux	prt

"It's because they smelled his smell."

171	He	maho	hisi	narawa	ra	sa	
	hee	maho	hisi	na -rawa+F	ra	saa	
	3SG.POSS	smell	sniff	AUX F.PL	O	shoot with arrow	
	pron	pn	nf	aux	prt	vt	
naraweno		toka		ne		faya hine ahabarawake	
na	-rawa -hino	to-	ka.LIST	na+M	faya	hine	ahaba -rawa -ke
AUX F.PL	IP.N+M	away go/come	AUX	so	only	die	F.PL DECL+F
aux		vi	aux	conj	pron	vi	

"He killed the ones who smelled his smell, and he is going out. Let them die."

172	Hine	ahabarawi	na
	hine	ahaba -rawa.NOM+F	na
	only	die F.PL	AUX
	pron	vi	aux

"Let them die."

173	Faya	me	toke	bani	me	fora	neni
	faya	me	to- ka+M	bani	me	fora	na -hino
	so	3PL	away go/come	animal	3PL.O	shoot with blowgun	AUX IP.N+M
	conj	pron	vi	nm	pron	vt	aux
	bani	me	fora	nematamonaka			
	bani	me	fora	na	-himata -mona -ka		
	animal	3PL.O	shoot with blowgun	AUX FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	
	nm	pron	vt	aux			

'He went out. He killed animals with his blowgun.'

TATI WAFO

174 *Bani me fora ne , bani me*
 bani me fora na+M , bani me
 animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX animal 3PL.O
 nm pron vt aux nm pron

fora neno kame bani me weye
 fora na -hino ka -ma+M bani me weye
 shoot with blowgun AUX IP.N+M go/come back animal 3PL.O carry
 vt aux vi nm pron vt

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

'He killed animals with his blowgun. He started back, carrying the animals on his back.'

175 *Yowi me fora neno ahi , faya*
 yowi me fora na -hino ahi , faya
 brown capuchin 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX IP.N+M then so
 nm pron vt aux dem conj

kame kame kobo namematamonaka
 ka -ma+M , ka -ma+M kobo na -ma -himata -mona -ka
 go/come back go/come back arrive AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi vi aux

'He had killed brown capuchins with his blowgun. He came back. He arrived back.'

176 *Kobo name , hinaka bani me me hitisa me*
 kobo na -ma+M , hinaka bani me me hi- tisa+F me
 arrive AUX back 3SG.POSS animal 3PL.O 3PL.S OC undo 3PL.O
 vi aux pron nm pron pron vt pron

bani me me ibori kawahemetemoneke
 bani me me ibori ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ke
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S carry COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron pron vt aux

'He arrived back. The others untied his animals, and they carried them off.'

177 *Faya bako hikaraboeno rama ahi bako*
 faya bako hi- karaboha -hino rama ahi bako
 so chest+M OC shoot with blowgun IP.N+M unusual there chest+M
 conj pn vt prt dem pn

'He had hit the monkey in the chest with the dart.'

178 *Bako tikaraboeno ama ?*
 bako ti- karaboha -hino ama ?
 chest+M 2SG.S shoot with blowgun IP.N+M SEC
 pn vt sec

""Did you hit the monkey in the chest?""

179 *Bako okaraboe amaka*
 bako o- karaboha+M ama -ka
 chest+M 1SG.S shoot with blowgun SEC DECL+M
 pn vt sec

""I hit it in the chest.""

180 *Owa awebona , owa kiki ne bako*
 owa awa -hibona , owa ki- kii na+M bako
 1SG.O see INT+M 1SG.O DUP look AUX chest+M
 pron vt pron vi aux pn

BAHI (2)

Free Translation

They were living there. As they were living there, Bahi came to them. He came from far away, and they didn't see him coming. He came upon them as they were living there, and he shined a light on them briefly. It was like a shock.

"Ee, ee." They were all crying out. "There is someone coming."

"Hoo, are you living here?"

"We are living here."

"Whew, I didn't know you were living here. I'm hungry."

"Did you eat where you came from? Didn't they feed you?"

"They didn't feed me. I passed by them [without stopping], they live far away. I have arrived late in the day."

It was Bahi, someone had turned into Bahi. He came.

"Are you going to sleep here?"

"Yes, it's late. I will sleep a while. I will sleep at your village. After I sleep...I will sleep a while."

They wanted him to sleep there. They wanted him to stay, and they fed him. They gave him food, and he ate. He was going to sleep.

He [the head of the house] had suspended the rifle. He spoke. He had tied [the rifle] near the tapir's trail,⁸⁹ and he spoke. "Aa, I suspended the rifle, and it is suspended by the tapir's trail. I suspended the rifle, and it is suspended near the trail the tapir goes back and forth on. Listen. It's sound [i.e the sound of the rifle going off] will start," he said.

He [the head of the house] was telling the story. "Let's eat tapir. I have never eaten tapir. I will eat a little bit of tapir," he [Bahi] said.

He slept. They woke up.

They woke up. "Where is your rifle suspended?"

"The rifle which I suspended is suspended there. It is suspended on the other side of the stream that comes this way."

"Who will show me the rifle? Grandmother, let's go together. Let's go together, Grandmother."

"He is calling me to go along, even though I move slowly."

"You move slowly. Just walk slowly, and show it. When I see the rifle...[I will say,] 'There is a tapir lying there.'"

So they left. The old woman went with her grandson. She went into the forest.

"Where?"

"There is the rifle suspended. There is the tapir's trail."

He was standing where the rifle was suspended. "Grandma, come here on the tapir's trail. Come around from that way over there. Come back here. Catch on the line."

He was holding the trigger of the rifle, and the old woman came.

"Grandma, come fast."

89 What is referred to is a booby trap with a trip line.

BAHI (2)

"Taasei," it went. She didn't even yell. She died.

"Let her die."

When she died..."Carry the tapir. We are going out into the forest. You carry the tapir."⁹⁰ That was a weapon killing a tapir."

It was the weapon that killed their own mother, because of Bahi, because Bahi shot her. Bahi shot her and she died. He turned her into a tapir. She was a tapir.

He came back for them. He took them there. "The tapir died."

He cut the "tapir" in pieces. He cut up his grandmother. He carried the pieces of his grandmother. He carried her.

"Make a grill. A grill, make a grill."

They made a grill. Others went after firewood. They roasted her on the grill. Her sons that had gone out into the forest came back, and they ate her back in the village.

"The tapir died."

"Didn't I hear the sound of the gun that killed it going off a little while ago?" [said one of the sons of the old woman].

"Yes, it came early. The sound of the gun that shot it went off in front of me," [said Bahi].

"Where is my mother?"

"Your mother went to the other people. Your mother went to get them. She went. She went after them, she went so they could eat."⁹¹

They ate the supposed tapir, which was their own mother. They ate their own mother. They ate, eating their own mother. They ate and then slept.

Bahi didn't sleep. He lay in his hammock listening.

"My mother didn't come home."

"Your mother will come when the meat is boiled. She will come. She is sleeping with them for now, and will bring them tomorrow so they will eat."

The day came. Before daylight he was ready to leave. He rolled up his hammock, and he was ready to leave.

"The ones who nursed long ago ate their mother, wow," he said. "The ones who nursed long ago ate their mother, and they are sleeping, wow," he said, as he was ready to leave.

Then he disappeared. He disappeared. After he went, they woke up and looked where he had been. "Did you hear Bahi speak?"

"The ones who nursed long ago ate their own mother, wow,' Bahi said. I heard him. He disappeared. He must have gone into the forest. We ate my mother without knowing it. We ate my mother without knowing it, because of Bahi. He has gone away. We didn't see him leaving, and he disappeared."

He disappeared. He came out at another place. The woman who would be his grandmother was making a clay pot. She was smoothing the clay pot.

There was a shock. "Hey, oh."

"Grandma, are you making a clay pot?"

"I am making a clay pot. I was making a clay pot, and your scared me."

"Here Grandma, let me smooth it a little. I want to smooth it a little."

"Wipe my clay pot carefully. It shouldn't be wiped hard."

"I know how to do it."

He smoothed the clay pot really hard. He held onto the opposite edge of the clay pot really

90 This conversation was back in the village. Some of the people were saying they were going out hunting, and that the others should go after the dead tapir.

91 That is, she went to invite them to come back with her and eat tapir meat.

BAHI (2)

hard, and the pot broke apart. "Oh no, Grandma the clay pot broke."

"He is saying he damaged my clay pot."

Then he grabbed his grandmother. He held his grandmother, and broke her neck. He broke her neck, and threw her in the water. "Come on, you are going to be the first sting-ray." He threw her clay pot in the water after her. "You who have been making clay pots are going to be the first sting-ray."

Then he was ready to leave, and went into the forest again. He came upon the one who was ramming out the inside of a new blowgun, who was going to be the first *ona* alligator. He was ramming out the inside of the blowgun. "Hiii, hiii, hiii." It was the sound of the ramming of his blowgun. He was ramming the blowgun forcefully, bracing himself with his leg.

There was a sound of a shock. "Hey. Wow."

He went. The man was ramming the inside of the blowgun. "Here Grandpa, let me ram it a little. Hand it to me. I want to ram it a little. Give me the stick."

"Don't ram my blowgun too hard."

Bahi rammed the blowgun. He broke the blowgun. The blowgun broke. "Oh no, Grandpa the blowgun broke."

"He is saying that he broke the blowgun."

"Grandpa, don't be angry with me. Wait, let me put it back together."

He tried to put the blowgun back together, and because the blowgun couldn't be put back together, he grabbed his grandfather. He wanted to stick the piece of the blowgun into his anus, and he tried to stick it in. He broke his legs. He pulled his arms behind his back. He broke his arms, too. Then he threw him in the water. "You are going to be the first *ona* alligator. You are the first *ona* alligator. You were ramming the blowgun."

It's the piece of his former blowgun that is sticking in his anus [that is, the alligator's tail]. He threw the alligator into the water. "You are going to be the first *ona* alligator."

Bahi looked at the sun. "Wait."

Bahi went into the forest. He went away. Then he came upon the sound of people cutting down a *hawa* palm, "Teo, teo." His future father-in-law was cutting down a *hawa* palm, to mix the fruits with manioc juice. Fish were killed, *ote* fish. The *ote* fish were in the makeshift basket on the ground. They had felt for the fish, and they had killed the fish. They were in the makeshift basket.

"Are those fish?"

"They are fish. The fish that I killed are in there. Hoo, let me cut down the *hawa* palm, to add the fruits to my wife's manioc juice." He picked up the ax and went into the forest. He was cutting down the *hawa* palm.

"I'm going to cut down my father-in-law's *hawa* palm."

He went there. He went there to cut down his father-in-law's *hawa* palm. He went there, and grabbed the ax. "Father-in-law, give the ax to me." He chopped at the *hawa* palm. He chopped at it really hard. The *hawa* palm fell.

The two women who were going to be his wives were standing there. "You two go bathe. Go bathe. I'm going to cut down a *hawa* palm," he said.

He went and cut down a *hawa* palm. When the *hawa* palm fell, he came back.

He went to the two women who were bathing. "Are you bathing?"

"We are bathing."

"I'm going to bathe, too. I'm sweating." He bathed. After they bathed, they put their breechcloths back on.

The two women went back. "Let's go back." They went back.

He went back after them. "Come on, I want to drink *hawa* drink. I want to eat fish. I'm

BAHI (2)

hungry."

"You go ahead with him. I will follow," their father said.

"I'm going to marry you. You are going to be my wives." He wanted them to marry them. He took them back. He arrived back with them.

"Cook the fish quickly. I want to eat fish." So they cooked the fish. When the cooking of the fish was done, they called him.

They toasted manioc mash. Her mother mashed the manioc juice in the mortar. She put the *hawa* fruits in water. She mashed the *hawa* fruits in the mortar. She mixed the manioc juice with her hands. "Well, is he full?"

"Yes, I'm full, Mother-in-law. I'm full. I ate fish."

"Aren't you going to drink manioc juice?"

"Wait, my food is almost gone."

His mother-in-law called him for him to drink manioc juice. He dipped out some manioc juice with a cup. "Wait, I will dip out a little. I will try a little. Is it sweet?"

"It is sweet."

He got some manioc juice, and he drank the manioc juice. "Yumm, it's good. *Hawa* fruits are good with manioc juice."

So he came back. He was ready to leave. "I want to leave, but you won't let me. I'm going to leave."

"We won't let you leave because of what you said, when you said you would marry us."

"Yes, I will marry you."

"Don't deceive us."

"I will marry you. He is my father-in-law." He was going to marry them, and he slept with them. He didn't sleep with them, he had sex with them all night.

"I'm going now. Where is there forest that has game?"

"There is a path going that way that has game. There are woolly monkeys living there."

"Come on, let's go together. You will carry the woolly monkeys." He was ready to leave, and his two wives were ready to leave. They came on behind.

He went into the forest, carrying a blowgun on his shoulder, and holding onto arrows. He went into the forest. As he went, the voices of woolly monkeys could be heard. "Siya, siya." The voices of woolly monkeys could be heard. As he listened to their voices, he twirled darts in his mouth. As he twirled the darts in his mouth, he went along planning against the monkeys.

"You stay here. I will come back quickly if I hear your voices."

He went into the forest. He went, and he shot some monkeys, "Fai saki."

"Aaa, aaa." A female monkey cried out.

The monkeys got excited. "Aa, aa, aa." They were going to be hit with darts.

He shot monkeys with the blowgun. He was picking up the dead monkeys. The monkeys were falling onto the ground.

He came back. "Hoo, are you still here?"

"We are still here."

"Aren't there any dangerous animals?"

"There aren't any dangerous animals, and we are still here."

"I guess there isn't a jaguar. If there were a jaguar, you would have cried out. Come on, let's go get the game."

They went to get the game. They went with him. He went there and picked up the monkeys. They picked up the monkeys. His one wife carried some of the monkeys, his other wife carried some of them, and he carried some of them.

BAHI (2)

They came back, and arrived. "I'm going to tie up the monkeys. You will carry them."

"Aren't you going to carry any of them? Ours should be less."

"You are the ones who are going to eat them."

He tied up the animals. He tied up the monkeys. His one wife carried some, and his other wife carried some, and he carried two. He came back. They came back.

He had sex with them where he had shot the monkeys. He had sex with them. "Here, I will make people that will eat game." He had sex with them.

When the sex with them was over, he came back. They came back. "Come on, you two carry them, the ones who made you suffer.⁹² It's so you can eat them." He was ready to leave. They were ready to leave.

They came back, and arrived back. When they came back, his father-in-law singed the hair off the monkeys. He cut up the monkeys. He made a grill, too. He threw them onto the grill. Then they ate, the monkeys' livers, their intestines. They ate, his brothers-in-law. They ate, and they finished eating. They took snuff, and slept.

He was ready to go again the next morning. "I'm going out hunting."

"Go hunting. You have seen the forest. You have seen where we go."

"I want my brothers-in-law to go with me." His brothers-in-law went with him as he went out into the forest.

As he went, it [a tapir] started making noise [brushing against leaves].

"It's a tapir. Be quiet. I will hit it with an arrow. Wait, watch me. I'm a hunter."

They crept toward it as it stood, breaking twigs. One of them inserted an arrow in his bow. [His brother-in-law] was going to shoot quickly, but he went first. "Takai wa."

The tapir jumped up. It went a ways, hurt, and soon fell. He had hit it right in the armpit with the arrow.

"Come on, I killed it as it was eating. I really pulled the arrow hard on it! The arrow point went inside, and turned up."

His brother-in-law pulled out the arrow. "The arrow point stayed in. I hit you with an arrow. My penis went in all the way in your younger sisters." He was talking naughty.

They cut up the tapir. They cut up the fat tapir. They carried the tapir.

"The head will stay here on the ground. Let its head stay here on the ground. My mother-in-law will eat its head. You carry its head."

"I will carry its head. You will see me, wait."

He put the tapir's head on top of the full basket. They all carried the tapir.

"Don't let the feet stay there on the ground. The feet will be eaten. Let's take it all."

They took it. They brought it, and arrived with it.

"They are coming back carrying game. While he is here, we are eating the game he kills."

He had impregnated his wives, they were pregnant. He spoke to his pregnant wives. "What are you going to do? Shall I take you away?"

"I don't know."

"I will take you, wait. When I hear what my mother says, when I go there and hear what my mother says, if my mother agrees, I will come back to get you. When I have come back to get you, and we have gone...I will sleep here [before leaving]. I will know what day it will be [that I will take you away]. If the babies are growing up when I come back, I will not leave. When the children are finished growing up, we will leave. I will ask my mother properly about it. When I ask my mother properly about it, I will also ask my father."

"Is it scary?"

92 That is, the monkeys were the cause of the women having had to have sex with Bahi.

BAHI (2)

"It's not scary, it's just like where we are now. I went out [hunting] again and came out at another place, and then I came back here. My mother lives there. I came back here."

"It's scary. I don't think I want to go there."

"It's just like where we are now. You will see it. You don't believe me. It's just like where we are now."

He was ready to leave, but he turned back and slept there. He turned back because her labor had started. The baby was born.

"Is it a boy?"

"It's a boy."

"What do you know, it's a boy. You will eat his game [that he will kill when he grows up]. Didn't you see me? You will eat his game. You have seen me, his father. I have killed a tapir with bow and arrow, and have killed woolly monkeys with a blowgun."

So he turned back. He went out hunting. "I'm going hunting, wait. My son has been born."

"Since my son hasn't been born yet, you shouldn't go now. Wait for me," [said his other wife].

"Yes, I will wait for you. The labor of the other baby will start. When the other baby is born, I will go to speak to my mother."

He was going to be ready to leave. When the other baby was born, he was ready to leave.

"The other baby who was born is a boy. What do you know, there are two boys. I will go and speak to my mother, Mother-in-law. Mother-in-law, I will go and speak to my mother."

He was ready to go, and he went. He didn't stay.

"I will come back here. I will come back. When the baby is nursing well, I will come back. When I have spoken to my mother..."

So he went. He went, and disappeared in the forest.

"That village of Bahi is scary. I'm not going along."

"He said it's the same as here. Didn't you hear what he said? He said it's just like the place we live in here," their older brother said. "We will go together, so I can have sex with his younger sister, too. Wait, I'll ask him. Let him come back."

He was ready to go, and he disappeared in the forest.

He waited for him. They waited for him. After three full moons, he finally appeared again.

"Bahi has come back. Bahi has come back."

He came back, and arrived. "Hoo, the children have grown. Now I finally have children. My sons' grandmother said I should take them there. What are you going to do? Do you want to stay with me?"

"I don't know. Bahi, isn't it scary?"

"It's not scary. It's the same as where we are now. It's just like here. It's just like where we are now."

"Bahi, is there plenty of game there?"

"She is saying there isn't much game, but the game there are the same as where we live," [said Bahi].

They were ready to leave. When they were about ready to leave, they slept there some more.

"Wait, I will kill some game for my mother-in-law with my blowgun. When I kill game with my blowgun, my mother-in-law and father-in-law will roast them on a grill."

"Are you saying you are going to take my daughters away? Isn't it scary there?"

"Father-in-law, it's not scary. It's the same as the place where we are. The places are the same. It's the same as the place we're living."

"When we are ready to leave, and we go, and we arrive somewhere, we will go and go and

BAHI (2)

will arrive. If we get up early, it won't be far. When we have slept in the house I slept in when I went before, when we have gotten up early and gone and gone, we will arrive," he said.

"Bahi really talks."

He listened to his father-in-law, and his father-in-law stopped speaking.

"Yes, Father-in-law, I'm going to take my wives there. I come back and see you again."

"If you take my daughters to a place that is not my village...."

"It's my village. Because it is my village there, I have come here to get my wives. It is my father and mother's village." So he took them away.

"Let him take them away," [said his father-in-law].

"He is taking them so their grandmother can see them. They won't die," [said his mother-in-law].

"I don't know if we will come back soon or not. I don't know if my wives will like the place when they see it."

So they went. They slept on the way, and went on again in the morning.

He wanted to ask his brother-in-law. "You said you wanted to marry my younger sister."

"I want you to pay for my sisters to live here."

"No, I don't want her to live over there. I want her to live in my village. You live in my village."

"It's scary."

"It's not scary. You heard me, it's the same forest. It's the same trails."

"You said the trail goes up."

"It doesn't go up. It's good to walk there. The trees are not high, they are like steps. There are tall trees. It's the same [whether the trees are tall or short]."

"I will slide back down."⁹³

"He won't slide back down. He crawls because he is a baby. Adults don't crawl."

They went. His brother-in-law made him go along. They went and went, and arrived at sundown. He had become Bahi's brother-in-law. He came. They arrived at sundown.

They slept. He called his younger sister. "Sister, Sister."

"Huh?"

"Sister, come here a minute. Listen to me. Look at what I have in my hand. I am holding something in my hand that I bought."

"Brother, what is it?"

"Look at what I am holding in my hand."

"He [the baby] is fat. The one my brother is holding looks just like him. Brother, whose daughters' hands are you holding? Whose daughters did you marry?"

"I don't know his name. I haven't heard his name. Wait, I will hear his name now. I will go and see them again."

"Brother, can we go together?"

"Yes, we will go together."

"Your partner is sitting there, holding his hard penis. Sister, he is your future husband."

"Are you going to stay here?" [said Bahi].

"I don't know."

"I don't want to go to his village and stay there."⁹⁴

93 This is a reference to the ability of shamans to walk in the sky.

94 When we came to the end of the tape and started recording again, Siko went back to an earlier point in the story and retold part of it, changing some details.

BAHI (2)

When he arrived at their village, he wasn't kind. He killed the women. He killed people. When he came again and came upon others, he killed the others, too. He came to them. He arrived where they were.

"Mother, get my gun again. My gun is suspended at the tapir's trail. The gun is suspended there. We are going out in the forest."

They went out, all of them.

"If a tapir dies, you cut it up, Mother. We are going out."

They all went out. She toasted some manioc mash and was sitting on the ground eating it.

"Grandma, what are you eating?"

"I'm eating manioc mash."

"What are you eating with it?"

"Meat. I'm eating game that my son killed with his blowgun. I'm eating the game that my son killed with his blowgun. I ate one animal, and left the rest for later," she said.

He waited for her. He killed her when she was done eating. When she picked up a bowl of water to drink, he killed her. Then he had an idea. He went into the forest, and got the gun. He came back and stuck the gun under the roof. He pulled out a knife, and cut off her breasts, like a tapir. She was like a tapir. He burned her hair. Her head was just like the head of a tapir, after he burned her hair. Then he cut her in pieces. He cut her up. Her sons didn't see her legs. Her legs were lying over on the other side. Her sons didn't see her legs. He cut her up, and cooked her. He boiled her.

He heard their voices as they came back, "Hey, hey, hey."

They came back. He put her breasts on himself. He also put her old vagina on himself. When he had put her breasts on himself, he lay in the hammock, with his head down. His face was just like her face. His face was just like the face of the old woman.

He [one of the sons] looked ahead and saw something. "Yeh, the tapir really did die! Hoo, it has been cooked. It has boiled and has been cooked."

They came back, and started in right away [to get the food, because they were hungry].

"Mother, is it tapir?"

"Yes, it's a tapir. I cut up the tapir, and I am roasting it. I boiled it, and it is boiled there," Bahi said. It was not an old woman, it was Bahi.

"Mother, where is the manioc mash?"

"There is manioc mash in the container, that I toasted."

They started in right away on the manioc mash. They ate, eating their own mother.

"Wow, the tapir is fat! Look at the fat! We had said it was not fat," they said.

He was in the hammock. He stayed in the hammock, he didn't get out. He didn't get out of the hammock.

"Mother, did you eat some? I have already eaten some. It satisfied me, and I am lying in the hammock."

He didn't see that his "mother" was Bahi. He ate.

"The tapir is good to eat. It's good to eat, because it's fatty."

They ate. They finished eating.

"Turn over the tapir. I had turned over the tapir, but I hadn't turned it over again. You turn it over."

After they ate, they were ready to take a bath, and they went. When they had bathed, they came back. It was dark. He got out of the hammock and sat down.

"Mother."

"What?"

"Mother, go back into your hammock. I will go back to my hammock, but I am sitting here

BAHI (2)

so that I can take snuff for a while. I'm going to take snuff for a while."

He was sitting there. "You go to sleep first, because you are full, while I cook the tapir for you. After you go to sleep first, I will sleep afterward."

So he sat there. He sat taking snuff. He sat there a while longer.

He [one of the sons] was watching his mother. He was awake, but he was getting sleepy. Bahi blew out the mucus from the snuff. Then he spoke. "I'm going to defecate. After I have taken the remaining snuff, I will defecate. You go to sleep before me. I will go to sleep afterward."

He said he was going to defecate. "My son, are you sleeping? Go to sleep. I'm going to defecate."

He went. He didn't come back. He went away. He didn't come back. He went away. They were sleeping. He came, and went.

"He made me eat my mother. I ate my mother because of Bahi," he said.

Dawn came and he arrived where a woman was making a clay pot. She was making a clay pot. He was going to kill them. She had two daughters. Her grandmother was sitting on the ground making a clay pot. She was sitting making the pot.

"Sori [shocking]."

"Hey. Aha."

Her daughters laughed. As they laughed, he came.

"Grandma."

"Huh?"

"Grandma, are you making a pot?"

"I'm making a pot to toast manioc mash on. I see. Here, let me smooth it. Give me the smoother, wait."

"Don't smooth my pot too hard."

He started to smooth the pot, and he was about to do it violently. He was smoothing the pot, "sio, sio". The pot split open. He didn't pay any attention, he just went on smoothing the pot.

"Oh no, it is ruined! The pot is ruined."

Then he grabbed his grandmother and threw her in the water. He broke her arms. After he killed his grandmother, he threw her in the water.

"You will be the first sting-ray."

The ones who saw their mother being killed went running away. He went running after them and killed them, and changed them into something else, too.

He came back. "Hoo." He came. As he came, the sound of a blowgun could be heard. The man was working on a blowgun. Its sound could be heard, "Hii, hii, hii." He braced himself with his leg. "Yebe," went the sound of shocking.

"Hey. Oh, it's you."

"Grandpa, what are you cleaning out?"

"I'm cleaning out the blowgun."

"Whew, Grandpa let me clean it a while. You are tired. Let me clean it a while."

"Go ahead and clean it a while."

He didn't clean it gently. He cleaned the blowgun violently. He was cleaning it.

"Don't break the router for my blowgun."

He thrust the stick into the blowgun, and it broke, because he wasn't thrusting gently.

"Oh no, Grandpa the blowgun broke."

"You broke my blowgun. The blowgun was finished, and you broke my blowgun."

"Grandpa, don't be angry with me."

Then he grabbed his grandfather. He grabbed him, and held onto him. He broke his neck,

BAHI (2)

and pinched his nose, and threw him in the water.

"There, you are going to be the *ona* alligator."

He left again. In other places far away he came upon other people and killed them, too. He killed them, and turned them into animals, all of them. He finished killed them, and threw them in the water. He turned them into animals.

He grabbed his grandmother, and after he broke off her arm, he stuffed her arm into her anus. He stuffed her arm in, and threw her in the water. She was the dolphin, his grandmother.

"I'm throwing you in the water, so you can be the dolphin."

He left again. After he turned them into animals, he left and went again. He came upon them as they were with their father. He liked them [they were girls].

As he was cutting down the *hawa* palm, Bahi shocked him, "yebe".

"Hey."

"Father."

"Huh?"

"Father, what was that?"

"Something shocked me."

"You must have stepped on something. Look at it. You must have stepped on something."

"Something shocked me. There isn't anything [i.e. I didn't step on anything]. Something shocked me."

His daughters came to him and looked around. He appeared to them. "Tasi [appearing]."

"What was that?"

"Whew, what are you chopping down?"

"I am cutting down a *hawa* palm with fruits to mix with my wife's manioc juice."

"Give me the ax. I will chop on the other side."

He pulled the ax away from his father-in-law, and chopped on the other side of the *hawa* palm. "Taakai, taakai [sound of chopping]." The *hawa* palm broke, and fell.

"There, why didn't you chop hard?"

He threw the ax in the water.

"You threw my father's ax in the water."

"The ax went in the water because I accidentally let it go. I accidentally let it go, and it went in the water. Let it be in the water. I guess he will get it out. He will get it out."

His daughter was putting the *hawa* fruits in the basket.

"What fish are those?"

There were *ote* fish up to the top of the basket. They had caught *ote* fish, and the basket full of the *ote* fish was on the ground.

"What fish are those?"

"They are *ote* fish."

"The *ote* fish should be eaten. They are good to eat. They should be eaten. Go ahead and finish picking up the *hawa* fruits," [said Bahi].

They picked up the *hawa* fruits. "Father, here [showing that the basket was full]."

"Father-in-law, take my *hawa* fruits on ahead. Take the *hawa* fruits on ahead, for my mother-in-law to mix with manioc juice. Father-in-law, these will be my wives."

"All right, you marry them."

He could have said no, but he didn't. Bahi was always killing people because they said no to him.

He [Bahi's father-in-law] went back. He went back carrying the *hawa* fruits. He went back.

"Where are my daughters?"

BAHI (2)

"Where are my daughters?' you say. Bahi is holding onto your daughters."

"They say Bahi is naughty, why have you handed over my daughters?"

"Don't complain. Don't say anything. He will hear you when he comes. Don't cause a problem for us. Don't say anything. People say he killed a lot of people, and was violent with them."

His mother-in-law stopped talking, and his father-in-law wasn't talking, either.

He had sex with them, and brought them back. They appeared when it was getting dark.

They came and arrived back.

"Don't say anything. Don't cause a problem for us. If he hears you, you will cause a problem for us."

She was mashing the manioc juice in the mortar, without speaking. She mashed the manioc juice with her hands. They drank the manioc juice.

They came. They cooked the fish. They ate the fish. After he had had sex with them, he ate with them back in the village.

"Is it good?"

"It is good. Hey, give me a vessel."

He took the vessel. He dipped out some manioc juice, and drank a little.

"Yum, it is good. It's good to drink *hawa* fruits in manioc juice."

They ate. They finished eating. They slept. He had sex with his wives all night long. They quickly got pregnant. They were pregnant.

He went away, and didn't come back right away. They waited for him. When the younger boy was big, when he was somewhat big, he appeared again. He brought them back.

They stayed there. Then they went away.

They came back. They were still married. They stayed there a long time. When their children grew up, they went away. They live in heaven.

Interlinear Presentation

1 *Bahi* , *me me winemetemone* .
 Bahi me me wina -hemete -mone
 (man's name) 3PL 3PL.S live FP.N+F REP+F
 npropm pron pron vi

'They were living there.'

2 *Me winaha me* , *me wina me ni ya Bahi*
 me wina+F me me wina+F me ni ya Bahi
 3PL.S live 3PL.S 3PL.S live 3PL to ADJU (man's name)
 pron vi pron pron vi pron prt prt npropm

kakehinoho , *kakehimatamonaka* .
 ka -kI -hino -ho ka -kI -himata -mona -ka
 go/come coming IP.N+M DUP go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi

'As they were living there, Bahi came to them.'

3 *Kakehino* , *ahi yama yabo ya ahi* ,
 ka -kI -hino ahi yama yabo.NOM ya ahi
 go/come coming IP.N+M there thing be far ADJU there
 vi dem nf vi prt dem

Bahi kakehino me wina mera wasiki ,
 Bahi ka -kI -hino me wina+F mera wasi -kI+M
 (man's name) go/come coming IP.N+M 3PL.S live 3PL.O find coming
 npropm vi pron vi pron vt

BAHI (2)

mera	mera	firi		kasematamonaka	
mera	mera	firi		ka- na -kosa -himata -mona -ka	
3PL.O	3PL.O	shine light on		COMIT AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	
pron	pron	vt		aux	

'Bahi came from far away, and they didn't see him coming. He came upon them as they were living there, and he shined a light on them briefly.'

4	Sori	yama	nemetemone	ama	
	sori	yama	na -hemete -mone	ama	
	(shock)	make sound	AUX FP.N+F REP+F	SEC	
	sound	vi	aux	sec	

'It was like a shock.'

5	Ee	ee			
	ee	ee			
	(crying out)	(crying out)			
	interj	interj			

""Ee, ee.""

6	Me	me	eri	kawemetemoneke	
	me	me	ee -ri	ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ke	
	3PL	3PL.S	yell DISTR	COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	
	pron	pron	vi	aux	

'They were all crying out.'

7	Hinamati	kake			
	hinamati	ka	-kI		
	someone	go/come	coming		
	nm	vi			

""There is someone coming.""

8	Haa		te	winini	?
	haa		tee	wina -ni	
	(expression of exhaustion)		2PL.S	live BKG+F	
	interj		pron	vi	

""Hoo, are you living here?""

9	Ota	winini			
	otaa	wina -ni			
	1EX.S	live BKG+F			
	pron	vi			

""We are living here.""

10	Ota	winake			
	otaa	wina -ke			
	1EX.S	live DECL+F			
	pron	vi			

""We are living here.""

11	Ota	wina	ota	winineke	ahi
	otaa	wina+F	otaa	wina -ne -ke	ahi
	1EX.S	live	1EX.S	live CONT+F DECL+F	here
	pron	vi	pron	vi	dem

""We are living here.""

BAHI (2)

12 *Oof* , *te* *winakeni* *na* .
 oof , tee wina -ke -ni na
 hoo 2PL.S live DECL+F IP.N+F AUX
 interj pron vi aux

"Whew, I didn't know you were living here."

13 *Ofimi* *oke* .
 o- fimi o- ke
 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt

"I'm hungry."

14 *Titafani* *ama tini* ?
 ti- tafa -hani ama ti- ni
 2SG.S eat IP.N+F SEC 2SG.S BKG+F
 vi sec prt

"Did you eat where you came from?"

15 *Tiwa me natafarini* ?
 tiwa me na- tafa -ra -ni
 2SG.O 3PL.S CAUS eat NEG BKG+F
 pron pron vt

"Didn't they feed you?"

16 *Owa me natafarahara* *o* .
 owa me na- tafa -ra -hara o-
 1SG.O 3PL.S CAUS eat NEG IP.E+F 1SG.O
 pron pron vt prt

"They didn't feed me."

17 *Me fiya osa me winahara hike ya* .
 me fiya o- na -kosa+F me wina -hara hike ya
 3PL.O pass 1SG.S AUX middle 3PL.S live IP.E+F far ADJU
 pron vt aux pron vi nf prt

"I passed by them, they live far away."

18 *Bai biti ya kobo one oke* .
 bahi biti ya kobo o- na -ne o- ke
 sun small+M ADJU arrive 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 nm adj prt vi aux prt

"I have arrived late in the day."

19 *Baitebana*
 Bahi -tee -bana
 (man's name) HAB FUT
 npropm

'It was Bahi.'

20 *Baitebamatamonane* ,
 Bahi -tee -ba -mata -mona -ne
 (man's name) HAB FUT FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 npropm

tohiyatehinoho

to- hiya -tee -hino -ho
 CH be different HAB IP.N+M DUP
 vi

'It was Bahi, someone had turned into Bahi.'

BAHI (2)

21 **Faya kakehino** **Amo amo tibana** ?
 faya ka -kI -hino amo amo ti- na -bana
 so go/come coming IP.N+M sleep sleep 2SG.S AUX FUT
 conj vi vi vi aux

'He came. "Are you going to sleep here?'"

22 **Ee hiba bai tokaka hari**
 ee hiba bahi to- ka -ka haari
 yes wait sun away go/come DECL+M that one+M
 interj interj nm vi dem

""Yes, it's late.""

23 **Amo onabana oke mata**
 amo o- na -habana o- ke mata
 sleep 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F for now
 vi aux prt prt

""I will sleep a while.""

24 **Amo onabana oni te taboro ya**
 amo o- na -habana o- ni tee taboro ya
 sleep 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S BKG+F 2PL.POSS place ADJU
 vi aux prt pron pn prt

""I will sleep at your village.""

25 **Te taboro ya amo onaharo amo**
 tee taboro ya amo o- na -haaro amo
 2PL.POSS place ADJU sleep 1SG.S AUX PFUT+F sleep
 pron pn prt vi aux vi
onabana oke mata
 o- na -habana o- ke mata
 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F for now
 aux prt prt

""After I sleep...I will sleep a while.""

26 **Faya amo nebona me hikayawehi me**
 faya amo na -hibona me hi- ka- yawa+M me
 so sleep AUX INT+M 3PL.S OC COMMIT be upset 3PL.S
 conj vi aux pron vt pron

hinatafematamonaka

hi- na- tafa -himata -mona -ka
 OC CAUS eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'They wanted him to sleep there. They wanted him to stay, and they fed him.'

27 **Me hinatafe tafematamonaka**
 me hi- na- tafa+M tafa -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.S OC CAUS eat eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt vi

'They gave him food, and he ate.'

28 **Tafe tafe tafematamona**
 tafa+M tafa+M tafa -himata -mona
 eat eat wrap FP.N+M REP+M
 vi vi vt

'He ate.'

BAHI (2)

29 *Tafe* , *faya* , *amo* *nebona* , *fare* , *rifi* , *rifi*
 tafa+M , faya , amo na -hibona , fare , rifi , rifi
 eat so sleep AUX INT+M same+M rifle rifle
 vi conj vi aux dem nf nf

nawineno *ati* *yana* *tonematamonaka* *ahi* , *awi*
 na- wina -hino ati yana to- na -himata -mona -ka ahi , awi
 CAUS hang IP.N+M voice start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M there tapir
 vt pn vi aux dem nm

hawine *kaoinoho*
 hawine kaho -hino -ho
 trail+M tie IP.N+M DUP
 pn vt

'He ate. He was going to sleep. He had suspended the rifle. He spoke. He had tied [the rifle] by the tapir's trail.'

30 *Awi* *hawine* *kaoino* , *awi* *hawine* *kaoino* *ati* *yana*
 awi hawine kaho -hino , awi hawine kaho -hino ati yana
 tapir trail+M tie IP.N+M tapir trail+M tie IP.N+M voice start
 nm pn vt nm pn vt pn vi

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

'He had tied [the rifle] near the tapir's trail, and he spoke.'

31 *Ati* *yana* *tone* *ya* , *Aa* *rifi* *onawina*
 ati yana to- na.NOM+M ya , aa rifi o- na- wina+F
 voice start CH AUX ADJU (pause) rifle 1SG.S CAUS hang
 pn vi aux prt interj nf vt

winarake *awi* *hawine* *ya*
 wina -hara -ke awi hawine ya
 hang IP.E+F DECL+F tapir trail+M ADJU
 vi nm pn prt

'He spoke. "Aa, I suspended the rifle, and it is suspended by the tapir's trail.'"

32 *Awi* *yobi* *nenono* *hawine* *ya* *rifi*
 awi yobi na -hino hawine ya rifi
 tapir go back and forth AUX IP.N+M trail+M ADJU rifle
 nm vi aux pn prt nf

onawina *winarake*
 o- na- wina+F wina -hara -ke
 1SG.S CAUS hang hang IP.E+F DECL+F
 vt vi

'"I suspended the rifle, and it is suspended near the trail the tapir goes back and forth on.'"

33 *Yama* *te* *kamitahi*
 yama tee ka- mita -hi
 thing 2PL.S COMIT hear IMP+F
 nf pron vt

'"Listen.'"

34 *Yama* *moni* *yana* *naba* *amake* , *ati*
 yama moni yana na -haba ama -ke , ati
 thing sound start AUX FUT+F SEC DECL+F say
 nf pn vi aux sec vt

BAHI (2)

nematamonaka

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

aux

"It's sound will start," he said.'

35 **Hiyara kamine** , **Awi e kabibeya**
hiyara kamina+M , awi ee kaba -be -ya
story tell tapir 1IN.S eat IMMED+F now
nf vt nm pron vt

'He was telling the story. "Let's eat tapir."'

36 **Awi okobatere amaka**
awi o- kaba -tee -ra+M ama -ka
tapir 1SG.S eat HAB NEG SEC DECL+M
nm vt sec

"I have never eaten tapir."'

37 **Awi isi ni okobabana oke** , **ati**
awi isi ni o- kaba -habana o- ke , ati
tapir little bit 1SG.S eat FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F say
nm pn vt prt vt

nematamonaka

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

aux

"I will eat a little bit of tapir," he said.'

38 **Faya amo ne** , **me tafihemetemoneke**
faya amo na+M , me tafi -hemete -mone -ke
so sleep AUX 3PL.S wake up FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
conj vi aux pron vi

'He slept. They woke up.'

39 **Me tafiha me** , **Hibaka ya tika rifi**
me tafi+F me , hibaka ya ti- ka rifi
3PL.S wake up 3PL.S where ADJU 2SG.POSS POSS rifle
pron vi pron interrog prt prt nf

winarini

wina -ri -ni
hang CQ+F IP.N+F
vi

"They woke up. "Where is your rifle suspended?"'

40 **Rifi rifi onawina wini ama ahi**
rifi rifi o- na- wina+F wina.NOM+F ama ahi
rifle rifle 1SG.S CAUS hang hang be there
nf nf vt vi vc dem

"The rifle which I suspended is suspended there."'

41 **Faha haha kakiha** , **kowani ya rifi wina**
faha haaha ka- ka -kI+F , kowani ya rifi wina+F
water this+F COMIT go/come coming other side ADJU rifle hang
nf dem vi nf vi nf nf vi

BAHI (2)

amake

ama -ke
SEC DECL+F
sec

"The rifle is suspended on the other side of the stream that comes this way."

42 **Rifimone** , **hibeke** **owa** **yofi** **karabaya** ?
 rifi -mone , hibeke owa yofi ka- na -ra -ba -ya
 rifle REP+F who+M 1SG.O show COMIT AUX CQ+M IMMED+M now
 nf nm pron vt aux

"Who will show me the rifle?"

43 **Aki** **aki** **e** **famahi**
 aki aki ee fama -hi
 grandmother grandmother 1IN.S be two IMP+F
 nf nf pron vi

"Grandmother, let's go together."

44 **E** **famahi** **aki**
 ee fama -hi aki
 1IN.S be two IMP+F grandmother
 pron vi nf

"Let's go together, Grandmother."

45 **Owa** **hima** **ne** **ati** **amane** , **kitakita**
 owa hima na+M ati ama -ne , kita- kita
 1SG.O call to go AUX voice be BKG+M DUP be strong
 pron vt aux pn vc vi

onofara **owa**
 o- na nofa -ra+F owa
 1SG.S AUX recently NEG 1SG.S
 aux pron

"He is calling me to go along, even though I move slowly."

46 **Tikitara** **yayaka** **raba** **yayaka** **raba** **yayaka**
 ti- kita -ra+F ya- yaka na -raba ya- yaka na -raba ya- yaka
 2SG.S be strong NEG DUP walk AUX a bit DUP walk AUX a bit DUP walk
 vi vi aux vi aux aux vi

raba , **tini** **ya** , **yama** **yofi**
 na -raba , ti- na.NOM+F ya , yama yofi
 AUX a bit 2SG.S AUX ADJU thing show
 aux aux prt nf vt

tikaniya
 ti- ka- na -yahi
 2SG.S COMIT AUX DIST.IMP+F
 aux

"You move slowly. Just walk slowly, and show it."

47 **Rifi** **owi** **ya** , **Awi** **home** **awaka**
 rifi o- awa.NOM+F ya , awi homa+M awa -ka
 rifle 1SG.S see ADJU tapir lie on ground seem+M DECL+M
 nf vt prt nm vi sec

"When I see the rifle... There is a tapir lying there.""

BAHI (2)

48 *Faya me yana tokana kirabote , kirabote*
 faya me yana to- ka- na+F kirabote , kirabote
 so 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX old woman old woman
 conj pron vi aux nf nf

hinakanoti fama tokemetemoneke
 hinaka noti fama+F to- ka -hemete -mone -ke
 3SG.POSS grandson be two away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm vi vi

'So they left. The old woman went with her grandson.'

49 *Toka , tokemetemoneni*
 to- ka+F , to- ka -hemete -mone -ni
 away go/come away go/come FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi vi

'She went into the forest.'

50 *Toka , Hibaka ya ?*
 to- ka+F , hibaka ya ?
 away go/come where ADJU
 vi interrog prt

'She went. "Where?"'

51 *Rifi winimone awi hawine ama hari*
 rifi wina.NFIN -mone awi hawine ama haari
 rifle hang REP+F tapir trail+M be that one+M
 nf vi nm pn vc dem

""There is the rifle suspended. There is the tapir's trail.""

52 *Awi hawine ama hari rifi wini ya wahari*
 awi hawine ama haari rifi wina.NOM+F ya waa -haari
 tapir trail+M be that one+M rifle hang ADJU stand IP.E+M
 nm pn vc dem nf vi prt vi

""There is the tapir's trail." He was standing where the rifle was suspended.'

53 *Aki kakama awi hawine ya*
 aki ka- ka -ma awi hawine ya
 grandmother DUP go/come back tapir trail+M ADJU
 nf vi nm pn prt

""Grandma, come here on the tapir's trail.""

54 *Awi hawine tikama ahi*
 awi hawine ti- ka -ma ahi
 tapir trail+M 2SG.S go/come back here
 nm pn vi dem

""Come here on the tapir's trail.""

55 *Tikama ahi*
 ti- ka -ma ahi
 2SG.S go/come back here
 vi dem

""Come here.""

56 *Tikama ahi*
 ti- ka -ma ahi
 2SG.S go/come back here
 vi dem

""Come here.""

BAHI (2)

"Taasei," it went.'

66 *Kiya karemetemoneni*
 kiya ka- na -ra -hemete -mone -ni
 yell COMMIT AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi aux

'She didn't even yell.'

67 *Ahabemetemoneke ahi*
 ahaba -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

'She died.'

68 *Hine ahaba*
 hine ahaba
 only die
 pron vi

"Let her die."

69 *Faya abi ya Awi te iso niya*
 faya ahaba.NOM+F ya awi tee iso na -yahi
 so die ADJU tapir 2PL.S carry off AUX DIST.IMP+F
 conj vi prt nm pron vt aux

'When she died...'Carry the tapir.'

70 *Ota tokibone*
 otaa to- ka.NOM+F -bone
 1EX.S away go/come INT+F
 pron vi

"We are going out into the forest."

71 *Ota tokibonehe*
 otaa to- ka.NOM+F -bone -he
 1EX.S away go/come INT+F DUP
 pron vi

"We are going out into the forest."

72 *Awi te iso niya*
 awi tee iso na -yahi
 tapir 2PL.S carry off AUX DIST.IMP+F
 nm pron vt aux

"You carry the tapir."

73 *Awi tani moni amaka*
 awi tani moni ama -ka
 tapir weapon against sound be DECL+M
 nm pn pn vc

"That was a weapon killing a tapir."

74 *Fara , fara me ka ami , me ka ami tani*
 fara fara me ka ami me ka ami tani
 same+F same+F 3PL POSS mother 3PL POSS mother weapon against
 dem dem pron prt nf pron prt nf pn

BAHI (2)

moninihi **Bai** **ehene** , **Bai** **tao**
 moni -ni -hi , Bahi ehene , bahi tao
 sound IP.N+F DUP (man's name) because of+M sun shoot
 pn npropm post nm vt

hikanaro
 hi- ka- na -haaro
 OC COMIT AUX IP.E+F
 aux

'It was the weapon that killed their own mother, because of Bahi, because Bahi shot her.'

75 **Faya** **Bai** **tao** **hikana** **ahaba** , **awi**
 faya Bahi tao hi- ka- na+F ahaba+F , awi
 so (man's name) shoot OC COMIT AUX die tapir
 conj npropm vt aux vi nm

hinihemetemoneke **ahi**
 hi- to- niha- ha -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 OC CH CAUS be FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vd dem

'Bahi shot her and she died. He turned her into a tapir.'

76 **Awi** **hiniha** , **awi** **hinihemetemone**
 awi hi- to- niha- ha+F , awi hi- to- niha- ha -hemete -mone
 tapir OC CH CAUS be tapir OC CH CAUS be FP.N+F REP+F
 nm vd nm vd

'He turned her into a tapir.'

77 **Awi** **toa** , **mera** **nakame** **mera** **nakame**
 awi to- ha+F , mera na- ka -ma+M mera na- ka -ma+M
 tapir CH be 3PL.O CAUS go/come back 3PL.O CAUS go/come back
 nm vc pron vt pron vt

mera **towakame** **Awi** **abareka**
 mera to- ka- ka -ma+M awi ahaba -hare -ka
 3PL.O away COMIT go/come back tapir die IP.E+M DECL+M
 pron vt nm vi

'She was a tapir. He came back for them. He took them there. "The tapir died."

78 **Faya** **awimona** **bobi** **nematamonaka** **ahi**
 faya awi -mona bobi na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 so tapir REP+M slit AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj nm vt aux dem

'He cut the "tapir" in pieces.'

79 **Hinakaki** **bobi** **ne** , **hinakaki** **bobi** **ne**
 hinaka aki bobi na+M , hinaka aki bobi na+M
 3SG.POSS grandmother slit AUX 3SG.POSS grandmother slit AUX
 nf vt aux nf vt aux

hinakaki **iso** **nematamonaka** **ahi**
 hinaka aki iso na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 3SG.POSS grandmother carry off AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nf vt aux dem

'He cut up his grandmother. He carried the pieces of his grandmother.'

80 **Iso** **ne** **Tana** **te** **yama** **nahi** , **tana**
 iso na+M tana tee yama na -hi tana
 carry off AUX grill 2PL.S make AUX IMP+F grill
 vt aux nf pron vt aux nf

'He carried her. "Make a grill."

BAHI (2)

81 **Tana** , **tana** **te** **yama** **nahi** .
 tana , tana tee yama na -hi
 grill grill 2PL.S make AUX IMP+F
 nf nf pron vt aux

"A grill, make a grill."

82 **Tana** **me** **yama** **nemetemoneke** .
 tana me yama na -hemete -mone -ke
 grill 3PL.S make AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf pron vt aux

"They made a grill."

83 **Tana** **me** **yama** **na** **me** , **yifo** **me** **one** **awa** ,
 tana me yama na+F me , yifo me one awa.LIST ,
 grill 3PL.S make AUX 3PL.S firewood 3PL other+F see
 nf pron vt aux pron nf pron adj vt

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

"They made the grill. Others went after firewood. They roasted her on the grill."

84 **Tabasi** **hina** , **me** **ha** **me** **biti** **me**
 tabasi hi- na+F , me haa me biti me
 roast on grill OC AUX 3PL DEM 3PL 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S
 vt aux pron dem pron nm pron

tokaha **me** **kama** **me** **hikabamemetemoneni**
 to- ka+F me ka -ma+F me hi- kaba -ma -hemete -mone -ni
 away go/come 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S OC eat back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi pron vi pron vt

"They roasted her on the grill. Her sons that had gone out into the forest came back, and they ate her back in the village."

85 **Awi** **ahabenoka** .
 awi ahaba -hino -ka
 tapir die IP.N+M DECL+M
 nm vi

"The tapir died."

86 **Tani** **moni** **yana** **reya** **hibayata** ?
 tani moni yana na -ra+M -ya hibayata
 weapon against sound start AUX NEG now just now
 pn pn vi aux adv

"Didn't I hear the sound of the gun that killed it going off a little while ago?"

87 **Ee** **bosa** **nenone** .
 ee bosa na -hino -ne
 yes get up early AUX IP.N+M BKG+M
 interj vi aux

"Yes, it came early."

88 **Onokosi** **ya** **tani** **moni** **yana**
 o- nokosi ya tani moni yana
 1SG.POSS in front of ADJU weapon against sound start
 pn prt pn pn vi

BAHI (2)

tonareka

to- na -hare -ka
 CH AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 aux

"The sound of the gun that shot it went off in front of me."

89 **Okomira**

o- ka ami -ra ?
 1SG.POSS POSS mother NPQ
 nf

"Where is my mother?"

90 **Ami**

tokara	bara	me	ya	ahi
ami to- ka -hara bara me ya ahi	2SG.POSS.mother away go/come IP.E+F other+F 3PL ADJU there			
nf vi adj pron prt dem				

"Your mother went to the other people."

91 **Ami**

tokara	mera	tonakabonehe
ami to- ka -hara mera to- na- ka -bone -he	2SG.POSS.mother away go/come IP.E+F 3PL.O away CAUS go/come INT+F DUP	
nf vi pron vt		

"Your mother went to get them."

92 **Tokara**

to- ka -hara
 away go/come IP.E+F
 vi

"She went."

93 **Mera**

mera	mera	tonaka	tokara	me	tafa	me
mera mera to- na- ka+F to- ka -hara me tafafa+F me	3PL.O 3PL.O away CAUS go/come away go/come IP.E+F 3PL.S eat 3PL.S					
pron pron vt vi pron vi pron						

tafabone **mati**
 tafa -habone mati
 eat INT+F 3PL.S
 vi pron

"She went after them, she went so they could eat."

94 **Awimona**

me	kabehemetemoneke	fara	me	ka	ami
awi -mona me kaba -hemete -mone -ke fara me ka ami	tapir REP+M 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F same+F 3PL POSS mother				
nm pron vt dem pron prt nf					

'They ate the supposed tapir, which was their own mother.'

95 **Fara**

me	ka	ami	me	kabehemetemoneni
fara me ka ami me kaba -hemete -mone -ni	same+F 3PL POSS mother 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F			
dem pron prt nf pron vt				

'They ate their own mother.'

BAHI (2)

96 *Fara me ka ami me kabi ya , me*
 fara me ka ami me kaba.NOM+F ya , me
 same+F 3PL POSS mother 3PL.S eat ADJU 3PL.S
 dem pron prt nf pron vt prt pron

tafemetemoneke

tafa -hemete -mone -ke
 eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

"They ate, eating their own mother."

97 *Me tafa me amo na , amo rematamonaka*
 me tafa+F me amo na+F , amo na -ra -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S sleep AUX sleep AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vi pron vi aux vi aux

Bahi

Bahi
 (man's name)
 npropm

"They ate and then slept. Bahi didn't sleep."

98 *Bahi amo rematamonane*
 Bahi amo na -ra -himata -mona -ne
 (man's name) sleep AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 npropm vi aux

"Bahi didn't sleep."

99 *Yama kamiti wine , Okomi*
 yama ka- mita.NFIN wina+M , o- ka ami
 thing COMMIT hear lie in hammock 1SG.POSS POSS mother
 nf vt vi nf

kakama ri
 ka- ka -ma na -ra.NOM+F
 DUP go/come back AUX NEG
 vi aux

"He lay in his hammock listening. "My mother didn't come home."

100 *Ami kamaba awineke , yama haro*
 ami ka -ma -haba awineke -ke , yama haro.NOM
 2SG.POSS.mother go/come back FUT+F seem+F DECL+F thing be boiled
 nf vi sec nf vi

ya
 ya
 ADJU
 prt

"Your mother will come when the meat is boiled."

101 *Kamaba , me tafaminaba mera amo*
 ka -ma -haba , me tafa -mina -haba mera amo
 go/come back FUT+F 3PL.S eat morning FUT+F 3PL.O sleep
 vi pron vi pron vi

kamatineke mera kakaminabana
 ka- na -mata -ne -ke mera ka- ka -mina -habana
 COMMIT AUX short time CONT+F DECL+F 3PL.O COMMIT go/come morning FUT+F
 aux pron vt

"She will come. She is sleeping with them for now, and will bring them tomorrow so they will eat."

BAHI (2)

102 *Me* , *weye* *obe*
 me weye o- na -be
 3PL wear 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 pron vt aux

'I will wear it.'⁹⁵

103 *Yama* *wemetemoneke*
 yama waha -hemete -mone -ke
 thing dawn FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi

'The day came.'

104 *Yama* *we* , *yama* *sirimaki* *ya* *yana*
 yama wehe , yama siri -makI.NOM ya yana
 thing light+F thing be cold following ADJU start
 nf pn nf vi prt vi

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

'Before daylight he was ready to leave.'

105 *Yama* *sirimaki* *ya* *yana* *tone* *hinaka* *yifo*
 yama siri -makI.NOM ya yana to- na+M hinaka yifo
 thing be cold following ADJU start CH AUX 3SG.POSS hammock
 nf vi prt vi aux pron nm

katabo , *yifo* *katabomatamonaka*
 ka- tabo+M , yifo ka- tabo -himata -mona -ka
 COMMIT roll up hammock COMMIT roll up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt nm vt

'He was ready to leave before daylight. He rolled up his hammock.'

106 *Yifo* *katabo* *yana* *tonematamona*
 yifo ka- tabo+M yana to- na -himata -mona
 hammock COMMIT roll up start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm vt vi aux

'He rolled up his hammock, and he was ready to leave.'

107 *Yoa* *me* , *yoa* *me* *fafawa* *toemete* , *me* *ka*
 yoha me , yoha me fa- fawa to- ha -hemete , me ka
 breast 3PL breast 3PL.S DUP drink CH AUX FP.N+F 3PL POSS
 nf pron nf pron vt aux pron prt

ami *me* *kabine* *owatino* *ati* *nematamonaka*
 ami me kaba -ne owatino ati na -himata -mona -ka
 mother 3PL.S eat CONT+F exclamation say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf pron vt interj vt aux

'"The ones who nursed long ago ate their mother, wow," he said.'

108 *Me* *ka* , *yoa* *me* *fafawa* *tohemete* *yoa* , *me*
 me ka , yoha me fa- fawa to- ha -hemete yoha , me
 3PL POSS breast 3PL.S DUP drink CH AUX FP.N+F breast 3PL
 pron prt nf pron vt aux nf pron

ka *ami* *me* *kaba* *me* *amo* *nine* *owatino* *ati*
 ka ami me kaba+F me amo na -ne owatino ati
 POSS mother 3PL.S eat 3PL.S sleep AUX CONT+F exclamation say
 prt nf pron vt pron vi aux interj vt

95 Maybe this was Siko talking about the microphone.

BAHI (2)

nematamonaka , **yana tonenoho**
na -himata -mona -ka , yana to- na -hino -ho
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M start CH AUX IP.N+M DUP
aux vi aux

"The ones who nursed long ago ate their mother, and they are sleeping, wow," he said, as he was ready to leave.'

109 **Faya fawa** **nematamonaka** **fahi**
faya fawa na -himata -mona -ka fahi
so disappear AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
conj vi aux dem

'Then he disappeared.'

110 **Faya fawa** **ne** , **tokehino** **taboro** **me**
faya fawa na+M , to- ka -hino taboro me
so disappear AUX away go/come IP.N+M place+M 3PL.S
conj vi aux vi pn pron

hikatafi , **Bai** **ati** **te** **mitini** ?
hi- ka- tafi+M , Bahi ati tee mita -ni
OC COMIT wake up (man's name) voice 2PL.S hear BKG+F
vt npropm pn pron vt

'He disappeared. After he went, they woke up and looked where he had been. "Did you hear Bahi speak?"'

111 **Fara** , **yoa** **me** **fafawa** **toemete** , **me** **ka** **ami**
fara , yoha me fa- fawa to- ha -hemete , me ka ami
same+F breast 3PL.S DUP drink CH be FP.N+F 3PL POSS mother
dem nf pron vt vc pron prt nf

me **kabine** **owatino** **Bai** **ati** **nareka** **ati**
me kaba -ne owatino Bahi ati na -hare -ka ati
3PL.S eat CONT+F exclamation (man's name) say AUX IP.E+M DECL+M voice
pron vt interj npropm vt aux pn

omitari
o- mita -haari
1SG.S hear IP.E+M
vt

"The ones who nursed long ago ate their own mother, wow,' Bahi said. I heard him."

112 **Fawa** **nareka**
fawa na -hare -ka
disappear AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
vi aux

"He disappeared."

113 **Fawa** **nareka**
fawa na -hare -ka
disappear AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
vi aux

"He disappeared."

114 **Toke** **awaka**
to- ka+M awa -ka
away go/come seem+M DECL+M
vi sec

"He must have gone into the forest."

BAHI (2)

128 **Kekero** **obeya**
 ke- kero o- na -be -ya
 DUP make with circular motion 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 vt aux

"I want to smooth it a little."

129 **Oko** **yiwa** **hohowe** **raba** **tinahi**
 o- ka yiwa ho- howe na -raba ti- na -hi
 1SG.POSS POSS pot DUP wipe AUX a bit 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 prt nf vt aux aux

"Wipe my clay pot carefully."

130 **Howe** **ni** **kitaraba** **awine**
 howe na.NFIN kita -ra -haba awine
 wipe AUX be strong NEG FUT+F seem+F
 result aux vi sec

"It shouldn't be wiped hard."

131 **Owatoha** **hiwara** **awine**
 o- wato+F hi- awa -ra+F awine
 1SG.S know OC see NEG seem+F
 vt vt sec

"I know how to do it."

132 **Yiwa** **kerō** **nematamonaka** **kasiro** **ya**
 yiwa kero na -himata -mona -ka kasiro ya
 pot make with circular motion AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M a lot ADJU
 nf vt aux nf prt

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He smoothed the clay pot really hard.'

133 **Yiwa** **ifi** **tamatama** **towiti** **ne** **yiwa** **waka**
 yiwa ifi tama- tama to- na -witI+M na+M yiwa waka
 pot edge+F DUP hold onto away AUX out AUX pot break
 nf pn vt aux nf vi

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

'He held onto the opposite edge of the clay pot really hard, and the pot broke apart.'

134 **Ooo** , **aki** **yiwa** **waka** **ke**
 ooo aki yiwa waka na -ke
 oh no grandmother pot break AUX DECL+F
 interj nf nf vi prt

"Oh no, Grandma the clay pot broke."

135 **Oko** **yiwa** **katome** **ati** **amane**
 o- ka yiwa katoma+M ati ama -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS pot damage voice be BKG+M
 prt nf vt pn vc

"He is saying he damaged my clay pot."

BAHI (2)

tokawematamonaka

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

'Then he was ready to leave, and went into the forest again.'

142 *Tokawe* , *tokawe* , *karaboa* *karaboa*
 to- ka -waha+M , to- ka -waha+M , karaboha karaboha
 away go/come change away go/come change blowgun blowgun
 vi vi nf nf
kawa *nenō* *towasiwitibano* , *onatebana*
 kawa na -hino to- wasi -witI -hiba -no , ona -tee -bana
 thrust AUX IP.N+M away find out FUT+M IP.N+M alligator sp HAB FUT
 vt aux vt nm

'He went into the forest again. He came upon the one who was ramming out the inside of a new blowgun, who was going to be the first *ona* alligator.'

143 *Karaboa* *kawa* *nematamonaka* *ahi*
 karaboha kawa na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 blowgun thrust AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nf vt aux dem

'He was ramming out the inside of the blowgun.'

144 *Hiii* , *hiii* , *hiii*
 hii hii hii
 (sound of friction) (sound of friction) (sound of friction)
 sound sound sound

hinaka *karaboa* *kawa* *ni* *atimetemoneke* *ahi*
 hinaka karaboha kawa na.NFIN ati -mete -mone -ke ahi
 3SG.POSS blowgun thrust AUX voice FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron nf vt aux pn dem

'"Hiii, hiii, hiii." It was the sound of the ramming of his blowgun.'

145 *Karaboa* *kawa* *nematamonaka* *kasiro* *ya* *iso* *ma*
 karaboha kawa na -himata -mona -ka kasiro ya iso maa
 blowgun thrust AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M a lot ADJU leg+M stop
 nf vt aux nf prt pn vi

tonahari *ahi*
 to- na -haari ahi
 CH AUX IP.E+M then
 aux dem

'He was ramming the blowgun forcefully, bracing himself with his leg.'

146 *Yebe*
 yebe
 (sound of shocking)
 sound

'There was a sound of a shock.'

147 *Ee*
 ee
 (crying out)
 interj

'"Hey."'

BAHI (2)

148 *Kaa*
 kaa
 wow
 interj
 "Wow."

149 *Faya toke karaboa kawa ne* , *karaboha kawa ne*
 faya to- ka+M karaboha kawa na+M , karaboha kawa na+M
 so away go/come blowgun thrust AUX blowgun thrust AUX
 conj vi nf vt aux nf vt aux
karaboha kawa ne , *Hiya iti* , *iti kakawa*
 karaboha kawa na+M , hiya iti , iti ka- kawa
 blowgun thrust AUX come on grandfather grandfather DUP thrust
 nf vt aux interj nm nm vt
obeya kakawa obeya owa
 o- na -be -ya , ka- kawa o- na -be -ya , owa
 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now DUP thrust 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now 1SG.O
 aux vt aux pron
kakakawa
 ka- ka- kawa
 DUP COMIT give something to
 vt

'He went. He was ramming the inside of the blowgun. "Here Grandpa, let me ram it a little. Hand it to me.'"⁹⁶

150 *Kakawa obeya*
 ka- kawa o- na -be -ya
 DUP thrust 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 vt aux

"I want to ram it a little."

151 *Awe owa tekawa*
 awe owa ti- ka- kawa
 wood+F 1SG.O 2SG.S COMIT give something to
 pn pron vt

"Give me the stick."

152 *Oka karaboa kakawa raba tinahi*
 o- ka karaboha ka- kawa na -raba ti- na -hi
 1SG.POSS POSS blowgun DUP thrust AUX a bit 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 prt nf vt aux aux

"Don't ram my blowgun too hard."

153 *Karaboa karaboa kawa nematamonaka*
 karaboha , karaboha kawa na -himata -mona -ka
 blowgun blowgun thrust AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf nf vt aux

'He rammed the blowgun.'

154 *Karaboa Bahi kawa nematamonaka*
 karaboha Bahi kawa na -himata -mona -ka
 blowgun (man's name) thrust AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf npropm vt aux

'Bahi rammed the blowgun.'

96 Siko said something to a child, that was unclear.

BAHI (2)

155 **Karaboa** **kawa** **ne** **karaboa** , **karaboa** **kawa**
karaboha kawa na+M karaboha , karaboha kawa
blowgun thrust AUX blowgun blowgun thrust
nf vt aux nf nf vt

nematamonaka

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

'He rammed the blowgun.'

156 **Karaboa** **baka** **tonihematamonane**
karaboha baka to- niha- na -himata -mona -ne
blowgun break CH CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
nf vt aux

'He broke the blowgun.'

157 **Karaboa** **baka** **tonemetemoneke** **ahi**
karaboha baka to- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
blowgun break CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
nf vt aux dem

'The blowgun broke.'

158 **Ooo** **iti** **karaboa** **baka** **tonake**
ooo iti karaboha baka to- na -ke
oh no grandfather blowgun break CH AUX DECL+F
interj nm nf vt aux

""Oh no, Grandpa the blowgun broke.""

159 **Oka** **karaboa** **baka** **tonihe** **ati** **amane**
o- ka karaboha baka to- niha- na+M ati ama -ne
1SG.POSS POSS blowgun break CH CAUS AUX voice be BKG+M
prt nf vt aux pn vc

""He is saying that he broke the blowgun.""

160 **Iti** **owa** **kakorima** **tinahi**
iti owa kaako -rima ti- na -hi
grandfather 1SG.O be angry with NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
nm pron vt aux

""Grandpa, don't be angry with me.""

161 **Hiba** **kakanaware** **omate**
hiba ka- ka- na- waa -rI o- na -mate
wait DUP COMIT CAUS stand raised surface 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F
interj vt aux

""Wait, let met put it back together.""

162 **Hinaka** **karaboa** **kanawaremebona**
hinaka karaboha ka- na- waa -rI -ma -hibona
3SG.POSS blowgun COMIT CAUS stand raised surface back INT+M
pron nf vt

karaboa **kanawaremihinarimakoni**

karaboha ka- na- waa -rI -ma -hina -ra -makoni
blowgun COMIT CAUS stand raised surface back can NEG for this reason+F
nf result

BAHI (2)

168 *Faya* , *ona* *koro* *nife* , *Ona*
 faya , ona koro na -fI , ona
 so alligator sp throw AUX water alligator sp
 conj nm vt aux nm

tihatehaba *ama* *ti*
 ti- to- ha -tee -haba ama ti-
 2SG.S CH be HAB FUT+F SEC 2SG.S
 vc sec prt

'He threw the alligator into the water. "You are going to be the first *ona* alligator.'"

169 *Bai* *aawa* *Bai*
 bahi a- awa bahi
 sun DUP see sun
 nm vt nm

'Bahi looked at the sun.'

170 *Hiba* *Bai* *tokematamonaka*
 hiba Bahi to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 wait (man's name) away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 interj npropm vi

""Wait." Bahi went into the forest.'

171 *Toke* , *tokematamonaka*
 to- ka+M to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi

'He went away.'

172 *Toke* *toke* *ya* *toke* *ya* , *toke*
 to- ka+M to- ka.NOM+M ya to- ka.NOM+M ya , to- ka+M
 away go/come away go/come ADJU away go/come ADJU away go/come
 vi vi prt vi prt vi

me , *me* *moni* *towasiwitibano* , *hawa* *me*
 me me moni to- wasi -witI -hiba -no , hawa me
 3PL 3PL.POSS sound away find out FUT+M IP.N+M palm sp 3PL.S
 pron pron pn vt nf pron

ka *nani* *mati* , *teo* *teo*
 kaa na -hani mati , teo teo
 chop AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S (sound of hitting) (sound of hitting)
 vt aux pron sound sound

'He went. Then he came upon the sound of people cutting down a *hawa* palm, "Teo, teo.'"

173 *Kokoriba* *kokoribanoho*
 kokori -ba , kokori -ba -no -ho ,
 3SG.POSS.father-in-law FUT 3SG.POSS.father-in-law FUT IP.N+M DUP
 nm nm

kokoribano , *hawa* *ka* *nematamona*
 kokori -ba -no , hawa kaa na -himata -mona
 3SG.POSS.father-in-law FUT IP.N+M palm sp chop AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm nf vt aux

honofene *tehenebona* *honofene*
 honofene tehene -bona honofene
 manioc juice additive+M INT+M manioc juice
 nm pn nm

'His future father-in-law was cutting down a *hawa* palm, to mix the fruits with manioc juice.'

BAHI (2)

174 *Aba me , aba me waka nemetemoneke*
 aba me , aba me waka na -hemete -mone -ke
 fish 3PL fish 3PL.S kill AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron nm pron result aux

oterawaha
 ote -rawa -ha
 fish sp F.PL DUP
 nf

'Fish were killed, *ote* fish.'

175 *Ote ya , tabasi ya ote*
 ote ya tabasi ya ote
 fish sp ADJU makeshift basket ADJU fish sp
 nf prt nf prt nf

warawemetemoneke ahi
 waa -rawa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 stand F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

'The *ote* fish were in the makeshift basket on the ground.'

176 *Aba me me boyo nani me aba me me waka*
 aba me me boyo na -hani me aba me me waka
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S feel AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S kill
 nm pron pron vt aux pron nm pron pron vt

nani me , aba me me waka nani aba me ,
 na -hani me , aba me me waka na -hani aba me ,
 AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S kill AUX IP.N+F fish 3PL
 aux pron nm pron pron vt aux nm pron

tabasi ya me ihemetemoneke
 tabasi ya me iha -hemete -mone -ke
 makeshift basket ADJU 3PL.S be located FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf prt pron vi

'They had felt for the fish, and they had killed the fish. They were in the makeshift basket.'

177 *Haa aba me amani ?*
 haa aba me ama -ni
 huh? fish 3PL.S be BKG+F
 interj nm pron vc

""Are those fish?""

178 *Aba me amani*
 aba me ama -ni
 fish 3PL.S be BKG+F
 nm pron vc

""They are fish.""

179 *Aba me waka ona me waine*
 aba me waka o- na+F me waa -ne
 fish 3PL.O kill 1SG.S AUX 3PL.S stand CONT+F
 nm pron vt aux pron vi

""The fish that I killed are in there.""

180 *Oof , hawa ka okomate*
 oof hawa kaa o- ka- na -mate
 hoo palm sp chop 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time.IMP+F
 interj nf vt aux

BAHI (2)

187 *Hawa ka kanematamonaka*
 hawa kaa ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 palm sp chop COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf vt aux

'He chopped at the *hawa* palm.'

188 *Ka nemata kasiro ya ahi*
 kaa na -himata kasiro ya ahi
 chop AUX FP.N+M a lot ADJU then
 vt aux nf prt dem

'He chopped at it really hard.'

189 *Hawa towaketemoneke ahi*
 hawa to- ka- ka -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 palm sp away COMMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf vi dem

'The *hawa* palm fell.'

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

'It fell.'

191 *Fatiterawabani yoro narawa Te afi*
 fati -tee -rawa -ba -ni yoro na -rawa+F tee afi
 3SG.POSS.wife HAB F.PL FUT BKG+F stand AUX F.PL 2PL.S bathe
 nf vi aux pron vi

kanahi

ka- na -hi
 COMMIT AUX IMP+F
 aux

'The two women who were going to be his wives were standing there. "You two go bathe."'

192 *Te afi kana*
 tee afi ka- na
 2PL.S bathe COMMIT AUX
 pron vi aux

""Go bathe.""

193 *Hawa ka okomatibe ati ne hawa*
 hawa kaa o- ka- na -mata -be ati na+M hawa
 palm sp chop 1SG.S COMMIT AUX short time IMMED+F say AUX palm sp
 nf vt aux vt aux nf

ka tokanamaki hawa towaki ya
 kaa to- ka- na -makI+M hawa to- ka- ka.NOM+F ya
 chop away COMMIT AUX following palm sp away COMMIT go/come ADJU
 vt aux nf vi prt

kame me afi kana me ni ya
 ka -ma+M me afi ka- na+F me ni ya
 go/come back 3PL.S bathe COMMIT AUX 3PL to ADJU
 vi pron vi aux pron prt prt

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

BAHI (2)

"I'm going to cut down a *hawa* palm," he said. He went and cut down a *hawa* palm. When the *hawa* palm fell, he came back. He went to the two women who were bathing.'

194 *Te afi kini* ?
 tee afi ka- na -ni
 2PL.S bathe COMMIT AUX BKG+F
 pron vi aux

"Are you bathing?"

195 *Ota afi kana otani* .
 otaa afi ka- na+F otaa -ni
 1EX.S bathe COMMIT AUX 1EX.S BKG+F
 pron vi aux pron

"We are bathing."

196 *Afi obisamateya* .
 afi o- na -bisa -mate -ya
 bathe 1SG.S AUX also short time.IMP+F now
 vi aux

"I'm going to bathe, too."

197 *Oka tanakone tokake* .
 o- ka tanakone to- ka -ke
 1SG.POSS POSS sweat away go/come DECL+F
 prt pn vi

"I'm sweating."

198 *Faya afi ne afi ne me afi naro me* ,
 faya afi na+M afi na+M me afi na -haaro me
 so bathe AUX bathe AUX 3PL.S bathe AUX PFUT+F 3PL.S
 conj vi aux vi aux pron vi aux pron

afi na me yayafa me akama me me ,
 afi na+F me yayafa me aka -ma+F me me
 bathe AUX 3PL.S breach cloth 3PL.S wear back 3PL.S 3PL.S
 vi aux pron nm pron vt pron pron

akama me towakama me me ,
 aka -ma+F me to- ka- ka -ma+F me me
 wear back 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S
 vt pron vi pron pron

towakamemetemoneke

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

'He bathed. After they bathed, they put their breechcloths back on. The two women went back.'

199 *E towakamahi* .
 ee to- ka- ka -ma -hi
 1IN.S away COMMIT go/come back IMP+F
 pron vi

"Let's go back."

200 *Faya me towakama me nowati ya*
 faya me to- ka- ka -ma+F me nowati ya
 so 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come back 3PL.POSS behind ADJU
 conj pron vi pron pn prt

BAHI (2)

209 *Faya* *mera* *yabebona* *mera* *kayawe* *mera*
 faya mera yaba -hibona mera ka- yawa+M mera
 so 3PL.O marry INT+M 3PL.O COMIT be upset 3PL.O
 conj pron vt pron vt pron

towakame *mera* *towakame* *mera* *kobo*
 to- ka- ka -ma+M , mera to- ka- ka -ma+M mera kobo
 away COMIT go/come back 3PL.O away COMIT go/come back 3PL.O arrive
 vt pron vt pron vi

tokaname *Aba* *me* *te*
 to- ka- na -ma+M , aba me tee
 away COMIT AUX back fish 3PL.O 2PL.S
 aux nm pron pron

kawarikabote *na*
 ka- waa -rI -kabote na
 COMIT cook raised surface quickly AUX
 vt aux

'He wanted them to marry them. He took them back. He arrived back with them. "Cook the fish quickly."

210 *Aba* *me* *okobibeya*
 aba me o- kaba -be -ya
 fish 3PL.O 1SG.S eat IMMED+F now
 nm pron vt

"I want to eat fish."

211 *Faya* *aba* *me* *me* *kawariemetemone* *fahi*
 faya aba me me ka- waa -rI -hemete -mone fahi
 so fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT cook raised surface FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj nm pron pron vt dem

'So they cooked the fish.'

212 *Aba* *me* *me* *kawaria* *me* *aba* *me*
 aba me me ka- waa -rI+F me , aba me
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT cook raised surface 3PL.S fish 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt pron nm pron

kawari *ahabi* *ya* *me* *ha* *hine*
 ka- waa -rI.NFIN ahaba.NOM+F ya , me ha hine
 COMIT cook raised surface end ADJU 3PL.S call OC AUX
 result vi prt pron vt aux

iyawa *me* *sira* *iyawa* *me* *siremetemoneke*
 iyawa me sira+F , iyawa me sira -hemete -mone -ke
 manioc mash 3PL.S toast manioc mash 3PL.S toast FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf pron vt nf pron vt

'They cooked the fish. When the cooking of the fish was done, they called him. They toasted manioc mash.'

213 *Mati* *honofene* *kawa* *nati*
 mati honofene kawa na -nati
 3SG.POSS.mother manioc juice thrust AUX only one
 nf nm vt aux

toemetemone
 to- ha -hemete -mone
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 aux

'Her mother mashed the manioc juice in the mortar.'

BAHI (2)

214 *Hawa* *hawa* *kabofa* , *hawa* *kawa* *nisa*
 hawa hawa ka- ibofa+F , hawa kawa na -risa+F
 palm sp palm sp COMIT put in water palm sp thrust AUX down
 nf nf vt

honofene , *tabo* *na* , *Fera* *akare* *awane* ?
 honofene , tabo na+F , fee -ra akara+M awa -ne
 manioc juice mash AUX that+M NPQ be satiated seem+M BKG+M
 nm vt aux dem vi sec

'She put the *hawa* fruits in water. She mashed the *hawa* fruits in the mortar. She mixed the manioc juice with her hands. "Well, is he full?"

215 *Ee* *owakara* *oke* *aso* .
 ee o- akara o- ke aso
 yes 1SG.S be satiated 1SG.S DECL+F father's sister
 interj vi prt nf

"Yes, I'm full, Mother-in-law."

216 *Owakara* *oke* .
 o- akara o- ke
 1SG.S be satiated 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt

"I'm full."

217 *Aba* *me* *okoba* *oke* .
 aba me o- kaba o- ke
 fish 3PL.O 1SG.S eat 1SG.S DECL+F
 nm pron vt prt

"I ate fish."

218 *Aba* *me* *okobini* .
 aba me o- kaba -ni
 fish 3PL.O 1SG.S eat BKG+F
 nm pron vt

"I ate fish."

219 *Honofene* *tifaribana* ?
 honofene ti- fawa -ra+F -bana
 manioc juice 2SG.S drink NEG FUT
 nm vt

"Aren't you going to drink manioc juice?"

220 *Hiba* , *otefe* *ahabake* *haro* .
 hiba , o- tefe ahaba -ke haaro
 wait 1SG.POSS food end DECL+F that one+F
 interj pn vi dem

"Wait, my food is almost gone."

221 *Honofene* *fawebona* *hinakaso* *ha* *hine* ,
 honofene fawa -hibona hinaka aso haa hi- na+M
 manioc juice drink INT+M 3SG.POSS mother-in-law call OC AUX
 nm vt nf vt aux

honofene *kabi* *kanematamonaka* .
 honofene kabi ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 manioc juice dip out COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vt aux

'His mother-in-law called him for him to drink manioc juice. He dipped out some manioc juice with a cup.'

BAHI (2)

- 222 **Hiba** , **kakabi** **kana** **omataba**
 hiba , ka- kabi ka- na o- na -mata -ba
 wait DUP dip out COMIT AUX 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+M
 interj vt aux aux
 "Wait, I will dip out a little."
- 223 **Totomi** **omataba**
 to- tomi o- na -mata -ba
 DUP try 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+M
 vt aux
 "I will try a little."
- 224 **Sinatehino** **ama** ?
 sina -tee -hino ama
 be sweet HAB IP.N+M SEC
 vi sec
 "Is it sweet?"
- 225 **Sinate** **amane**
 sina -tee ama -ne
 be sweet HAB SEC BKG+M
 vi sec
 "It is sweet."
- 226 **Honofene** **kabi** **kaniha** **honofene** **fawa**
 honofene kabi ka- niha- na.LIST honofene fawa.LIST
 manioc juice dip out COMIT CAUS AUX manioc juice drink
 nm vt aux nm vi
nematamonaka
 na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux
 'He got some manioc juice, and he drank the manioc juice.'
- 227 **Inaa** , **amosake**
 inaa amosa -ke
 hmmm be good DECL+F
 interj vi
 "Yumm, it's good."
- 228 **Hawa** **amosini** **honofene** **karo**
 hawa amosa -ni honofene karo
 palm sp be good BKG+F manioc juice LOC
 nf vi nm prt
 "Hawa fruits are good with manioc juice."
- 229 **Faya** , **kame** , **kamematamonaka**
 faya ka -ma+M ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 so go/come back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi vi
 'So he came back.'
- 230 **Kame** , **yana** **tone** **Okabone**
 ka -ma+M yana to- na+M o- to- ka -habone
 go/come back start CH AUX 1SG.S away go/come INT+F
 vi vi aux vi

BAHI (2)

ona , *owa* *te* *kayawa* *teke*
 ati o- na+F , owa tee ka- yawa+F tee -ke
 say 1SG.S AUX 1SG.O 2PL.S COMIT be upset 2PL.S DECL+F
 vt pron pron vt pron
 'He came back. He was ready to leave. "I want to leave, but you won't let me."

231 *Okabone* *onara* *oke*
 o- to- ka -habone ati o- na -hara o- ke
 1SG.S away go/come INT+F say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi vt prt
 "I'm going to leave."

232 *Fara* *tiwati* *nima* *tiwa* *ota* *kayawi*
 fara ti- ati nima tiwa otaa ka- yawa.NFIN
 same+F 2SG.POSS voice like 2SG.O 1EX.S COMIT be upset
 dem pn prt pron pron vt
nineni *ota* *tiyababone* *tina* *tiwa*
 na -ne -ni otaa ti- yaba -habone ati ti- na+F tiwa
 AUX CONT+F BKG+F 1EX.O 2SG.S marry INT+F say 2SG.S AUX 2SG.S
 aux pron vt vt pron
 "We won't let you leave because of what you said, when you said you would marry us."

233 *Ee* , *te* *oyababana* *oke*
 ee , tee o- yaba -habana o- ke
 yes 2PL.O 1SG.S marry FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 interj pron vt prt
 "Yes, I will marry you."

234 *Ota* *tikeyeriyahi*
 otaa ti- keyeha -ra -yahi
 1EX.O 2SG.S deceive NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron vt
 "Don't deceive us."

235 *Ota* *tikeyeriyahi*
 otaa ti- keyeha -ra -yahi
 1EX.O 2SG.S deceive NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron vt
 "Don't deceive us."

236 *Ota* , *Te* *oyababana* *oke*
 otaa , tee o- yaba -habana o- ke
 1EX 2PL.O 1SG.S marry FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron pron vt prt
 "I will marry you."⁹⁷

237 *Oka* *koko* *oka* *koko* *amaka*
 o- ka koko o- ka koko ama -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS father-in-law 1SG.POSS POSS father-in-law be DECL+M
 prt nm prt nm vc
hari
 haari
 that one+M
 dem
 "He is my father-in-law."

97 *Ota* is a false start.

BAHI (2)

238 *Faya me , mera yabebona mera amo kane mera ,*
 faya me , mera yaba -hibona mera amo ka- na+M mera ,
 so 3PL 3PL.O marry INT+M 3PL.O sleep COMMIT AUX 3PL.O
 conj pron pron vt pron vi aux pron

amo karehibanoho mera ahi
 amo ka- na -ra -hiba -no -ho mera ahi
 sleep COMMIT AUX NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP 3PL.O have sex with
 vi aux pron vt

nabebana
 na nahaba -hibana
 AUX at night FUT+M
 aux

'He was going to marry them, and he slept with them. He didn't sleep with them, he had sex with them all night.'

239 *Mera ai nabematamonaka fahi*
 mera ahi na nahaba -himata -mona -ka fahi
 3PL.O have sex with AUX at night FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 pron vt aux dem

'He had sex with them all night.'

240 *Mera ahi nabe Totoka*
 mera ahi na nahaba+M , to- to- ka
 3PL.O have sex with AUX at night DUP away go/come
 pron vt aux vi

onahabone onara oke
 o- na -habone ati o- na -hara o- ke
 1SG.S AUX INT+F say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 aux vt prt

'He had sex with them all night. "I'm going now."'

241 *Hibaka , yama abatehani tohari ?*
 hibaka , yama ahaba -tee -hani to- ha -ri
 where thing die HAB IP.N+F CH be CQ+F
 interrog nf vi vc

""Where is there forest that has game?""

242 *Yama abate hawi tokine haro*
 yama ahaba -tee hawi to- ka -ne haaro
 thing die HAB trail+F away go/come CONT+F that one+F
 nf vi pn vi dem

""There is a path going that way that has game.""

243 *Wafa me winine haro*
 wafa me wina -ne haaro
 woolly monkey 3PL.S live CONT+F that one+F
 nm pron vi dem

""There are woolly monkeys living there.""

244 *Hima , e tabahi*
 hima , ee taba -hi
 let's go 1IN.S be together IMP+F
 interj pron vi

""Come on, let's go together.""

BAHI (2)

245 **Wafa** **me** **te** **weye** **nibe**
 wafa me tee weye na -be
 woolly monkey 3PL.O 2PL.S carry AUX IMMED+F
 nm pron pron vt aux

"You will carry the woolly monkeys."

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

'He was ready to leave.'

247 **Yana tone** , **fati** **yana tokarawa**
 yana to- na+M , fati yana to- ka -rawa+F
 start CH AUX 3SG.POSS.wife start away go/come F.PL
 vi aux nf vi vi

kayotorawemetemoneke

ka- yoto -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT follow F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'He was ready to leave, and his two wives were ready to leave. They came on behind.'

248 **Karaboa tiwa kana** **wati tama kana**
 karaboha tiwa ka- na.LIST wati tama ka- na.LIST
 blowgun carry COMIT AUX arrow hold onto COMIT AUX
 nf vt aux nm vt aux

tokematamonaka

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

'He went into the forest, carrying a blowgun on his shoulder, and holding onto arrows.'

249 **Toke** , **toke** **toke** **toke** **ya**
 to- ka+M , to- ka+M to- ka+M to- ka.NOM+M ya
 away go/come away go/come away go/come away go/come ADJU
 vi vi vi vi vi prt

wafa **me** **ati** **saimetemoneke** **ahi**
 wafa me ati sai -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 woolly monkey 3PL.POSS voice be heard FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nm pron pn vi dem

Siya **siya** **siya**
 siya siya siya
 (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey)
 sound sound sound

siya **siya** **siya**
 siya siya siya
 (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey)
 sound sound sound

'He went into the forest. As he went, the voices of woolly monkeys could be heard. "Siya, siya."'

250 **Wafa** **me** **ati** **saihani** **me** **ati** **mite**
 wafa me ati sai -hani me ati mita+M
 woolly monkey 3PL.POSS voice be heard IP.N+F 3PL.POSS voice hear
 nm pron pn vi pron pn vt

BAHI (2)

sare	sare	rofi	nematamonane
sarehe	sarehe	rofi	na -himata -mona -ne
blowgun dart	blowgun dart	twirl in mouth	AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
nf	nf	vt	aux

'The voices of woolly monkeys could be heard. As he listened to their voices, he twirled darts in his mouth.'

251 Sare	sare	rofi	nematamonaka
sarehe	sarehe	rofi	na -himata -mona -ka
blowgun dart	blowgun dart	twirl in mouth	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nf	nf	vt	aux

'He twirled darts in his mouth.'

252 Sare	rofi	ne	wafa	me	wati
sarehe	rofi	na+M	wafa	me	wati
blowgun dart	twirl in mouth	AUX	woolly monkey	3PL.O	plan against
nf	vt	aux	nm	pron	vt

kane	wafa	me	tokematamonaka
ka- na+M	wafa	me	to- ka -himata -mona -ka
COMIT AUX	woolly monkey	3PL	away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux	nm	pron	vi

'As he twirled the darts in his mouth, he went along planning against the monkeys.'⁹⁸

253 Te	yoyoro	karahama	nahi
tee	yo- yoro	na -karahama	na -hi
2PL.S	DUP stay	AUX only do	AUX IMP+F
pron	vi	aux	aux

""You stay here.""

254 Te	yoyoro	karahama	niyahi
tee	yo- yoro	na -karahama	na -yahi
2PL.S	DUP stay	AUX only do	AUX DIST.IMP+F
pron	vi	aux	aux

""You stay here.""

255 Fito	onamabana	oke	te	ati
fito	o- na -ma -habana	o- ke	tee	ati
rush	1SG.S AUX back FUT+F	1SG.S DECL+F	2PL.POSS	voice
vi	aux	prt	pron	pn

omiti	ya
o- mita.NOM+F	ya
1SG.S hear	ADJU
vt	prt

""I will come back quickly if I hear your voices.""

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

'He went into the forest.'

257 Toke	wafa	me	
to- ka+M	wafa	me	
away go/come	woolly monkey	3PL.O	
vi	nm	pron	

98 The second occurrence of the string *wafa me* is a false start.

BAHI (2)

karaboematamonaka
karaboha -himata -mona -ka ahi , fai saki
shoot with blowgun FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then (sound of blowgun arrow)
vt dem sound
'He went, and he shot some monkeys, "Fai saki."'

258 **Aaa** **aaa** **wafa** **kiya**
aaa aaa wafa kiya
(cry of pain) (cry of pain) woolly monkey yell
interj interj nm vi

kanemetemoneke **ahi**
ka- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
aux dem
'"Aaa, aaa." A female monkey cried out.'

259 **Wafa** **me** **kayawemetemoneke** **ahi**
wafa me ka- yawa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
woolly monkey 3PL.S COMIT be upset FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
nm pron vi dem
aa **aa** **aa**
aa aa aa
(call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey)
sound sound sound
aa **aa** **aa**
aa aa aa
(call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey)
sound sound sound
aa **aa** **me** **fora**
aa aa me fora
(call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey) 3PL.O shoot with blowgun
sound sound pron vt

hinaba **mati** **ahi**
hi- na -haba mati ahi
OC AUX FUT+F 3PL.O then
aux pron dem
'The monkeys got excited. "Aa, aa, aa." They were going to be hit with darts.'

260 **Wafa** **me** **fora** **nematamonaka** **ahi**
wafa me fora na -himata -mona -ka ahi
woolly monkey 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
nm pron vt aux dem

'He shot monkeys with the blowgun.'

261 **Wafa** **me** **fora** **ne** **ya** **wafa**
wafa me fora na.NOM+M ya wafa
woolly monkey 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX ADJU woolly monkey
nm pron vt aux prt nm

me **fora** **nematamonaka**
me fora na -himata -mona -ka
3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
pron vt aux
'He shot monkeys with the blowgun.'

BAHI (2)

hikana , **me** **kamemetemoneke**
 hi- ka- na.LIST , me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux pron vi

'They picked up the monkeys. His one wife carried some of the monkeys, his other wife carried some of them, and he carried some of them. They came back.'

276 **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 vi pron pron vi

'They came back.'

277 **Me** **kama** , **me** , **kobo** **nama** **Bani** **me** **wete**
 me ka -ma+F me , kobo na -ma+F bani me wete
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive AUX back animal 3PL.O tie
 pron vi pron vi aux nm pron vt

omatibe
 o- na -mata -be
 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F
 aux

'They came back, and arrived. "I'm going to tie up the monkeys."'

278 **Me** **te** **weye** **nikimibe**
 me tee weye na -kima -be
 3PL.O 2PL.S carry AUX two IMMED+F
 pron pron vt aux

'"You will carry them."'

279 **Me** **one** **weweye** **kanahirini**
 me one we- weye ka- na -hira -ni
 3PL other+F DUP carry COMIT AUX NEG+F BKG+F
 pron adj result aux

'"Aren't you going to carry any of them?"'

280 **Ota** **ka** **me** **tatama** **rama** **nahi**
 otaa ka me ta- tama na -rama na -hi
 1EX POSS 3PL.S DUP be many AUX not much AUX IMP+F
 pron prt pron vi aux aux

'"Ours should be less."'

281 **Me** **me** **hikabarahaba** **me** **awine** ?
 me me hi- kaba -ra -haba me awine
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC eat NEG FUT+F 3PL.O seem+F
 pron pron vt pron sec

'"You are the ones who are going to eat them."'

282 **Bani** **me** **wete** **nematamonaka**
 bani me wete na -himata -mona -ka
 animal 3PL.O tie AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm pron vt aux

'He tied up the animals.'

BAHI (2)

283	Wafa	me	wete	ne	,	fati		one	me	
	wafa	me	wete	na+M		fati		one	me	
	woolly monkey	3PL.O	tie	AUX		3SG.POSS.wife		other+F	3PL.O	
	nm	pron	vt	aux		nf		adj	pron	
	weye	,	fati			one		me	weye	
	weye.LIST		fati			one		me	weye.LIST	
	carry		3SG.POSS.wife			other+F		3PL.O	carry	
	vt		nf			adj		pron	vt	
	fama	me	weye	hikana	,	kame		kame		
	fama+F	me	weye	hi- ka-	na.LIST	ka	-ma+M	ka	-ma+M	
	be two	3PL.O	carry	OC	COMIT AUX	go/come back		go/come back		
	vi	pron	vt	aux		vi		vi		
	kame		kame		me	kamemetemoneke				
	ka	-ma+M	ka	-ma+M	me	ka	-ma	-hemete	-mone	-ke
	go/come back		go/come back		3PL.S	go/come back	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	
	vi		vi		pron	vi				

'He tied up the monkeys. His one wife carried some, and his other wife carried some, and he carried two. He came back. They came back.'

284	Me	kama		me	,	faya	mera	mera	yor	ne
	me	ka	-ma+F	me		faya	mera	mera	yor	na+M
	3PL.S	go/come back		3PL.S		so	3PL.O	3PL.O	have sex with	AUX
	pron	vi		pron		conj	pron	pron	vt	aux
	mera	yor		nematamonaka		fahi	wafa		me	
	mera	yor		na -himata	-mona -ka	fahi	wafa		me	
	3PL.O	have sex with		AUX FP.N+M	REP+M DECL+M	then	woolly monkey		3PL.O	
	pron	vt		aux		dem	nm		pron	
	fora		ne	ya						
	fora		na.NOM+M	ya						
	shoot with blowgun		AUX	ADJU						
	vt		aux	prt						

'They came back. He had sex with them where he had shot the monkeys.'

285	Mera	yor		nematamonaka					
	mera	yor		na -himata	-mona -ka				
	3PL.O	have sex with		AUX FP.N+M	REP+M DECL+M				
	pron	vt		aux					

'He had sex with them.'

286	Hiya	,	ehene		kabateba		yama
	hiya		ehene		kaba -tee	-hiba	yama
	come on		victim of+M		eat HAB	FUT+M	make
	interj		pn		result		vt

omateya
o- na -mate -ya
1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F now
aux

'''Here, I will make people that will eat game.'''

287	Faya	mera	yor		ne	me	yor	ni
	faya	mera	yor		na+M	me	yor	na.NFIN
	so	3PL.O	have sex with		AUX	3PL.S	have sex with	AUX
	conj	pron	vt		aux	pron	result	aux
	abi	ya	kamematamona		fahi			
	ahaba.NOM+F	ya	ka	-ma	-himata	-mona	fahi	
	end	ADJU	go/come back	FP.N+M	REP+M		then	
	vi	prt	vi				dem	

BAHI (2)

'He had sex with them. When the sex with them was over, he came back.'

288	Me	kakama		me	,	Hima	me	te	weye
	me	ka- ka	-ma+F	me		hima	me	tee	weye
	3PL.S	COMIT go/come	back	3PL.S		let's go	3PL.O	2PL.S	carry
	pron	vi		pron		interj	pron	pron	vt
	nikima	,	te	me		yokoa		mati	
	na -kima		tee	me		yoko+F		mati	
	AUX two		2PL.O	3PL.S		bring misfortune on		3PL.S	
	aux		pron	pron		vt		pron	

'They came back. "Come on, you two carry them, the ones who made you suffer."'

289	Me	te	kabibeya	
	me	tee	kaba -be	-ya
	3PL.O	2PL.S	eat IMMED+F	now
	pron	pron	vt	

'"It's so you can eat them."'

290	Faya	me	,	yana	tone	me	yana	tona	me
	faya	me		yana	to- na+M	me	yana	to- na+F	me
	so	3PL		start	CH AUX	3PL.S	start	CH AUX	3PL.S
	conj	pron		vi	aux	pron	vi	aux	pron

	kama		me	,	me	kama		me	kobo
	ka	-ma+F	me		me	ka	-ma+F	me	kobo
	go/come	back	3PL.S		3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S	arrive
	vi		pron		pron	vi		pron	vi

namemetemoneke

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

'He was ready to leave. They were ready to leave. They came back, and arrived back.'

291	Tiwahiye		tokomake		fari
	ti- wahiya+M		to- ka	-makI	faari
	2SG.S	hide from	away go/come	following	that one+M
	vt		vi		dem

'The [child] you hid from went away.'

292	Me	kama		me	kokori
	me	ka	-ma+F	me	kokori
	3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S	3SG.POSS.father-in-law
	pron	vi		pron	nm

	kokori		wafa		me
	kokori		wafa		me
	3SG.POSS.father-in-law		woolly monkey		3PL.O
	nm		nm		pron

tokematamonaka

toka		-himata	-mona	-ka	ahi
partially	burn	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	then
vt					dem

'When they came back, his father-in-law singed the hair off the monkeys.'

293	Me	toke		wafa		me	toke
	me	toka+M		wafa		me	toka+M
	3PL.O	partially	burn	woolly	monkey	3PL.O	partially
	pron	vt		nm		pron	vt

BAHI (2)

yama yete onabone oke
yama yete o- na -habone o- ke
thing hunt 1SG.S AUX INT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
nf vt aux prt

"They slept. He was ready to go again the next morning. "I'm going out hunting."

299 **Yama yete tiyahi**
yama yete ti- na -yahi
thing hunt 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F
nf vt aux

"Go hunting."

300 **Yama tiwahara tini**
yama ti- awa -hara ti- ni
thing 2SG.S see IP.E+F 2SG.S BKG+F
nf vt prt

"You have seen the forest."

301 **Fara e toki ka yama tiwahara tini**
fara ee to- ka.NOM+F ka yama ti- awa -hara ti- ni
same+F 1IN.S away go/come which thing 2SG.S see IP.E+F 2SG.S BKG+F
dem pron vi prt nf vt prt

"You have seen where we go."

302 **Oko wabo me oko wabo me**
o- ka wabo me o- ka wabo me
1SG.POSS POSS brother-in-law 3PL 1SG.POSS POSS brother-in-law 3PL
prt nm pron prt nm pron

ya otatabana oke
ya o- taba -habana o- ke
ADJU 1SG.S be together FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
prt vi prt

"I want my brothers-in-law to go with me."

303 **Wabori me ya tabematamonane**
wabori me ya taba -himata -mona -ne
3SG.POSS brother-in-law 3PL ADJU be together FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
nm pron prt vi

wabori mati
wabori mati
3SG.POSS brother-in-law 3PL
nm pron

'His brothers-in-law went with him.'

304 **Wabori me ya tabe toke**
wabori me ya taba+M to- ka+M
3SG.POSS brother-in-law 3PL ADJU be together away go/come
nm pron prt vi vi

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

'His brothers-in-law went with him as he went out into the forest.'

BAHI (2)

- 305 **Toke** , **moni** **yana** **tonematamona**
to- ka+M , moni yana to- na -himata -mona
away go/come sound start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
vi pn vi aux
'As he went, it started making noise.'
- 306 **Awi** **amaka**
awi ama -ka
tapir be DECL+M
nm vc
'"It's a tapir."'
- 307 **Te** **awaraba** **nahi**
tee awaraba na -hi
2PL.S leave alone AUX IMP+F
pron vi aux
'"Be quiet."'
- 308 **Te** **awaraba** **nahi**
tee awaraba na -hi
2PL.S leave alone AUX IMP+F
pron vi aux
'"Be quiet."'
- 309 **Sa** **okobaya** **ha** **owa** **ta**
saa o- ka- na -ba -ya haa owa taa
shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX IMMED+M now DEM 1SG contrast
vt aux dem pron prt
'"I will hit it with an arrow."'
- 310 **Hibare** **mata** **owa** **te** **kakatomamatahi**
hibare mata owa tee ka- katoma -mata -hi
wait for now 1SG.O 2PL.S COMIT look at short time IMP+F
interj prt pron pron vt
'"Wait, watch me."'
- 311 **Yama** **tani** **oha** **owa** **awine** **oke**
yama tani o- to- ha+F owa awine o- ke
thing killer 1SG.S CH be 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S DECL+F
nf pn vc pron sec prt
'"I'm a hunter."'
- 312 **Awa** **baka** **ne** **wahi** **me** **yete** **hikane** , **owa** **wati**
awa baka na+M waa+M me yete hi- ka- na+M , owa wati
wood break AUX stand 3PL.S hunt OC COMIT AUX one+M arrow
nf vt aux vi pron vt aux adj nm
yori **tonematamona**
yori to- na -himata -mona
insert CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
vt aux
'They crept toward it as it stood, breaking twigs. One of them inserted an arrow in his bow.'
- 313 **Hoka** **kabote** **nebonaha** **ra** **yama**
hoka na -kabote na -hibona -ha ra yama
yank AUX quickly AUX INT+M DUP O do before
antip nm aux prt vt

BAHI (2)

ino fawa tonaka
ino fawa to- na -ka
point+M disappear CH AUX DECL+M
pn vi aux

'His brother-in-law pulled out the arrow. "The arrow point stayed in."'

321 **Tiwa sa okana ayata oko sowi**
tiwa saa o- ka- na+F , ayata o- ka sowi
2SG.O shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX near 1SG.POSS POSS penis
pron vt aux nf prt nf

foya ama o asima ya
foya+F ama o- asima ya
be inside SEC 1SG.S 2SG.POSS.younger sister ADJU
vi sec prt nf prt

'"I hit you with an arrow. My penis went in all the way in your younger sisters."'

322 **Ati kakasiro raba re ati ama**
ati ka- kasiro na -raba ka- -ra+M ati ama
voice DUP persist AUX a bit AUX NEG voice be
pn vi aux aux pn vc

'He was talking naughty.'

323 **Me awi me bobi nemetemoneke**
me , awi me bobi na -hemete -mone -ke
3PL tapir 3PL.S slit AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron nm pron vt aux

'They cut up the tapir.'

324 **Awil me bobi na awi watakeno me bobi na**
awil me bobi na+F awi , wataka -hino me bobi na+F
tapir 3PL.S slit AUX tapir be fatty IP.N+M 3PL.S slit AUX
nm pron vt aux nm vi pron vt aux

awil me weye nemetemoneke ahi
awil me weye na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
tapir 3PL.S carry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
nm pron vt aux dem

'They cut up the tapir. They cut up the fat tapir. They carried the tapir.'

325 **Haha homa haro**
haaha homa.LIST haaro
this+F lie on ground that one+F
dem vi dem

'"The head will stay here on the ground."'

326 **Haa tati homarama naho**
haa tati homa -rama na -ho
DEM head lie on ground unusual AUX IMP+M
dem pn vi aux

'"Let it's head stay here on the ground."'

327 **Tati okoso hikabeba amane**
tati o- ka aso hi- kaba -hiba ama -ne
head 1SG.S go/come mother-in-law OC eat FUT+M SEC BKG+M
pn nf vt vt sec

'"My mother-in-law will eat its head."'

BAHI (2)

- 328 **Tati weye tinaho**
 tati weye ti- na -ho
 head carry 2SG.S AUX IMP+M
 pn vt aux
 "You carry its head."
- 329 **Tati weye oreba ama**
 tati weye o- na -ra -hiba ama
 head carry 1SG.S AUX NEG FUT+M SEC
 pn vt aux sec
 "I will carry its head."
- 330 **Owa tiwibeya hiba**
 owa ti- awa -be -ya hiba
 1SG.O 2SG.S see IMMED+F now wait
 pron vt interj
 "You will see me, wait."
- 331 **Awī tati nemesematamonane**
 awi tati na- meseha -himata -mona -ne
 tapir head CAUS lie on top FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 nm pn vt
 'He put the tapir's head on top of the full basket.'
- 332 **Awī me nafi weye nemetemoneke ahi**
 awi me nafi weye na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 tapir 3PL.POSS all carry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nm pron pn vt aux dem
 'They all carried the tapir.'
- 333 **Teme kaomarayaho**
 teme ka- homa -ra -yaho
 foot+M COMIT lie on ground NEG DIST.IMP+M
 pn vi
 "Don't let the feet stay there on the ground."
- 334 **Teme kabeba amaka**
 teme kaba -hiba ama -ka
 foot+M eat FUT+M SEC DECL+M
 pn result sec
 "The feet will be eaten."
- 335 **Teme kabeba amane**
 teme kaba -hiba ama -ne
 foot+M eat FUT+M SEC BKG+M
 pn result sec
 "The feet will be eaten."
- 336 **Me , nafi , nafi e towakamaho**
 me , nafi , nafi ee to- ka- ka -ma -ho
 3PL all all 1IN.S away COMIT go/come back DUP
 pron pn pn pron vt
 "Let's take it all."

BAHI (2)

- 337 *Me hiwakamematamonaka*
 me hi- to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt
 'They took it.'
- 338 *Me hiwakame kobo hikaname*
 me hi- to- ka- ka -ma+M , kobo hi- ka- na -ma+M
 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back arrive OC COMIT AUX back
 pron vt vi aux
- Bani me me weye na me kamini*
 bani me me weye na+F me ka -ma -ni
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S carry AUX 3PL.S go/come back BKG+F
 nm pron pron vt aux pron vi
 'They brought it, and arrived with it. "They are coming back carrying game."'
- 339 *Faya Sawihi ene kakaba tohemate*
 faya , sawi+M ehene ka- kaba to- ha -mata+M
 so be present victim of+M DUP eat CH be short time
 conj vi pn vt vc
 "'While he is here, we are eating the game he kills.'"
- 340 *Fati naba toniharawe naba*
 fati naba to- niha- ha -rawa+M , naba
 3SG.POSS.wife pregnant CH CAUS be F.PL pregnant
 nf adj vt adj
toharawemetemoneke
 to- ha -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 CH be F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vc
 'He had impregnated his wives, they were pregnant.'
- 341 *Me nabati weye ni ya faya ati yana*
 me nabati weye na.NOM+F ya , faya ati yana
 3PL.POSS stomach carry AUX ADJU so voice start
 pron pn vt aux prt conj pn vi
tonematamona fahi
 to- na -himata -mona fahi
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 aux dem
 'He spoke to his pregnant wives.'
- 342 *Himata nima te naba te amari ?*
 himata nima tee na -haba tee ama -ri
 what? like 2PL.S AUX FUT+F 2PL.S SEC CQ+F
 interrog prt pron aux pron sec
 "'What are you going to do?'"
- 343 *Tera owakamibana ?*
 tera o- to- ka- ka -ma+F -bana
 2PL.O 1SG.S away COMIT go/come back FUT
 pron vt
 "'Shall I take you away?'"

BAHI (2)

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

"I don't know."

345 *Te owakamaba hiba*
 tee o- to- ka- ka -ma -haba hiba
 2PL.O 1SG.S away COMIT go/come back FUT+F wait
 pron vt interj

"I will take you, wait."

346 *Okomi okomi ati omiti ya*
 o- ka ami o- ka ami ati o- mita.NOM+F ya
 1SG.POSS POSS mother 1SG.POSS POSS mother voice 1SG.S hear ADJU
 nf nf pn vt prt
 , *okomi ati omiti ya okomi*
 o- ka ami ati o- mita.NOM+F ya o- ka ami
 1SG.POSS POSS mother voice 1SG.S hear ADJU 1SG.POSS POSS mother
 nf pn vt prt nf

ati omitami ya okomi ati
 ati o- to- mita -ma.NOM+F ya o- ka ami ati
 voice 1SG.S away hear back ADJU 1SG.POSS POSS mother voice
 pn vt prt nf pn

amosi ya , tera onakamabana oke
 amosa.NOM+F ya , tera o- na- ka -ma -habana o- ke
 be good ADJU 2PL.O 1SG.S CAUS go/come back FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt pron vt prt

"When I hear what my mother says, when I go there and hear what my mother says, if my mother agrees, I will come back to get you."

347 *Tera onakamabana oni*
 tera o- na- ka -ma -habana o- ni
 2PL.O 1SG.S CAUS go/come back FUT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 pron vt prt

"I will come back to get you."

348 *Tera onakamaharo , e tokomaro*
 tera o- na- ka -ma -haaro , ee to- ka -ma -haaro
 2PL.O 1SG.S CAUS go/come back PFUT+F 1IN.S away go/come back PFUT+F
 pron vt pron vi
 , *amo onamiba ama ahi*
 amo o- to- na -ma.NOM+F -ba ama ahi
 sleep 1SG.S away AUX back FUT be then
 vi vi vc dem

"When I have come back to get you, and we have gone...I will sleep here."

349 *Oko amo ni , owatoahaba owa awine*
 o- ka amo na.NFIN , o- wato -haba owa awine
 1SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX 1SG.S know FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F
 prt vi aux vt pron sec

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

"I will know what day it will be."

BAHI (2)

356 *Fara nima na ya e naoneni*
 fara nima na+F ya ee naho -ne -ni
 same+F like AUX ADJU 1IN.S stay CONT+F BKG+F
 dem prt aux prt pron vi

"It's just like where we are now."

357 *Okoma ahi tasi owitia*
 o- to- ka -ma+F ahi tasi o- to- na -witI+F
 1SG.S away go/come back there emerge 1SG.S away AUX out
 vi dem vi aux

okoma ama o ahi
 o- ka -ma+F ama o- ahi
 1SG.S go/come back SEC 1SG.S here
 vi sec prt dem

"I went out again and came out at another place, and then I came back here."

358 *Okoma ama ahi*
 o- ka -ma+F ama ahi
 1SG.S go/come back SEC here
 vi sec dem

"I came here."

359 *Okomi winineke haro*
 o- ka ami wina -ne -ke haaro
 1SG.POSS POSS mother live CONT+F DECL+F that one+F
 nf vi dem

"My mother lives there."

360 *Okomine ahi*
 o- ka -ma -ne ahi
 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F here
 vi dem

"I came back here."

361 *Okoma ama ahi*
 o- ka -ma+F ama ahi
 1SG.S go/come back SEC here
 vi sec dem

"I came here."

362 *Yama yofina awineni*
 yama yofina+F awine -ni
 place cause fear seem+F BKG+F
 nf vi sec

"It's scary."

363 *Yama owati tokomi nonofa ra*
 yama o- ati to- ka -ma.NFIN no- nofa na -ra+F
 thing 1SG.POSS voice away go/come back DUP want AUX NEG
 nf pn vi vt aux

"I don't think I want to go there."

364 *Yama fara nima na ya e naoneni*
 yama fara nima na+F ya ee naho -ne -ni
 place same+F like AUX ADJU 1IN.S stay CONT+F BKG+F
 nf dem prt aux prt pron vi

"It's just like where we are now."

BAHI (2)

365 **Te te awabana**
 tee tee awa -habana
 2PL 2PL.S see FUT+F
 pron pron vt

"You will see it."

366 **Te awibe**
 tee awa -be
 2PL.S see IMMED+F
 pron vt

"You will see it."

367 **Owati te kasawari**
 o- ati tee ka- sawari.NOM
 1SG.POSS voice 2PL.S COMIT frustrate
 pn pron vt

"You don't believe me."

368 **Fara nima na ya e naoneke**
 fara nima na+F ya ee naho -ne -ke
 same+F like AUX ADJU 1IN.S stay CONT+F DECL+F
 dem prt aux prt pron vi

"It's just like where we are now."

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

'He was ready to leave.'

370 **Yana tonebona ma nawahame amo name**
 yana to- na -hibona , maa na -waha -ma+M , amo na -ma+M ,
 start CH AUX INT+M stop AUX change back sleep AUX back
 vi aux vi aux vi aux

inamatewe komene yana neno inamatewe komene yana ne
 inamatewe komene yana na -hino , inamatewe komene yana na+M
 child pain+M start AUX IP.N+M child pain+M start AUX
 nm pn vi aux nm pn vi aux

komene ehene ma nawahame faya inamatewe ihe
 komene , ehene maa na -waha -ma+M , faya inamatewe iha+M
 pain+M because of+M stop AUX change back so child be born
 pn post vi aux conj nm vi

Maki ama ?
 , maki ama
 male be
 nm vc

'He was ready to leave, but he turned back and slept there. He turned back because her labor had started. The baby was born. "Is it a boy?"'

371 **Maki amane**
 maki ama -ne
 male be BKG+M
 nm vc

"It's a boy."

BAHI (2)

372 *Maki amakenoho*

maki ama -ke -no -ho
male be DECL IP.N+M DUP
nm vc

"What do you know, it's a boy."

373 *Ene tikabateba amane*

ehene ti- kaba -tee -hiba ama -ne
victim of+M 2SG.S eat HAB FUT+M SEC BKG+M
pn vt sec

"You will eat his game."

374 *Owa tiwarini* ?

owa ti- awa -ra -ni
1SG.O 2SG.S see NEG BKG+F
pron vt

"Didn't you see me?"

375 *Ene tikabateba amaka*

ehene ti- kaba -tee -hiba ama -ka
victim of+M 2SG.S eat HAB FUT+M SEC DECL+M
pn vt sec

"You will eat his game."

376 *Owa tiwa tike haro bati owa*

owa ti- awa ti- ke haaro bati owa
1SG.O 2SG.S see 2SG.S DECL+F that one+F 3SG.POSS.father 1SG
pron vt prt dem nm pron

"You have seen me, his father."

377 *Awi sa okana wafa me*

awi saa o- ka- na.LIST wafa me
tapir shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX woolly monkey 3PL.O
nm vt aux nm pron

fora

fora.LIST
shoot with blowgun
vt

"I have killed a tapir with bow and arrow, and have killed woolly monkeys with a blowgun."

378 *Faya kamematamonaka*

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

'So he came back.'

379 *Faya , ma nawame yama yete nebona toka*

faya , maa na -waha -ma+M yama yete na -hibona to- ka.LIST
so stop AUX change back thing hunt AUX INT+M away go/come
conj vi aux nf vt aux vi

'So he turned back. He went out hunting.'¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ At the beginning Siko said something to a child, which is not clear.

BAHI (2)

380 *Yama yete omate* , *hiba*
 yama yete o- na -mate hiba
 thing hunt 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F wait
 nf vt aux interj

"I'm going hunting, wait."

381 *Okatao ihaka*
 okatao iha -ka
 my son be born DECL+M
 nm vi

"My son has been born."

382 *Okatao okatao okatao ihare* *ya*
 okatao okatao okatao iha -ra.NOM+M ya
 my son my son my son be born NEG ADJU
 nm nm nm vi prt

tikamariyahi *mata*
 ti- to- ka -ma -ra -yahi mata
 2SG.S away go/come back NEG DIST.IMP+F for now
 vi prt

"Since my son hasn't been born yet, you shouldn't go now."

383 *Owa noki tinahi mata*
 owa noki ti- na -hi mata
 1SG.O wait for 2SG.S AUX IMP+F for now
 pron vt aux prt

"Wait for me."

384 *Ee* , *tiwa noki onabana* *o*
 ee tiwa noki o- na -habana o-
 yes 2SG.O wait for 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S
 interj pron vt aux prt

"Yes, I will wait for you."

385 *Inamatewe owa komene yana namakiba amane*
 inamatewe owa komene yana na -makI -hiba ama -ne
 child other+M pain+M start AUX following FUT+M SEC BKG+M
 nm adj pn vi aux prt sec

"The labor of the other baby will start."

386 *Inamatewe owa ihamaki ya*
 inamatewe owa iha -makI.NOM ya
 child other+M be born following ADJU
 nm adj vi prt

okomabana *oke* , *okomi*
 o- to- ka -ma -habana o- ke o- ka ami
 1SG.S away go/come back FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F 1SG.POSS POSS mother
 vi prt nf

narabi nima onaba owa
 narabi nima o- na -haba owa
 ear+F communicate to 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S
 pn vt aux prt

"When the other baby is born, I will go to speak to my mother."

BAHI (2)

387 *Faya yana yana toneba inamatewe owa ihamaki*
 faya yana yana to- na -hiba inamatewe owa iha -makI.NOM
 so start start CH AUX FUT+M child other+M be born following
 conj vi vi aux nm adj vi

ya , yana tone , yana tone Inamatewe owa
 ya , yana to- na+M , yana to- na+M inamatewe owa
 ADJU start CH AUX start CH AUX child other+M
 prt vi aux vi aux nm adj

ihamake maki amaka
 iha -makI maki ama -ka
 be born following male be DECL+M
 vi nm vc

'He was going to be ready to leave. When the other baby was born, he was ready to leave. "The other baby who was born is a boy.'"

388 *Maki me faminekeni*
 maki me fama -ne -ke -ni
 male 3PL.S be two CONT+F DECL+F BKG+F
 nm pron vi

"What do you know, there are two boys."

389 *Okomi narabi nima*
 o- ka ami narabi nima
 1SG.POSS POSS mother ear+F communicate to
 nf pn vt

onamamatibe aso
 o- to- na -ma -mata -be aso
 1SG.S away AUX back short time IMMED+F mother-in-law
 aux nf

"I will go and speak to my mother, Mother-in-law."

390 *Aso okomi narabi nima*
 aso o- ka ami narabi nima
 mother-in-law 1SG.POSS POSS mother ear+F communicate to
 nf nf pn vt

onamamatibe okobi
 o- to- na -ma -mata -be o- ka abi
 1SG.S away AUX back short time IMMED+F 1SG.POSS POSS father
 aux nm

"Mother-in-law, I will go and speak to my mother."

391 *Faya yana tone , tokomematamonaka*
 faya yana to- na+M , to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 so start CH AUX away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi aux vi

'He was ready to go, and he went.'

392 *Warematamonaka*
 waa -ra -himata -mona -ka
 stay NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He didn't stay.'

393 *Okomabana oke ahi*
 o- ka -ma -habana o- ke ahi
 1SG.S go/come back FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F here
 vi prt dem

BAHI (2)

"I will come back here."

394 *Okomabana* *oni*
 o- ka -ma -habana o- ni
 1SG.S go/come back FUT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi prt

"I will come back."

395 *Inamatewe* *bowara* *namise* *ya* , *okomaba*
 inamatewe bowara na -misa.NOM+M ya o- ka -ma -haba
 child nurse well AUX up ADJU 1SG.S go/come back FUT+F
 nm vi aux prt vi

owa *awine* *oke*
 owa awine o- ke
 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron sec prt

"When the baby is nursing well, I will come back."¹⁰¹

396 *Okomi* *narabi* *nima* *onaharo*
 o- ka ami narabi nima o- na -haaro
 1SG.POSS POSS mother ear+F communicate to 1SG.S AUX PFUT+F
 nf pn vt vt

"When I have spoken to my mother...."¹⁰²

397 *Faya* *tokometatamona* *fahi*
 faya to- ka -ma -himata -mona fahi
 so away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj vi dem

'So he went.'

398 *Tokome* *fawa* *tosame* , *Hahi*
 to- ka -ma+M fawa to- na -kosa -ma+M haahi
 away go/come back disappear CH AUX middle back this one+M
 vi vi aux dem

taboro *Bahi* *taboro* *yofine* *awane*
 taboro Bahi taboro yofina+M awa -ne
 place+M (man's name) place+M cause fear seem+M BKG+M
 pn npropm pn vi sec

'He went, and disappeared in the forest. "That village of Bahi is scary."

399 *Osawirabana* *oni*
 o- sawi -ra -habana o- ni
 1SG.S be present NEG FUT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi prt

"I'm not going along."

400 *Yama* *fara* *toamone* *ati* *nareka*
 yama fara to- ha -hamone ati na -hare -ka
 place same+F CH be REP+F say AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 nf dem vc vt aux

"He said it's the same as here."

101 There is a clause at the beginning that is unclear.

102 Siko didn't finish the sentence.

BAHI (2)

401 *Ati te mitare awane ?*
 ati tee mita -ra+M awa -ne
 voice 2PL.S hear NEG seem+M BKG+M
 pn pron vt sec

"Didn't you hear what he said?"

402 *Yama faramone ya e winineke haro , ati*
 yama fara -mone ya ee wina -ne -ke haaro , ati
 place same+F REP+F ADJU 1IN.S live CONT+F DECL+F that one+F say
 nf dem prt pron vi dem vt
nematamona me ka , ayo ati nematamonaha
 na -himata -mona me ka ayo ati na -himata -mona -ha
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M 3PL POSS older brother say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 aux pron prt nm vt aux

"He said it's just like the place we live in here," their older brother said.'

403 *E tababa eke hinakasima*
 ee taba -haba ee -ke hinaka asima
 1IN.S be together FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F 3SG.POSS younger sister
 pron vi pron nf

Yori onabana , bisa
 yori o- na -habana , bisa
 have sex with 1SG.S AUX FUT+F also
 vt aux prt

"We will go together, so I can have sex with his younger sister, too."

404 *Hiba aate oba*
 hiba a- ate o- na -ba
 wait DUP ask 1SG.S AUX IMMED+M
 interj vt aux

"Wait, I'll ask him."

405 *Kamamata*
 ka -ma -mata
 go/come back short time
 vi

"Let him come back."

406 *Faya , yana tonebona fawa tosame*
 faya yana to- na -hibona fawa to- na -kosa -ma+M
 so start CH AUX INT+M disappear CH AUX middle back
 conj vi aux vi aux

fawa ne , fawa ne noki hine , me
 fawa na+M , fawa na+M noki hi- na+M , me
 disappear AUX disappear AUX wait for OC AUX 3PL.S
 vi aux vi aux vt aux pron

nonoki hie , abariko towitamaki abariko
 no- noki hi- to- ha+M , abariko to- ita -makI.LIST abariko
 DUP wait for OC CH AUX moon away sit following moon
 vt aux nm vi nm

towitamaki abariko towitamaki ne ya , faya
 to- ita -makI.LIST abariko to- ita -makI.LIST na.NOM+M ya , faya
 away sit following moon away sit following AUX ADJU so
 vi nm vi aux prt conj

BAHI (2)

tasi namematamona fahi
 tasi na -ma -himata -mona fahi
 emerge AUX back FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi aux dem

'He was ready to go, and he disappeared in the forest. He disappeared. He waited for him. They waited for him. After three full moons, he finally appeared again.'

407 **Tasi namematamonaka**
 tasi na -ma -himata -mona -ka
 emerge AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'He appeared again.'

408 **Tasi name , Bahi kame Bahi**
 tasi na -ma+M , Bahi ka -ma+M Bahi
 emerge AUX back (man's name) go/come back (man's name)
 vi aux npropm vi npropm

kame
 ka -ma+M
 go/come back
 vi

'He appeared again. "Bahi has come back. Bahi has come back."'

409 **Faya kame kobo name , Oof , mate , mate**
 faya ka -ma+M kobo na -ma+M , oof , matehe , matehe
 so go/come back arrive AUX back hoo children children
 conj vi vi aux interj nf nf

yanakeni , haro
 yana -ke -ni , haaro
 grow DECL+F IP.N+F that one+F
 vi dem

'He came back, and arrived. "Hoo, the children have grown."'

410 **Mate okihaba ama okanani , na**
 matehe o- kiha -haba ama o- ka na -hani , na
 children 1SG.S have FUT+F SEC 1SG.S DECL AUX IP.N+F AUX
 nf vt sec aux aux

ohite
 o- to- ha.NOM+F -te
 1SG.S CH AUX RP.N+F
 aux

""Now I finally have children.""

411 **Okatao me owakamabone , okatao me**
 okatao me o- to- ka- ka -ma -habone , okatao me
 my son 3PL.O 1SG.S away COMIT go/come back INT+F my son 3PL.O
 nm pron vt nm pron

owakamabone me ka aki ati
 o- to- ka- ka -ma -habone me ka aki ati
 1SG.S away COMIT go/come back INT+F 3PL POSS grandmother say
 vt pron prt nf vt

narake
 na -hara -ke
 AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 aux

""My sons' grandmother said I should take them there.""

BAHI (2)

- 412 **Himata nima te ribeya** ?
 himata nima tee na -ri -be -ya
 what? like 2PL.S AUX CQ+F IMMED+F now
 interrog prt pron aux
 "What are you going to do?"
- 413 **Owa te abiyoni** ?
 owa tee abiyoni -ni
 1SG.O 2PL.S want the presence of BKG+F
 pron pron vt
 "Do you want to stay with me?"
- 414 **E awara awine** .
 ee awa -ra+F awine
 1IN.S see NEG seem+F
 pron vt sec
 "I don't know."
- 415 **Bahi yama yofinara awineni** ?
 Bahi yama yofina -ra+F awine -ni
 (man's name) place cause fear NEG seem+F BKG+F
 npropm nf vi sec
 "Bahi, isn't it scary?"
- 416 **Yama yofinakere** .
 yama yofina -ke -re
 place cause fear DECL+F NEG+F
 nf vi
 "It's not scary."
- 417 **Fara yama ya e nahoneke haro** .
 fara yama ya ee naho -ne -ke haaro
 same+F place ADJU 1IN.S stay CONT+F DECL+F that one+F
 dem nf prt pron vi dem
 "It's the same as where we are now."
- 418 **Ha nima na awineke** .
 haa nima na+F awine -ke
 DEM like AUX seem+F DECL+F
 dem prt aux sec
 "It's just like here."
- 419 **Ha nima na awineke haro** .
 haa nima na+F awine -ke haaro
 DEM like AUX seem+F DECL+F that one+F
 dem prt aux sec dem
 "It's just like here."
- 420 **Fara fara yama ya e nahoneni** .
 fara fara yama ya ee naho -ne -ni
 same+F same+F place ADJU 1IN.S stay CONT+F BKG+F
 dem dem nf prt pron vi
 "It's just like where we are now."

BAHI (2)

421 *Bahi* *bani* *me* *tama* *me* *awineni* ?
 Bahi bani me tama+F me awine -ni
 (man's name) animal 3PL.S be many 3PL.S seem+F BKG+F
 npropm nm pron vi pron sec

"Bahi, is there plenty of game there?"

422 *Bani* *me* *tamaramone* *ati* *ne* *bani* *fara* *me*
 bani me tama -ra -hamone ati na+M bani fara me
 animal 3PL.S be many NEG REP+F say AUX animal same+F 3PL.S
 nm pron vi vt aux nm dem pron

toha *nineke* , *fara* *e* *wini* *nima* .
 to- ha.LIST na -ne -ke , fara ee wina.NFIN nima
 CH be AUX CONT+F DECL+F same+F 1IN.S live like
 vc aux dem pron vi prt

"She is saying there isn't much game, but the game there are the same as where we live."

423 *Me* *yana* *tona* *me* *yana* *tonabone* *me* , *amo*
 me yana to- na+F me yana to- na -habone me , amo
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S start CH AUX INT+F 3PL.S sleep
 pron vi aux pron vi aux pron vi

nama *me* *amo* *nama* *me* , *Hiba*
 na -ma+F me amo na -ma+F me , hiba
 AUX back 3PL.S sleep AUX back 3PL.S wait
 aux pron vi aux pron interj

okoso *ka* , *okoso* *ka*
 o- ka aso ka , o- ka aso ka
 1SG.S go/come mother-in-law POSS 1SG.S go/come mother-in-law POSS
 nf prt nf prt

bani *meba* *me* *fora* *omatibe*
 bani me -ba me fora o- na -mata -be
 animal 3PL FUT 3PL.O shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F
 nm pron pron vt aux

"They were ready to leave. When they were about ready to leave, they slept there some more. "Wait, I will kill some game for my mother-in-law with my blowgun."

424 *Bani* *me* *fora* *oni* *ya* *bani* *me*
 bani me fora o- na.NOM+F ya bani me
 animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX ADJU animal 3PL.O
 nm pron vt aux prt nm pron

okoso *tabasi* *hinaba* , *oka*
 o- ka aso tabasi hi- na -haba , o- ka
 1SG.S go/come mother-in-law roast on grill OC AUX FUT+F 1SG.POSS POSS
 nf vt aux prt

koko *me* *tabasi* *hinaba* *mati*
 koko me tabasi hi- na -haba mati
 father-in-law 3PL.O roast on grill OC AUX FUT+F 3PL.O
 nm pron vt aux pron

"When I kill game with my blowgun, my mother-in-law and father-in-law will roast them on a grill."

425 *Okoto* *tiwakamarawibamakoni*
 okoto ti- to- ka- ka -ma -rawa -ba -makoni
 my daughter 2SG.S away COMIT go/come back F.PL FUT for this reason+F
 nf vt

tiwati *ama* ?
 ti- ati ama
 2SG.POSS voice be
 pn vc

BAHI (2)

"Are you saying you are going to take my daughters away?"

426 *Yama yofinara awine ?*
 yama yofina -ra+F awine
 place cause fear NEG seem+F
 nf vi sec

"Isn't it scary there?"

427 *Koko yama yofinakere*
 koko yama yofina -ke -re
 father-in-law place cause fear DECL+F NEG+F
 nm nf vi

"Father-in-law, it's not scary."

428 *Fara yama nima yama na ya e naoneke*
 fara yama nima yama na+F ya ee naho -ne -ke
 same+F place like place AUX ADJU 1IN.S stay CONT+F DECL+F
 dem nf prt nf aux prt pron vi

"It's the same as the place where we are."

429 *Yama fara tohineni*
 yama fara to- ha -ne -ni
 place same+F CH be CONT+F BKG+F
 nf dem vc

"The places are the same."

430 *Fara yama tohineni*
 fara yama to- ha -ne -ni
 same+F place CH be CONT+F BKG+F
 dem nf vc

"The places are the same."

431 *Fara yama toaha ya e winineke haro*
 fara yama to- ha+F ya ee wina -ne -ke haaro
 same+F place CH be ADJU 1IN.S live CONT+F DECL+F that one+F
 dem nf vc prt pron vi dem

"It's the same as the place we're living."

432 *E yana tona e tokomaro e*
 ee yana to- na+F ee to- ka -ma -haaro ee
 1IN.S start CH AUX 1IN.S away go/come back PFUT+F 1IN.S
 pron vi aux pron vi pron
tokomaro e kobo tonamaro e
 to- ka -ma -haaro ee kobo to- na -ma -haaro ee
 away go/come back PFUT+F 1IN.S arrive away AUX back PFUT+F 1IN.S
 vi pron vi aux pron
tokoma e tokoma e kobo naba
 to- ka -ma+F ee to- ka -ma+F ee kobo na -haba
 away go/come back 1IN.S away go/come back 1IN.S arrive AUX FUT+F
 vi pron vi pron vi aux

ereke

ere -ke
 1IN.S DECL+F
 pron

"When we are ready to leave, and we go, and we arrive somewhere, we will go and go and will arrive."

BAHI (2)

433 *E bosa ni ya yama yaboraba*
 ee bosa na.NOM+F ya yama yabo -ra -haba
 1IN.S get up early AUX ADJU thing be far NEG FUT+F
 pron vi aux prt nf vi

awineke

awine -ke
 seem+F DECL+F
 sec

"If we get up early, it won't be far."

434 *Ai okoma amo onamiro*
 ahi o- to- ka -ma+F amo o- to- na -ma.NOM+F -ro
 then 1SG.S away go/come back sleep 1SG.S away AUX back RP.E+F
 dem vi vi aux

ka oko yobe ware e amo naro
 ka o- ka yobe waa -rI ee amo na -haaro
 POSS 1SG.POSS POSS house stand raised surface 1IN.S sleep AUX PFUT+F
 prt prt nm vi pron vi aux

e bosa naro e tokomaro e
 ee bosa na -haaro ee to- ka -ma -haaro ee
 1IN.S get up early AUX PFUT+F 1IN.S away go/come back PFUT+F 1IN.S
 pron vi aux pron vi pron

tokomaro e kobo naba ereke ati
 to- ka -ma -haaro ee kobo na -haba ere -ke ati
 away go/come back PFUT+F 1IN.S arrive AUX FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F say
 vi pron vi aux pron vt

nematamonaka

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

"When we have slept in the house I slept in when I went before, when we have gotten up early and gone and gone, we will arrive," he said.'

435 *Bahi ati kakasiro raba re*
 Bahi ati ka- kasiro na -raba na -ra+M
 (man's name) voice DUP persist AUX a bit AUX NEG
 npropm pn vi aux aux

"Bahi really talks."

436 *Kokori kokori ati mite ati*
 kokori kokori ati mita+M ati
 3SG.POSS.father-in-law 3SG.POSS.father-in-law voice hear voice
 nm nm pn vt pn

fawa ne Ee koko oko oko yibote
 fawa na+M ee koko o- ka o- ka yibote
 stop AUX yes father-in-law 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS wife
 vi aux interj nm prt prt nf

owakamarawaboneke

o- to- ka- ka -ma -rawa -habone -ke
 1SG.S away COMMIT go/come back F.PL INT+F DECL+F
 vt

'He listened to his father-in-law, and his father-in-law stopped speaking. "Yes, Father-in-law, I'm going to take my wives there."

BAHI (2)

- 437 **Tiwa** *tiwa* *owamabana* *oke* *tasa*
 tiwa tiwa o- awa -ma -habana o- ke tasa
 2SG.O 2SG.O 1SG.S see back FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F again
 pron pron vt prt prt
- "I come back and see you again."
- 438 **Okoto** *tiwakamarawa* , *otaboro*
 okoto ti- to- ka- ka -ma -rawa+F o- taboro
 my daughter 2SG.S away COMIT go/come back F.PL 1SG.POSS place
 nf vt pn
- amara**
 ama -ra+F
 be NEG
 vc
- "If you take my daughters to a place that is not my village...."
- 439 **Otaborobisa** *amake*
 o- taboro -bisa ama -ke
 1SG.POSS place also be DECL+F
 pn vc
- "It's my village."
- 440 **Otaborobisamakoni** , *oko* *yibote*
 o- taboro -bisa -makoni o- ka yibote
 1SG.POSS place also for this reason+F 1SG.POSS POSS wife
 pn prt nf
- onakamarawine** *oke* *ahi*
 o- na- ka -ma -rawa -ne o- ke ahi
 1SG.S CAUS go/come back F.PL CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F here
 vt prt dem
- "Because it is my village there, I have come here to get my wives."
- 441 **Okobi** *okobi* *okomi*
 o- ka abi o- ka abi o- ka ami
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS mother
 nm nm nf
- me** *tabori* *amake*
 me tabori ama -ke
 3PL.POSS place+F be DECL+F
 pron pn vc
- "It is my father and mother's village."
- 442 **Faya** *mera* *towakamematamona* *fahi*
 faya mera to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona fahi
 so 3PL.O away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj pron vt dem
- 'So he took them away.'
- 443 **Me** *hiwakama* *Hine* *me*
 me hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F hine me
 3PL.O OC away COMIT go/come back only 3PL.O
 pron vt pron pron
- hiwakami** *na*
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma.NOM+F na
 OC away COMIT go/come back AUX
 vt aux
- 'He took them away. "Let him take them away."

BAHI (2)

444 **Me ka aki me hiwabone mera**
 me ka aki me hi- awa -habone mera
 3PL POSS grandmother 3PL.O OC see INT+F 3PL.O
 pron prt nf pron vt pron

towakamane
 to- ka- ka -ma.CONT+M -ne
 away COMIT go/come back BKG+M
 vi

"He is taking them so their grandmother can see them."

445 **Me ahabaraba me awineni**
 me ahaba -ra -haba me awine -ni
 3PL.S die NEG FUT+F 3PL.S seem+F BKG+F
 pron vi pron sec

"They won't die."

446 **Ota kami ya ota kama ota**
 otaa ka -ma.NOM+F ya otaa ka -ma.LIST otaa
 1EX.S go/come back ADJU 1EX.S go/come back 1EX.S
 pron vi prt pron vi pron

kamari ya ota kamarihi oko
 ka -ma -ra.NOM+F ya otaa ka -ma -rihi o- ka
 go/come back NEG ADJU 1EX.S go/come back NEG.LIST 1SG.POSS POSS
 vi prt pron vi prt

yibote yama awarawi ya yama nofarawa narawaba
 yibote yama awa -rawa.NOM+F ya yama nofa -rawa na -rawa -haba
 wife place see F.PL ADJU place like F.PL AUX F.PL FUT+F
 nf nf vt prt nf vt aux

amake
 ama -ke
 SEC DECL+F
 sec

"I don't know if we will come back soon or not. I don't know if my wives will like the place when they see it."

447 **Faya me , faya me , tokoma me**
 faya me faya me to- ka -ma+F me
 so 3PL so 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S
 conj pron conj pron vi pron

tokoma me amo tonama me
 to- ka -ma+F me amo to- na -ma+F me
 away go/come back 3PL.S sleep away AUX back 3PL.S
 vi pron vi aux pron

tokomamina me wabori aate
 to- ka -ma -mina+F me wabori a- ate
 away go/come back morning 3PL.S 3SG.POSS brother-in-law DUP ask
 vi pron nm vt

nebona wabori aate nebona
 na -hibona wabori a- ate na -hibona
 AUX INT+M 3SG.POSS brother-in-law DUP ask AUX INT+M
 aux nm vt aux

wabori Okasima titihaba
 wabori o- ka asima ti- iti -haba
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister 2SG.S marry FUT+F
 nm nf vt

BAHI (2)

titihaba

ti- iti -haba
2SG.S marry FUT+F
vt

tinahani

ati ti- na -hani
say 2SG.S AUX IP.N+F
vt

'So they went. They slept on the way, and went on again in the morning. He wanted to ask his brother-in-law. "You said you wanted to marry my younger sister."

448 **Okasima**

o- ka asima
1SG.POSS POSS younger sister
nf

manakonerawa

manakone -rawa
price F.PL
pn

ta

taa
give
vt

tinahabone

ti- na -habone
2SG.S AUX INT+F
aux

ona

ati o- na+F
say 1SG.S AUX
vt

aya

aya
this
dem

sawibisabana

sawi
be present
vi

-bisa -habana
also FUT+F
vt

ahi

ahi
here
dem

"I want you to pay for my sisters to live here."

449 **Aa**

aa
(pause)
interj

sawirima

sawi -rima
be present NEG.IMP+F
vi

nahi

na -hi
AUX IMP+F
aux

"No, I don't want her to live over there."

450 **Fara**

fara
same+F
dem

otaboro

o- taboro
1SG.POSS place
pn

ya

ya
ADJU
prt

sawihabanake

sawi -habana -ke
be present FUT+F DECL+F
vi

"I want her to live in my village."

451 **Fara**

fara
same+F
dem

otaboro

o- taboro
1SG.POSS place
pn

fara

fara
same+F
dem

otaboro

o- taboro
1SG.POSS place
pn

ya

ya
ADJU
prt

tisawibeya

ti- sawi -be -ya
2SG.S be present IMMED+F now
vi

"You live in my village."

452 **Yama**

yama
place
nf

yofina

yofina+F
cause fear
vi

awineke

awine -ke
seem+F DECL+F
sec

"It's scary."

453 **Yama**

yama
place
nf

yofinakere

yofina -ke -re
cause fear DECL+F NEG+F
vi

"It's not scary."

454 **Owati**

o- ati
1SG.POSS voice
pn

timita

ti- mita+F
2SG.S hear
vt

fara

fara
same+F
dem

yama

yama
forest
nf

ama

ama
be
vc

haro

haaro
that one+F
dem

e

ee
1IN.POSS
pron

BAHI (2)

yayaka haro
 ya- yaka haaro
 DUP walk that one+F
 pn dem
 "You heard me, it's the same forest."

455 **Fara hawi tohineke haro**
 fara hawi to- ha -ne -ke haaro
 same+F trail CH be CONT+F DECL+F that one+F
 dem nf vc dem
 "It's the same trails."

456 **Yama tonokomisamone tina amani**
 yama to- noko -misa -hamone ati ti- na+F ama -ni
 thing away point up REP+F say 2SG.S AUX SEC BKG+F
 nf vi vt sec
 "You said the trail goes up."

457 **Yama tonokomisakere**
 yama to- noko -misa -ke -re
 thing away point up DECL+F NEG+F
 nf vi
 "It doesn't go up."

458 **Yama yaka ni amosa aware awane**
 yama yaka na.NFIN amosa+F awa -ra+M awa -ne
 thing walk AUX be good see NEG seem+M BKG+M
 nf vi aux vi result sec
 "It's good to walk there."

459 **Tokoma tokoma tokoma aya awa**
 to- ka -ma+F to- ka -ma+F to- ka -ma+F aya awa
 away go/come back away go/come back away go/come back this tree
 vi vi vi dem nf
wawata na awineke ahi totokomisama karo
 wa- wata na+F awine -ke ahi to- to- ka -misa -ma karo
 DUP grow AUX seem+F DECL+F there DUP away go/come up back which
 vi aux sec dem vi prt
 "The trees are not high, they are like steps."

460 **Awa nemeha towatamisineni**
 awa nemeha+F to- wata -misa -ne -ni
 tree be high away stand up CONT+F BKG+F
 nf vi vi
 "There are tall trees."

461 **Fara toha awineke**
 fara to- ha+F awine -ke
 same+F away be seem+F DECL+F
 dem vc sec
 "It's the same."

462 **Fara toha awineke**
 fara to- ha+F awine -ke
 same+F away be seem+F DECL+F
 dem vc sec

BAHI (2)

"It's the same."

463 *Wete onisamibe*
 wete o- na -risa -ma -be
 return 1SG.S AUX down back IMMED+F
 vi aux

"I will slide back down."

464 *Wete nisame*
 wete na -risa -ma+M
 return AUX down back
 vi aux

"He slides back down."

465 *Inamatewe tohe tere ne awane*
 inamatewe to- ha+M tere na+M awa -ne
 child CH be crawl AUX seem+M BKG+M
 nm vc vi aux sec

"He crawls because he is a baby."

466 *E tere naba watakere*
 ee tere na -haba wata -ke -re
 1IN.S crawl AUX FUT+F exist DECL+F NEG+F
 pron vi aux vi

"People don't crawl."

467 *Faya , me , tokoma me*
 faya , me , to- ka -ma+F me
 so 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron

tokometemoneke

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

"They went."

468 *Wabori hinasawimake*
 wabori hi- to- na- sawi -makI
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law OC away CAUS be present following
 nm vt

tokomake , tokomake tokomake
 to- ka -makI , to- ka -makI to- ka -makI
 away go/come following away go/come following away go/come following
 vi vi vi

me tokoma , me tokoma me ,
 me to- ka -ma+F me to- ka -ma+F me ,
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi pron

tokoma , me , kobo nemetemoneke bahi
 to- ka -ma+F me , kobo na -hemete -mone -ke bahi
 away go/come back 3PL.S arrive AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F sun
 vi pron vi aux nm

fawa nise ya
 fawa na -risa+M ya
 disappear AUX down ADJU
 vi aux prt

'His brother-in-law made him go along. They went and went, and arrived at sundown.'

BAHI (2)

469	Bahi		owa	,	Bahi		owa		tohawe								
	Bahi		owa		Bahi		owa		to- ha -waha+M								
	(man's name)		in-law		(man's name)		other+M		CH be change								
	npropm		nm		npropm		adj		vc								
	kamaki		bahi		toke		ya		me		kobo		na		me		
	ka		bahi		to-		ka.NOM+M		ya		me		kobo		na+F		me
	go/come		following		sun		away go/come		ADJU		3PL.S		arrive		AUX		3PL.S
	vi				nm		vi		prt		pron		vi		aux		pron
	,		me		kobo		nemetemoneke										
	me		kobo		na		-hemete -mone -ke										
	3PL.S		arrive		AUX		FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F										
	pron		vi		aux												

'He had become Bahi's brother-in-law. He came. They arrived at sundown.'

470	Me		kobo		na		me		,	amo		na		me		,	faya
	me		kobo		na+F		me			amo		na+F		me			faya
	3PL.S		arrive		AUX		3PL.S			sleep		AUX		3PL.S			so
	pron		vi		aux		pron			vi		aux		pron			conj
	hinakasima				haha		ne			Asima				,			asima
	hinaka		asima		ha-		haa			na+M		asima					asima
	3SG.POSS		younger		sister		DUP call			AUX		younger					younger
	nf				vt		aux			nf							nf

'They arrived. They slept. He called his younger sister. "Sister, Sister."'

471	Hoo	
	hoo	
	huh?	
	interj	

""Huh?""

472	Asima		tikama		mata
	asima		ti-		ka
	younger		-ma		mata
	sister		2SG.S		go/come
	nf		vi		back
					for now
					prt

""Sister, come here a minute.""

473	Owati		timitibe
	o-		ati
	1SG.POSS		voice
	pn		2SG.S
			hear
			IMMED+F
			vt

""Listen to me.""

474	Yama		tama		ona		tiwibeya		ahi
	yama		tama		o-		na+F		ti-
	thing		hold		1SG.S		AUX		2SG.S
	nf		vt		aux		vt		awa
									-be
									IMMED+F
									now
									-ya
									ahi
									here
									dem

""Look at what I have in my hand.""

475	Aya		yama		okanika		tama		one		haro
	aya		yama		o-		ka-		nika+F		tama
	this		thing		1SG.S		COMIT		buy		hold
	dem		nf		vt		vt		hold		onto
									1SG.S		AUX
									CONT+F		that
									one+F		dem

""I am holding something in my hand that I bought.""

BAHI (2)

476 *Ayo* *himata* *amariya* ?
 ayo himata ama -ri -ya
 older brother what? be CQ+F now
 nm interrog vc

"Brother, what is it?"

477 *Yama* *tama* *ona* *tiwa* *ha*
 yama tama o- na+F ti- awa haa
 thing hold onto 1SG.S AUX 2SG.S see DEM
 nf vt aux vt dem

"Look at what I am holding in my hand."

478 *Aabata* , *okoyo* *yokana* *hiwa* *tama*
 aabata o- ka ayo yokana hiwa tama
 fat 1SG.POSS POSS older brother true 3SG.REFL.M hold onto
 nm adj pron vt
ne *ati* *ama* *nanoho*
 na+M ati ama na.NOM+M -no -ho
 AUX voice be AUX IP.N+M DUP
 aux pn vc aux

"He is fat. The one my brother is holding looks just like him."

479 *Okoyo* *hiwa* *tama* *ne* *ati* *ama*
 o- ka ayo hiwa tama na+M ati ama
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 3SG.REFL.M hold onto AUX voice be
 nm pron vt aux pn vc
nanoho
 na.NOM+M -no -ho
 AUX IP.N+M DUP
 aux

"He looks just like my brother."

480 *Ayo* *hibeke* *bitemete* *tama*
 ayo hibeke bite -mete tama
 older brother who+M 3SG.POSS.daughter FP.N+F hold onto
 nm nm nf vt
tine *tiriya* ?
 ti- na -ne ti- ri -ya
 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S CQ+F now
 aux prt

"Brother, whose daughters' hands are you holding?"

481 *Hibeke* *bitemete* *tīyabarawine*
 hibeke bite -mete ti- yaba -rawa -ne
 who+M 3SG.POSS.daughter FP.N+F 2SG.S marry F.PL CONT+F
 nm nf vt
tiriya ?
 ti- ri -ya
 2SG.S CQ+F now
 prt

"Whose daughters did you marry?"

482 *Ino* *ino* *owato*
 ino ino o- wato
 name+M name+M 1SG.S know
 pn pn vt

"I don't know his name."

BAHI (2)

- 483 *Ino* *omiti* *onofare* *amaka*
ino o- mita o- nofa -ra+M ama -ka
name+M 1SG.S hear 1SG.S recently NEG SEC DECL+M
pn vt prt sec
"I haven't heard his name."
- 484 *Ino* *omiti* *onofare* *amane* *ama*
ino o- mita o- nofa -ra+M ama -ne ama
name+M 1SG.S hear 1SG.S recently NEG SEC BKG+M SEC
pn vt prt sec sec
"I haven't heard his name."
- 485 *Hiba* , *ino* *omitawahebanaka*
hiba , ino o- mita -waha -hibana -ka
wait name+M 1SG.S hear change FUT+M DECL+M
interj pn vt
"Wait, I will hear his name now."
- 486 *Me* *owamaboneke*
me o- to- awa -ma -habone -ke
3PL.O 1SG.S away see back INT+F DECL+F
pron vt
"I will go and see them again."
- 487 *Ayo* *e* *famaba* *ereni* ?
ayo ee fama -haba ere -ni
older brother 1IN.S be two FUT+F 1IN.S BKG+F
nm pron vi pron
"Brother, can we go together?"
- 488 *Ee* , *e* *famaba* *ereke*
ee , ee fama -haba ere -ke
yes 1IN.S be two FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F
interj pron vi pron
"Yes, we will go together."
- 489 *Te* *famibone* *itarika* *hari* , *sowi*
tee fama.NOM+F -bone ita -rI -ka haari , sowi
2PL.S be with INT+F sit raised surface DECL+M that one+M penis
pron vi vi dem nf
keye *tiwa* *nari*
keyeha.NFIN tiwa na -haari
have an erection hold AUX IP.E+M
vi vt aux
"Your partner is sitting there, holding his hard penis."
- 490 *Asima* *tika* *yibotebona* *amaka*
asima ti- ka yibote -bona ama -ka
younger sister 2SG.POSS POSS husband INT+M be DECL+M
nf prt nm vc
"Sister, he is your future husband."
- 491 *Ai* *tisawiba* *ahi* ?
ahi ti- sawi.NOM -ba ahi
here 2SG.S be present FUT there
dem vi dem

BAHI (2)

"Are you going to stay here?"

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

"I don't know."

493 *Osawi osawi ya osawi*
 o- sawi.NOM o- sawi.LIST ya o- sawi.LIST
 1SG.S be present 1SG.S be present ADJU 1SG.S be present
 vi vi prt vi

osawi okoma fare taboro ya
 o- sawi.LIST o- to- ka -ma.LIST fare taboro ya
 1SG.S be present 1SG.S away go/come back same+M place+M ADJU
 vi vi dem pn prt

osawima onahaba
 o- to- sawi -ma.LIST o- na -haba
 1SG.S away be present back 1SG.S AUX FUT+F
 vi aux

"I don't want to go to his village and stay there."

494 *Me me me mera me tabori ya kobo ne*
 me me me mera me tabori ya kobo na+M
 3PL 3PL 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.POSS place+F ADJU arrive AUX
 pron pron pron pron pron pn prt vi aux

yayaha toharematamonaka
 ya- yaha to- ha -ra -himata -mona -ka
 DUP be kind CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'When he arrived at their village, he wasn't kind.'

495 *Me fanawi nahabihi mera nahabi mera nahabi*
 me fanawi na- ahaba+M , mera na- ahaba+M , mera na- ahaba.NOM
 women CAUS die 3PL.O CAUS die 3PL.O CAUS die
 nf vt pron vt pron vt

ya kakewahe ya me one
 ya ka -kI -waha.NOM+M ya me one
 ADJU go/come coming change ADJU 3PL other+F
 prt vi prt pron adj

wasikitase ya me one nahabitasa na
 wasi -kI -tasa.NOM+M ya me one na- ahaba -tasa.LIST , na
 find coming again ADJU 3PL other+F CAUS die again AUX
 vt prt pron adj vt aux

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

'He killed the women. He killed people. When he came again and came upon others, he killed the others, too.'

496 *Faya kake kaki ya me ni ya kobo*
 faya ka -kI ka -kI.NOM ya me ni ya kobo
 so go/come coming go/come coming ADJU 3PL to ADJU arrive
 conj vi vi prt pron prt prt vi

BAHI (2)

naki **ya** , **me** **ni** **ya** **kobo** **nake** , **kobo**
na -kI.NOM ya , me ni ya kobo na -kI , kobo
AUX coming ADJU 3PL to ADJU arrive AUX coming arrive
aux prt pron prt prt vi aux coming vi

nakematamonaka , **me** **ni** **ya** .
na -kI -himata -mona -ka , me ni ya
AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL to ADJU
aux pron prt prt pron prt prt

'He came to them. He arrived where they were.'¹⁰³

497 **Ami** , **ami** **oka** **oka** **taokana** ,
ami , ami o- ka o- ka taokana ,
mother mother 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS shotgun
nf nf prt prt prt nf

oko **taokana** **tekitimakiya**
o- ka taokana ti- to- ka- iti -makI -yahi
1SG.POSS POSS shotgun 2SG.S away COMIT take out following DIST.IMP+F
prt nf vt

"Mother, get my gun again."

498 **Taokana** **winahara** **awi** **hawine** **ya** .
taokana wina -hara awi hawine ya
shotgun hang IP.E+F tapir trail+M ADJU
nf vi nm pn prt

"My gun is suspended at the tapir's trail."

499 **Taokana** **winarake** **ahi**
taokana wina -hara -ke ahi
shotgun hang IP.E+F DECL+F there
nf vi dem

"The gun is suspended there."

500 **Ota** **tokibonehe**
otaa to- ka.NOM+F -bone -he
1EX.S away go/come INT+F DUP
pron vi

"We are going out in the forest."

501 **Ota** **tokibonehe**
otaa to- ka.NOM+F -bone -he
1EX.S away go/come INT+F DUP
pron vi

"We are going out."

502 **Me** **tokemetemoneke** **me** **nafi** **ahi**
me to- ka -hemete -mone -ke me nafi ahi
3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS all then
pron vi pron pn dem

'They went out, all of them.'

503 **Aw** **ahabe** **ya** **awi** **bobi** , **tiya**
awi ahaba.NOM+M ya awi bobi.LIST , ti- na -yahi
tapir die ADJU tapir slit 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F
nm vi prt nm vt aux

¹⁰³ Amoro says something at the beginning.

BAHI (2)

ami , *ota* *tokabone* *ota* .
ami , otaa to- ka -habone otaa .
mother 1EX.S away go/come INT+F 1EX.S
nf pron vi pron
"'If a tapir dies, you cut it up, Mother. We are going out.'"

504 *Me* *nafi* *tokemetemoneke* .
me nafi to- ka -hemete -mone -ke
3PL.POSS all away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron pn vi
'They all went out.'

505 *Me* *nafi* *toka* , *ee* *iyawa* *siraha*
me nafi to- ka+F , ee iyawa siraha+F
3PL.POSS all away go/come (pause) manioc mash toast
pron pn vi interj nf vt
iyawa *kaba* *ita* , *Aki* , *aki* *himata*
iyawa kaba+F ita+F , aki , aki himata
manioc mash eat sit grandmother grandmother what?
nf vt vi nf nf interrog
tikaba ?
ti- kaba
2SG.S eat
vt
'They all went out. She toasted some manioc mash and was sitting on the ground eating it. "Grandma, what are you eating?"'

506 *Iyawa* *okobine* *oni* *iyawa* .
iyawa o- kaba -ne o- ni iyawa
manioc mash 1SG.S eat CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F manioc mash
nf vt prt nf
"'I'm eating manioc mash.'"

507 *Himata* *kakawi* *tiri* ?
himata ka- kawi ti- na -ri
what? DUP eat with something 2SG.S AUX CQ+F
interrog vt aux
"'What are you eating with it?"'

508 *Bani* , *bani* *kakawi* *one* *oni*
bani , bani ka- kawi o- na -ne o- ni
animal animal DUP eat with something 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
nm nm vt aux prt
okatao *bani* *me* *fora* *hinani* *mati* .
okatao bani me fora hinani mati
my son animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun OC AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O
nm nm pron vt aux pron
"'Meat. I'm eating game that my son killed with his blowgun.'"

509 *Okatao* *bani* *me* *fora* *hinani* *me*
okatao bani me fora hinani me
my son animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun OC AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O
nm nm pron vt aux pron
kakawi *one* *oni* , *okobari*
ka- kawi o- na -ne o- ni , o- kaba -haari
DUP eat with something 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F 1SG.S eat IP.E+M
vt aux prt vt

BAHI (2)

ati nemetemoneke

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

'I'm eating the game that my son killed with his blowgun. I ate one animal,' she said.'

510 **Faya he noki ne , tafi ahaba , tafi ahaba**
faya hee noki na+M , tafa.NFIN ahaba+F , tafa.NFIN ahaba+F
so 3SG.O wait for AUX eat end eat end
conj pron vt aux vi vi vi vi

ra nabowematamonaka

ra na- aboha -himata -mona -ka
O CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
prt vt

'He waited for her. He killed her when she was done eating.'

511 **Fa fawabone , fa fawabone fa kakitia ra**
faha fawa -habone , faha fawa -habone faha ka- iti+F ra
water drink INT+F water drink INT+F water COMIT pick up O
nf vt nf vt nf vt prt

nabowematamonane

na- aboha -himata -mona -ne
CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
vt

'When she picked up a bowl of water to drink, he killed her.'

512 **Hinabowa , faya ati hiyawe toke taokana**
hi- na- aboha+F , faya ati hiyawa+M to- ka+M taokana
OC CAUS die so voice have an idea away go/come shotgun
vt conj pn vi vi nf

towakitiwite kame , kame taokana
to- ka- iti -witI ka -ma+M , ka -ma+M , taokana
away COMIT take out out go/come back go/come back shotgun
vt vi vi nf

basa toname , taokana basa
basa to- na -ma+M , taokana basa
protrude CH AUX back shotgun protrude
vi aux nf vi

tonamematamonaka

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

'He killed her. Then he had an idea. He went into the forest, and got the gun. He came back and stuck the gun under the roof.'

513 **Basa hinama , yimawa yimawa soba nake**
basa hi- to- na -ma+F , yimawa yimawa soba na -kI
protrude OC CH AUX back knife knife pull out AUX coming
vi aux nf nf vt aux

yimawa , yohari , haha , yohari bobi hikasa
yimawa , yoha -ri , haaha , yoha -ri bobi hi- ka- na -kosa+F
knife breast PN this+F breast PN slit OC COMIT AUX middle
nf pn dem pn vt aux

yohari bobi hikasa , awi nima
yoha -ri bobi hi- ka- na -kosa+F , awi nima
breast PN slit OC COMIT AUX middle tapir like
pn vt aux nm prt

BAHI (2)

'He stuck it under the roof. He pulled out a knife, and cut off her breasts, like a tapir.'

514 *Awī nima nemetemoneke*
 awi nima na -hemete -mone -ke
 tapir like AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm prt aux

'She was like a tapir.'

515 *Tati he hiwaha tati fare awi tati ya tati*
 tati hee hi- na -waha+F tati fare awi tati ya tati
 head heat OC AUX change head same+M tapir head ADJU head
 pn vt aux pn dem nm pn prt pn

tohemetemonehe tati he hiwaharo
 to- ha -hemete -mone -he tati hee hi- na -waha -haaro
 CH be FP.N+F REP+F DUP head heat OC AUX change IP.E+F
 vc pn vt aux

'He burned her hair. Her head was just like the head of a tapir, after he burned her hair.'

516 *Faya bobi hinemetemoneke*
 faya bobi hi- na -hemete -mone -ke
 so slit OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj vt aux

'Then he cut her in pieces.'

517 *Bobi hina tame tame biti me*
 bobi hi- na+F tame tame biti me
 slit OC AUX foot+F foot+F 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S
 vt aux pn pn nm pron

hiwaremetemone
 hi- awa -ra -hemete -mone
 OC see NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 vt

'He cut her up. Her sons didn't see her legs.'

518 *Tame kaforiemetemone ha ya ahi*
 tame ka- forI -hemete -mone haa ya ahi
 foot+F COMIT lie on top FP.N+F REP+F DEM ADJU there
 pn vi dem prt dem

'Her legs were lying over on the other side.'

519 *Tame biti me hiwara bobi hina*
 tame biti me hi- awa -ra+F bobi hi- na+F
 foot+F 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S OC see NEG slit OC AUX
 pn nm pron vt vt aux

hikawaremetemoneke
 hi- ka- waa -rI -hemete -mone -ke
 OC COMIT cook raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'Her sons didn't see her legs. He cut her up, and cooked her.'

520 *Hikaware hikaware wiro*
 hi- ka- waa -rI hi- ka- waa -rI wiro
 OC COMIT cook raised surface OC COMIT cook raised surface boil
 vt vt vi

BAHI (2)

526 *Oof* , *kawari* *wiro* *kane*
 oof ka- waa -rI+M wirow ka- na+M
 hoo COMIT cook raised surface boil COMIT AUX
 interj result vi aux

kawari *rama* *ahi*
 ka- waa -rI+M rama ahi
 COMIT cook raised surface unusual there
 result prt dem

"Hoo, it has been cooked. It has boiled and has been cooked."

527 *Me* *kama* *me* *wanamemetemoneke*
 me ka -ma+F me wana -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S start right away back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi pron vi

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

"They came back, and started in right away."

528 *Ami* *awi* ?
 ami awi
 mother tapir
 nf nm

"Mother, is it tapir?"

529 *Ee* *awi* *amane*
 ee awi ama -ne
 yes tapir be BKG+M
 interj nm vc

"Yes, it's a tapir."

530 *Aw* *bobi* *one* , *tabasi* *one* *oni*
 awi bobo o- na+M , tabasi o- na -ne o- ni
 tapir slit 1SG.S AUX roast on grill 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 nm vt aux vt aux prt

"I cut up the tapir, and I am roasting it."

531 *Okoware* *kawari* *fari*
 o- ka- waa -rI ka- waa -rI+M faari
 1SG.S COMIT cook raised surface COMIT cook raised surface that one+M
 vt result dem

kirabote *amararo* , *fara* *Bahi* , *Bai* , *Bai*
 kirabote ama -ra -haaro , fara Bahi , bahi , Bahi
 old woman be NEG IP.E+F same+F (man's name) sun (man's name)
 nf vc dem npropm nm npropm

wine *ati* *nematamona*
 wina+M ati na -himata -mona
 lie in hammock say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi vt aux

"I boiled it, and it is boiled there," Bahi said. It was not an old woman, it was Bahi."

532 *Faya* , *Ami* *iyawara* ?
 faya ami iyawa -ra
 so mother manioc mash NPQ
 conj nf nf

BAHI (2)

540 *Kisare* , *Ami* *tikabe* ?
 ka -risa -ra+M , ami ti- kaba+M
 go/come down NEG mother 2SG.S eat
 vi nf vt

'He didn't get out of the hammock. "Mother, did you eat some?"'

541 *Okobarekana*
 o- kaba -hare -ka -na
 1SG.S eat IP.E+M DECL+M IRR+M
 vt

"I have already eaten some."

542 *Owa* *nakare* *owinine* *oni* ,
 owa na- akara+M o- wina -ne o- ni
 1SG.O CAUS be satiated 1SG.S lie in hammock CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 pron vt vi prt

faya , *mati* *aawa* *rari* *ahi* , *Bai*
 faya mati a- awa na -ra -haari ahi , Bai
 so 3SG.POSS.mother DUP see AUX NEG IP.E+M then (man's name)
 conj nf vt aux dem npropm

aawa *rari*
 a- awa na -ra -haari
 DUP see AUX NEG IP.E+M
 vt aux

"It satisfied me, and I am lying in the hammock." He didn't see that his "mother" was Bahi.'

543 *Tafehimatamonaka*
 tafa -himata -mona -ka
 eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He ate.'

544 *Tafematamonaka*
 tafa -himata -mona -ka
 eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He ate.'

545 *Tafematamona*
 tafa -himata -mona
 wrap FP.N+M REP+M
 vt

'He ate.'

546 *Awi* *kabi* *amosaka*
 awi kaba.NFIN amosa -ka
 tapir eat be good DECL+M
 nm result vi

"The tapir is good to eat."

547 *Watakamako* *kabi* *amosaka*
 wataka -mako kaba.NFIN amosa -ka
 be fatty for this reason+M eat be good DECL+M
 vi result vi

"It's good to eat, because it's fatty."

BAHI (2)

itari , **itarimatamonaka**
 ita -rI+M , ita -rI -himata -mona -ka
 sit raised surface sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi
 'It was dark. He got out of the hammock and sat down.'

555 **Itari** , **Ami**
 ita -rI+M , ami
 sit raised surface mother
 vi nf
 'He was sitting. "Mother."'

556 **Haa** ?
 haa
 huh?
 interj
 "'What?'"

557 **Ami** **tiwinamahi**
 ami ti- to- wina -ma -hi
 mother 2SG.S away lie in hammock back IMP+F
 nf vi
 "'Mother, go back into your hammock.'"

558 **Owinamahaba** **sina** **hisi**
 o- to- wina -ma -haba sina hisi
 1SG.S away lie in hammock back FUT+F snuff sniff
 vi nf vt

omatabone **owitarine** **oni**
 o- na -mata -habone o- ita -rI -ne o- ni
 1SG.S AUX short time INT+F 1SG.S sit raised surface CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 aux vi prt
 "'I will go back to my hammock, but I am sitting here so that I can take snuff for a while.'"

559 **Sina** **hisi** **omatabone** **oni**
 sina hisi o- na -mata -habone o- ni
 snuff sniff 1SG.S AUX short time INT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 nf vt aux prt
 "'I'm going to take snuff for a while.'"

560 **Faya** **itari** , **Tika** **amo** **ni** **tai**
 faya ita -rI+M , ti- ka amo na.NFIN tai
 so sit raised surface 2SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX be ahead
 conj vi prt vi aux vi

toa **tiwakara** **tiwa** **tika** , **awibona**
 to- ha ti- akara+F tiwa ti- ka , awi -bona
 away AUX 2SG.S be satiated 2SG.S 2SG.POSS POSS tapir INT+M
 aux vi pron prt nm

okoware **owa**
 o- ka- waa -rI owa
 1SG.S COMIT cook raised surface 1SG.S
 vt pron

'He was sitting there. "You go to sleep first, because you are full, while I cook the tapir for you.'"

BAHI (2)

561 *Tika* *amo* *ni* *tai* *toha* *oka* *amo*
 ti- ka amo na.NFIN tai to- ha+F o- ka amo
 2SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX be ahead away AUX 1SG.POSS POSS sleep
 prt vi aux vi aux prt vi

ni *yotoabana* *oni*
 na.NFIN yoto -habana o- ni
 AUX follow FUT+F 1SG.POSS BKG+F
 aux vi prt

"After you go to sleep first, I will sleep afterward."

562 *Faya* , *faya* *itarimatamonaka*
 faya faya ita -rI -himata -mona -ka
 so so sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj conj vi

'So he sat there.'

563 *Itari* , *sina* *hisi* *ne* , *sina* *hisi* *ne*
 ita -rI+M , sina hisi na+M , sina hisi na+M
 sit raised surface snuff sniff AUX snuff sniff AUX
 vi nf vt aux nf vt aux

itari , *sina* *hisi* *ne* *itari* ,
 ita -rI+M , sina hisi na+M ita -rI+M ,
 sit raised surface snuff sniff AUX sit raised surface
 vi nf vt aux vi

itarimatamonane
 ita -rI -himata -mona -ne
 sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi

'He sat taking snuff.'

564 *Itari* *kawahe* , *faya* *tonoko*
 i- ita -rI ka- na -waha+M , faya to- noko
 DUP sit raised surface COMIT AUX change so CH be awake
 pn aux conj vi

mati *awakabote* *ne* , *tonoko* *amo*
 mati awa -kabote na+M , to- noko amo
 3SG.POSS.mother see quickly AUX CH be awake sleep
 nf vt aux vi vi

nisehinaha
 na -risa -hina -ha
 AUX down IRR+M DUP
 aux

'He sat there a while longer. He was watching his mother. He was awake, but he was getting sleepy.'

565 *Amo* *nisematamonaka*
 amo na -risa -himata -mona -ka
 sleep AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'He was sleepy.'

566 *Amo* *nise* , *sina* *yoti* *si* *nise* *sina*
 amo na -risa+M , sina yoti sii na -risa+M sina
 sleep AUX down snuff mucus+F blow out AUX down snuff
 vi aux nf pn vt aux nf

BAHI (2)

573 **Amo tinahi**

amo ti- na -hi
sleep 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
vi aux

"Go to sleep."

574 **Mi omateya**

mii o- na -mate -ya
defecate 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F now
vi aux

"I'm going to defecate."

575 **Tokematamonaka**

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

'He went.'

576 **Toke**

to- ka+M
away go/come
vi

kamarebanoho

ka -ma -ra -hiba -no -ho
go/come back NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
vi

tokebana

to- ka -hibana
away go/come FUT+M
vi

'He went. He didn't come back. He went away.'

577 **Kamarematamonane**

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

'He didn't come back.'

578 **Kamarematamonane**

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

'He didn't come back.'

579 **Tokehimatamonane**

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

'He went away.'

580 **Toke**

to- ka+M
away go/come
vi

me

me 3PL.S
pron

amo

amo sleep
vi

na

na+F AUX
aux

me

me 3PL.S
pron

me

me 3PL.S
pron

kake

ka -kI
go/come coming
vi

toke

to- ka+M
away go/come
vi

Okomi

o- ka ami
1SG.POSS POSS mother
nf

owa

owa 1SG.O
pron

nakabeno

na- kaba -hino
CAUS eat IP.N+M
vt

fawa

fawa
disappear
vi

nane

na.CONT+M -ne
AUX BKG+M
aux

BAHI (2)

586 *Ee*
 ee
 (expression of surprise)
 interj

"Hey."

587 *Aa*
 aa
 aha
 interj

"Aha."

588 *Bite* *haha* *narawa* , *bite* *haha*
 bite haahaa na -rawa+F , bite haahaa
 3SG.POSS.daughter laugh AUX F.PL 3SG.POSS.daughter laugh
 nf vi aux nf vi

narawemetemoneni

na -rawa -hemete -mone -ni
 AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F

aux

'Her daughters laughed.'

589 *Haha* *narawa* , *kakematamonaka*
 haaha na -rawa+F , ka -kI -himata -mona -ka
 this+F AUX F.PL go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 dem aux vi

'As they laughed, he came.'

590 *Kake* , *Aki*
 ka -kI , aki
 go/come coming grandmother
 vi nf

'He came. "Grandma."'

591 *Haa* ?
 haa
 huh?
 interj

"Huh?"

592 *Aki* *yiwa* *kero* *tine* *ti* ?
 aki yiwa kero ti- na -ne ti-
 grandmother pot make with circular motion 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S
 nf nf vt aux prt

"Grandma, are you making a pot?"

593 *Yiwa* *kero* *one* *oni* ,
 yiwa kero o- na -ne o- ni
 pot make with circular motion 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 nf vt aux prt

oka *iyawa* *sisirabonehe*
 o- ka iyawa si- sira -bone -he
 1SG.POSS POSS manioc mash DUP toast INT+F DUP
 prt nf pn

"I'm making a pot to toast manioc mash on."

BAHI (2)

594 *Aa* , *hiya* *kekero* *obe*
 aa , hiya ke- kero o- na -be
 oh yes come on DUP make with circular motion 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 interj interj vt aux

aki
 aki
 grandmother
 nf

"I see. Here, let me smooth it."

595 *Tani* *owa* *tekawa* *tani* *hiba*
 tani owa ti- ka- kawa tani hiba
 instrument 1SG.O 2SG.S COMIT give something to instrument wait
 pn pron vt pn interj

"Give me the smoother, wait."¹⁰⁶

596 *Oka* *yiwa* *kekero* *raba*
 o- ka yiwa ke- kero na -raba
 1SG.POSS POSS pot DUP make with circular motion AUX a bit
 prt nf vt aux

tinahi *ai*
 ti- na -hi ahi
 2SG.S AUX IMP+F then
 aux dem

"Don't smooth my pot too hard."

597 *Aa* *katoma* *hiri* *neba* *yiwa* *kero*
 aa katoma hiri na -hiba yiwa kero
 (pause) violent act make AUX FUT+M pot make with circular motion
 interj nf vt aux nf vt

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

'He started to smooth the pot, and he was about to do it violently.'

598 *Yiwa* *howe* *nematamonaka* *ahi* *sio*
 yiwa howe na -himata -mona -ka ahi sio
 pot wipe AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then (sound of scraping)
 nf vt aux dem sound

sio
 sio
 (sound of scraping)
 sound

'He was smoothing the pot, "sio, sio".'

599 *Yiwa* *yara* *kini*
 yiwa yara ka- na -ni
 pot split COMIT AUX BKG+F
 nf vi aux

'The pot split open.'

600 *Yiwa* *yara* *kini*
 yiwa yara ka- na -ni
 pot split COMIT AUX BKG+F
 nf vi aux

106 The smoother would be a hard shell of a *hasabono* coconut, or a *monaki* shellfish shell.

BAHI (2)

mera waka tonamake , **mera**
 mera waka to- na -makI , mera
 3PL.O kill away AUX following 3PL.O
 pron vt aux pron

tonahiyamakematamonaka
 to- na- hiya -makI -himata -mona -ka
 CH CAUS be different following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'The ones who saw their mother being killed went running away. He went running after them and killed them, and changed them into something else, too.'

608 **Faya kame** , **kamematamonaka**
 faya ka -ma+M , ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 so go/come back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi vi

'He came back.'

609 **Kame** , **Oof**
 ka -ma+M , oof
 go/come back hoo
 vi interj

'He came back. "Hoo."'

610 **Faya kake** **kakematamonaka**
 faya ka -kI ka -kI -himata -mona -ka
 so go/come coming go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi vi

'He came.'

611 **Kake** , **kake** **ni ya karaboa karaboa** , **ati**
 ka -kI , ka -kI ni ya karaboha karaboha , ati
 go/come coming go/come coming to ADJU blowgun blowgun voice
 vi vi prt prt nf nf pn

saihemetemone
 sai -hemete -mone
 be heard FP.N+F REP+F
 vi

'He came. As he came, the sound of a blowgun could be heard.'

612 **Karaboa yama neno** **karaboa** , **karaboa yama neno**
 karaboha yama na -hino karaboha , karaboha yama na -hino
 blowgun work on AUX IP.N+M blowgun blowgun work on AUX IP.N+M
 nf vt aux nf nf vt aux

karaboa kawa neno , **ati sai hii**
 karaboha kawa na -hino , ati sai.LIST hii
 blowgun thrust AUX IP.N+M voice be heard (sound of friction)
 nf vt aux pn vi sound

hii , **hii** **hii**
 hii , hii hii
 (sound of friction) (sound of friction) (sound of friction)
 sound sound sound

'He was working on a blowgun. Its sound could be heard, "Hii, hii, hii."'

613 **Mama tona** **nematamonaka** **ahi**
 ma- maa to- na na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 DUP stop CH AUX AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi aux dem

BAHI (2)

- 623 *Kakawa* *obeya*
ka- kawa o- na -be -ya
DUP thrust 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
vt aux
"Let me clean it a while."
- 624 *Kakawa* *tina* , *kakawa* *raba* *rebana* *ahi*
ka- kawa ti- na , ka- kawa na -raba na -ra -hibana ahi
DUP thrust 2SG.S AUX DUP thrust AUX a bit AUX NEG FUT+M then
vt aux vt aux aux dem
- "Go ahead and clean it a while." He didn't clean it gently.'
- 625 *Karaboa* *kawa* *nematamona* *kasiro* *ya*
karaboha kawa na -himata -mona kasiro ya
blowgun thrust AUX FP.N+M REP+M a lot ADJU
nf vt aux nf prt
- 'He cleaned the blowgun violently.'
- 626 *Yama* *kawa* *nematamona*
yama kawa na -himata -mona
thing thrust AUX FP.N+M REP+M
nf vt aux
- 'He was cleaning it.'
- 627 *Oko* *karaboa* , *awe* *baka*
o- ka karaboha , awe baka
1SG.POSS POSS blowgun wood+F break
prt nf pn vt
- tinihariyahi*
ti- to- niha- ha -ra -yahi
2SG.S CH CAUS AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F
aux
" Don't break the router for my blowgun."
- 628 *Yama* *kawa* *nematamonaka* *karaboa* , *baka*
yama kawa na -himata -mona -ka karaboha , baka
thing thrust AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M blowgun break
nf vt aux nf vt
- tonabana* *ahi* , *kawa* *raba* *hira* *rama* *ahi*
to- na -habana ahi , kawa na -raba hi- na -ra+F rama ahi
CH AUX FUT+F then thrust AUX a bit OC AUX NEG unusual then
vi dem vt aux aux prt dem
- taakaa*
taakaa
(sound of breaking)
sound
'He thrust the stick into the blowgun, and it broke, because he wasn't thrusting gently.'
- 629 *Ooo* , *iti* *karaboa* *baka* *toni*
ooo , iti karaboha baka to- na.NOM+F
oh no grandfather blowgun break CH AUX
interj nm nf vt aux
- "Oh no, Grandpa the blowgun broke."

BAHI (2)

638 *Faya* , *yana* *totase* *hike* *ya* , *me* *one*
 faya , yana to- na -tasa+M hike ya , me one
 so start CH AUX again far ADJU 3PL other+F
 conj vi aux nf prt pron adj
towasiwiti *me* *one* *nahabitase* , *mera* , *mera*
 to- wasi -witI+M me one na- ahaba -tasa+M , mera , mera
 away find out 3PL other+F CAUS die again 3PL.O 3PL.O
 vt pron adj vt pron pron

nahabitase matamonaka

na- ahaba -tasa -himata -mona -ka
 CAUS die again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'He left again. In other places far away he came upon other people and killed them, too.'

639 *Mera* *nahabi* , *mera* *tonahiyematamonaka*
 mera na- ahaba+M , mera to- na- hiya -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.O CAUS die 3PL.O CH CAUS be different FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt pron vt

me nafi

me nafi
 3PL.POSS all
 pron pn

'He killed them, and turned them into animals, all of them.'

640 *Mera* *waka* *niha* , *mera* *were*
 mera waka niha- na.LIST , mera were
 3PL.O kill CAUS AUX 3PL.O throw
 pron vt aux pron vt

nifematamonaka

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

'He finished killed them, and threw them in the water.'

641 *Mera* *tonahiye* , *faya* *hinakaki* ,
 mera to- na- hiya+M , faya hinaka aki ,
 3PL.O CH CAUS be different so 3SG.POSS grandmother
 pron vt conj nf

watamatamona

fahi
 wata -himata -mona fahi
 catch FP.N+M REP+M then
 vt dem

'He turned them into animals. He grabbed his grandmother.'

642 *Hinakaki* *wate* *hinakaki* , *mani* *aya* *baka*
 hinaka aki wata+M hinaka aki , mani aya baka
 3SG.POSS grandmother catch 3SG.POSS grandmother arm+F this break
 nf vt nf pn dem vt

hinakosaha

mani *yoko* *hinemetemone* *yotohoti* *ya*
 hi- na -kosa+F , mani yoko hi- to- na -hemete -mone yotohoti ya
 OC AUX middle arm+F push OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F rear part ADJU
 aux pn vt aux pn prt

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

'He grabbed his grandmother, and after he broke off her arm, he stuffed her arm into her anus.'

BAHI (2)

643 *Mani yoko hina koro hifemetemone*
 mani yoko hi- to- na+F koro hi- na -fI -hemete -mone
 arm+F push OC CH AUX throw OC AUX water FP.N+F REP+F
 pn vt aux vt aux

'He stuffed her arm in, and threw her in the water.'

644 *Afametemone amake boto*
 afa -mete -mone ama -ke boto
 this+F FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F dolphin
 dem vc nf

hinakakimetemonehe

hinaka aki -mete -mone -he
 3SG.POSS grandmother FP.N+F REP+F DUP
 nf

'She was the dolphin, his grandmother.'

645 *Boto boto tihateba tiwa koro*
 boto boto ti- to- ha -tee -haba tiwa koro
 dolphin dolphin 2SG.S CH be HAB FUT+F 2SG.O throw
 nf nf vc pron vt

ofine

o- na -fI -ne o-
 1SG.S AUX water CONT+F 1SG.S
 aux prt

'I'm throwing you in the water, so you can be the dolphin.'

646 *Faya yana totase mera tonahiye yana*
 faya yana to- na -tasa+M mera to- na- hiya+M yana
 so start CH AUX again 3PL.O CH CAUS be different start
 conj vi aux pron vt vi

ne tokatase

na+M to- ka -tasa+M
 AUX away go/come again
 aux vi

toke

to- ka+M
 away go/come
 vi

toke

to- ka+M
 away go/come
 vi

hawa

hawa
 palm sp
 nf

hawa

hawa
 palm sp
 nf

me

me
 3PL
 pron

ka

ka
 POSS
 prt

abi

abi
 father
 nm

ya

ya
 ADJU
 prt

me

me
 3PL.S
 pron

tabaha

taba+F
 be together
 vi

mera

mera
 3PL.O
 pron

towasiwiti

to- wasi -witI+M
 away find out
 vt

mera

mera
 3PL.O
 pron

nofematamona

nofa -himata -mona
 like FP.N+M REP+M
 vt

fahi

fahi
 then
 dem

'He left again. After he turned them into animals, he left and went again. He came upon them as they were with their father. He liked them.'

647 *Hawa ka ne hawa ka ne Bai*
 hawa kaa na+M hawa kaa na+M Bai
 palm sp chop AUX palm sp chop AUX (man's name)
 nf vt aux nf vt aux npropm

yebe

yebe
 (sound of shocking)
 sound

hikanematamona

hi- ka- na -himata -mona
 OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 aux

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

yebe

yebe
 shock
 vi

'As he was cutting down the *hawa* palm, Bai shocked him, "yebe".'

BAHI (2)

648 *Ee*
 ee
 (expression of surprise)
 interj
 "Hey."

649 *Abi* , *abi*
 abi , abi
 father father
 nm nm
 "Father."

650 *Haa* ?
 haa
 huh?
 interj
 "Huh?"

651 *Abi* *himata* *amariya* ?
 abi himata ama -ri -ya
 father what? be CQ+F now
 nm interrog vc
 "Father, what was that?"

652 *Yama* *owa* *yebe* *kanake* *ahi*
 yama owa yebe ka- na -ke ahi
 thing 1SG.O shock COMIT AUX DECL+F then
 nf pron vi aux dem
 "Something shocked me."

653 *Yama* *tai* *tikana* *awineni*
 yama tai ti- ka- na+F awine -ni
 thing step on 2SG.S COMIT AUX seem+F BKG+F
 nf vt aux sec
 "You must have stepped on something."

654 *Yama* *aawa* *tinahi*
 yama a- awa ti- na -hi
 thing DUP see 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 nf vt aux
 "Look at it."

655 *Yama* *tai* *tikana* *awineni* *yama*
 yama tai ti- ka- na+F awine -ni yama
 thing step on 2SG.S COMIT AUX seem+F BKG+F thing
 nf vt aux sec nf
 "You must have stepped on something."

656 *Yama* *owa* *yebe* *kanake* *ahi*
 yama owa yebe ka- na -ke ahi
 thing 1SG.O shock COMIT AUX DECL+F then
 nf pron vi aux dem
 "Something shocked me."

BAHI (2)

657 *Yama amosake*

yama amosa -ke
thing be good DECL+F
nf vi

"There isn't anything."

658 *Yama owa yebe kanake*

yama owa yebe ka- na -ke
thing 1SG.O shock COMIT AUX DECL+F
nf pron vi aux

"Something shocked me."

659 *Bite kakamakerawa yama ki na*
bite ka- ka -makI -rawa+F yama kii na+F
3SG.POSS.daughter COMIT go/come following F.PL thing look at AUX
nf vi nf vt aux

ni ya tasi nakematamona
ni ya tasi na -kI -himata -mona
to ADJU (sound of appearing) AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M
prt prt sound aux

'His daughters came to him and looked around. He appeared to them.'

660 *Tasi , Himata amari ?*
tasi , himata ama -ri
(sound of appearing) what? be CQ+F
sound interrog vc

"Tasi." "What was that?"

661 *Oof , himata ka ?*
oof , himata kaa
hoo what? chop
interj interrog vt

"Whew, what are you chopping down?"

662 *Hawa ka okine o*
hawa ka o- ka- na -ne o-
palm sp POSS 1SG.S COMIT AUX CONT+F 1SG.S
nf prt aux prt

"I'm chopping down a *hawa* palm with fruits."

663 *Hawa oka , hawa ka okine yibote ka hinofene*
hawa o- ka o- ka yibote kaa hinofene
palm sp 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS wife chop manioc juice
nf prt prt nf vt nm

tehenebona , hawa ka okine oke
tehene -bona , hawa kaa o- ka- na -ne o- ke
additive+M INT+M palm sp chop 1SG.S COMIT AUX CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
pn nf vt aux prt

"I am cutting down a *hawa* palm with fruits to mix with my wife's manioc juice."

664 *Bari owa tekawa*
bari owa ti- ka- kawa
ax 1SG.O 2SG.S COMIT give something to
nf pron vt

"Give me the ax."

BAHI (2)

665 **Bari ka oribeya**
 bari ka o- na -rI -be -ya
 ax POSS 1SG.S AUX raised surface IMMED+F now
 nf prt aux

"I will chop on the other side."

666 **Kokori ka bari bete towiti hawa bari**
 kokori kaa bari bete to- na -witI+M hawa bari
 3SG.POSS.father-in-law chop ax pull away AUX out palm sp ax
 nm vt nf vt aux nf nf

ka narematamona
 kaa na -rI -himata -mona
 chop AUX raised surface FP.N+M REP+M
 vt aux

'He pulled the ax away from his father-in-law, and chopped on the other side of the *hawa* palm.'

667 **Taakai taakai taakai**
 taakai taakai taakai
 (sound of chopping) (sound of chopping) (sound of chopping)
 sound sound sound

taakai hawa , baka tona
 taakai hawa baka to- na+F
 (sound of chopping) palm sp break CH AUX
 sound nf vt aux

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

"Taakai, taakai." The *hawa* palm broke, and fell.'

668 **Hima , ka raba timakoni tike**
 hima kaa na -raba ti- na -makoni ti- ke
 let's go chop AUX a bit 2SG.S AUX for this reason+F 2SG.S DECL+F
 interj vt aux aux prt

"There, why didn't you chop hard?"

669 **Bari , bari bari koro nifematamona**
 bari bari bari koro na -fI -himata -mona
 ax ax ax throw AUX water FP.N+M REP+M
 nf nf nf vt aux

'He threw the ax in the water.'

670 **Okobi ka bari koro tifine**
 o- ka abi ka bari koro ti- na -fI -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS father POSS ax throw 2SG.S AUX water CONT+F
 nm prt nf vt aux

tini
 ti- ni
 2SG.S BKG+F
 prt

"You threw my father's ax in the water."

671 **Bari bokarake osomawitiharo**
 bari boka -hara -ke o- to- soma -witI -haaro
 ax enter water IP.E+F DECL+F 1SG.S away let go out IP.E+F
 nf vi vt

"The ax went in the water because I accidentally let it go."

BAHI (2)

672 **Osomawitiha** **bokarake**
 o- to- soma -witI+F boka -hara -ke
 1SG.S away let go out enter water IP.E+F DECL+F
 vt vi

"I accidentally let it go, and it went in the water."

673 **Hine hofake**
 hine hofa -ke
 only be in water DECL+F
 pron vi

"Let it be in the water."

674 **Hitimakeba** **awine**
 hi- to- iti -makI -haba awine
 OC away take out following FUT+F seem+F
 vt sec

"I guess he will get it out."

675 **Hitimakebana**
 hi- to- iti -makI -habana
 OC away take out following FUT+F
 vt

"He will get it out."

676 **Faya** , **hawa** **bite** **te** **na** **Himata** **aba**
 faya , hawa bite tee na+F himata aba
 so palm sp 3SG.POSS.daughter put inside AUX what? fish
 conj nf nf vt aux interrog nm
me **amari** **ha** ?
 me ama -ri haa
 3PL.S be CQ+F DEM
 pron vc dem

'His daughter was putting the *hawa* fruits in the basket. "What fish are those?'"

677 **Ote** **yowarawimetemone** **ote** **isiri** **ya** **ahi**
 ote yowa -rawa.NOM+F -mete -mone ote ote isiri ya ahi
 fish sp reach F.PL FP.N+F REP+F fish sp basket ADJU then
 nm vi nm nf prt dem

'There were *ote* fish up to the top of the basket.'

678 **Ote** , **me** **waka** **nenono** **ote** **me** ,
 ote me waka na -hino ote me
 fish sp 3PL.O kill AUX IP.N+M fish sp 3PL.S
 nm pron vt aux nm pron

wehemetemoneke **ahi**
 waa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 stand FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

'They had caught *ote* fish, and the basket full of the *ote* fish was on the ground.'

679 **Himata** **aba** **me** **amari** ?
 himata aba me ama -ri
 what? fish 3PL.S be CQ+F
 interrog nm pron vc

"What fish are those?"

BAHI (2)

680 **Ote** **me** **amani** **ote** **mati**
 ote me ama -ni ote mati
 fish sp 3PL.S SEC BKG+F fish sp 3PL
 nm pron sec nm pron

"They are *ote* fish."

681 **Ote** **me** **kabibeya**
 ote me kaba -be -ya
 fish sp 3PL.S eat IMMED+F now
 nm pron result

"The *ote* fish should be eaten."

682 **Me** **kabi** **etoa** **me** **amake**
 me kaba.NFIN eheto+F me ama -ke
 3PL.S eat be good 3PL.POSS SEC DECL+F
 pron result vi pron sec

"They are good to eat."

683 **Me** **kabibe**
 me kaba -be
 3PL.S eat IMMED+F
 pron result

"They should be eaten."

684 **Hawa** **te** **yabayaba** **kawaha**
 hawa tee yaba- yaba ka- na -waha
 palm sp 2PL.S DUP pick up COMMIT AUX change
 nf pron vt aux

"Go ahead and finish picking up the *hawa* fruits."

685 **Hawa** **me** **yabemetemoneke** **ahi**
 hawa me yaba -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 palm sp 3PL.S pick up FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf pron vt dem

"They picked up the *hawa* fruits."

686 **Abi** , **abi** **haro**
 abi , abi haaro
 father father that one+F
 nm nm dem

"Father, here."

687 **Koko** , **oko** **hawa** **tai**
 koko , o- ka hawa tai
 father-in-law 1SG.POSS POSS palm sp be ahead
 nm prt nf vi

tikahamahi

ti- to- ka- ha -ma -hi
 2SG.S CH COMMIT AUX back IMP+F
 aux

"Father-in-law, take my *hawa* fruits on ahead."

688 **Hawa** **tai** **tikahama**
 hawa tai ti- to- ka- ha -ma
 palm sp be ahead 2SG.S CH COMMIT AUX back
 nf vi aux

BAHI (2)

695 **Tokome** , **tokome** , **Okoto** ,
 to- ka -ma+M , to- ka -ma+M , okoto ,
 away go/come back away go/come back my daughter
 vi vi nf

okotorawara ?
 okoto -rawa -ra
 my daughter F.PL NPQ
 nf

'He went back. "Where are my daughters?'"

696 **Okotorawara** **tina** **tikoto** , **Bai**
 okoto -rawa -ra ati ti- na+F tikoto , Bahi
 my daughter F.PL NPQ say 2SG.S AUX 2SG.POSS.daughter (man's name)
 nf vt nf npropm

tama **hikarawarake**
 tama hi- ka- na -rawa -hara -ke
 hold onto OC COMIT AUX F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F
 vt aux

""Where are my daughters?' you say. Bahi is holding onto your daughters.""

697 **Bai** **kasirotemona** **Bai**
 Bahi kasiro -tee -himona , Bahi
 (man's name) be perverse HAB REP+M (man's name)
 npropm vi npropm

kasirotemona **me** **hite** , **okoto** ,
 kasiro -tee -himona me ati hi- na -tee , okoto
 be perverse HAB REP+M 3PL.S say OC AUX HAB my daughter
 vi pron vt nf

kahabaneno **ati** **amane**
 ka- habana -hino ati ama -ne
 COMIT order IP.N+M voice be BKG+M
 vt pn vc

""They say Bahi is naughty, why have you handed over my daughters?""

698 **Hora** **rima** **tinahi**
 hora na -rima ti- na -hi
 complain AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux aux

""Don't complain.""

699 **Tiwati** **watarima** **nahi**
 ti- ati wata -rima na -hi
 2SG.POSS voice exist NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F
 pn vi aux

""Don't say anything.""

700 **Tiwati** **bata** **kanamakerayaho**
 ti- ati bata ka- na -makI -ra -yaho
 2SG.POSS voice surprise COMIT AUX following NEG DIST.IMP+M
 pn vt aux

""He will hear you when he comes.""

701 **Era** **tiyokoriyahi**
 era ti- yoko -ra -yahi
 1IN.O 2SG.S bring misfortune on NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron vt

BAHI (2)

"Don't cause a problem for us."

702 *Tiwati* *watarima* *nahi*
 ti- ati wata -rima na -hi
 2SG.POSS voice exist NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F
 pn vi aux

"Don't say anything."

703 *Yama* *ihi* *iti* *tamamone* *me*
 yama ihi iti.NFIN tama -hamone me
 thing victim of+F exist be many REP+F 3PL.S
 nf pn vi vd pron

hinaharake *mera* *katomari*
 ati hi- na -hara -ke mera katoma -haari
 say OC AUX IP.E+F DECL+F 3PL.O attack IP.E+M
 vt pron vt

"People say he killed a lot of people, and was violent with them."

704 *Faya* *hinakaso* *ati* *fawa* , *kokori*
 faya hinaka aso ati fawa.LIST , kokori
 so 3SG.POSS mother-in-law voice drink 3SG.POSS.father-in-law
 conj nf pn vi nm

ati *watarihi* , *faya* *mera* *ahi* *ne* , *mera*
 ati wata -rihi , faya mera ahi na+M , mera
 voice exist NEG.LIST so 3PL.O have sex with AUX 3PL.O
 pn vi conj pron vt aux pron

ahi *ne* *mera* *kakamake* *yama* *sesewehe*
 ahi na+M mera ka- ka -makI yama se- sewehe
 have sex with AUX 3PL.O COMIT go/come following thing DUP get dark
 vt aux pron vi nf vi

raba *ni* *ya* *me* *fotomake* , *kamakia*
 na -raba na.NOM+F ya me foto -makI , ka -makI+F
 AUX a bit AUX ADJU 3PL.S appear following go/come following
 aux aux prt pron vi vi

me *kobo* *namakia* *me* , *Tiwati* *watariyahi*
 me kobo na -makI+F me , ti- ati wata -ra -yahi
 3PL.S arrive AUX following 3PL.S 2SG.POSS voice exist NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron vi aux pron pn vi

'His mother-in-law stopped talking, and his father-in-law wasn't talking, either. He had sex with them, and brought them back. They appeared when it was getting dark. They came and arrived back. "Don't say anything."

705 *Era* *tiyokoriyahi*
 era ti- yoko -ra -yahi
 1IN.O 2SG.S bring misfortune on NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron vt

"Don't cause a problem for us."

706 *Tiwati* *mite* *ya* , *era*
 ti- ati mita.NOM+M ya , era
 2SG.POSS voice hear ADJU 1IN.O
 pn vt prt pron

tiyokoriyahi
 ti- yoko -ra -yahi
 2SG.S bring misfortune on NEG DIST.IMP+F
 vt

BAHI (2)

"If he hears you, you will cause a problem for us."

707 *Faya ati watara hinofene* , *hinofene kawa*
 faya ati wata -ra+F hinofene hinofene kawa
 so voice exist NEG manioc juice manioc juice thrust
 conj pn vi nm nm vt

nemetemoneke

na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'She was mashing the manioc juice in the mortar, without speaking.'

708 *Hinofene tabo na* , *hinofene tabo nemetemoneke*
 hinofene tabo na+F hinofene tabo na -hemete -mone -ke
 manioc juice mash AUX manioc juice mash AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm vt aux nm vt aux

'She mashed the manioc juice with her hands.'

709 *Hinofene tabo na hinofene* , *me fawemetemone*
 hinofene tabo na+F hinofene me fawa -hemete -mone
 manioc juice mash AUX manioc juice 3PL.S drink FP.N+F REP+F
 nm vt aux nm pron vt

fahi

fahi
 then
 dem

'She mashed the manioc juice with her hands. They drank the manioc juice.'

710 *Me kamakia aba me me kawaria*
 me ka -makI+F aba me me ka- waa -rI+F
 3PL.S go/come following fish 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT cook raised surface
 pron vi nm pron pron vt

aba me me kabemetemoneke
 aba me me kaba -hemete -mone -ke
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron pron vt

'They came. They cooked the fish. They ate the fish.'

711 *Aba me me kaba me* , *faya me ahi*
 aba me me kaba+F me faya me ahi
 fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S so 3PL.O have sex with
 nm pron pron vt pron conj pron vt

hina me me hikatafamaketemoneke
 hi- na+F me me hi- ka- tafa -makI -hemete -mone -ke
 OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.O OC COMIT eat following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux pron pron vt

'They ate the fish. After he had had sex with them, he ate with them back in the village.'

712 *Ee amosateno ama* ?
 ee amosa -tee -hino ama
 (pause) be good HAB IP.N+M SEC
 interj vi sec

"Is it good?"

BAHI (2)

713 *Yama amosate amani*
 yama amosa -tee ama -ni
 thing be good HAB SEC BKG+F
 nf vi sec

"It is good."

714 *Hibaka oko yama wiyeba owa*
 hibaka o- ka yama wiyeba -ba owa
 where 1SG.POSS POSS thing container+F FUT 1SG.O
 interrog prt nf pn pron

kakakawa

ka- ka- kawa
 DUP COMIT give something to
 vt

"Hey, give me a vessel."

715 *Yama wiyewara tone faya hinofene kabi*
 yama wiyewara to- na+M , faya hinofene kabi
 thing container+F grab CH AUX so manioc juice dip out
 nf pn vt aux conj nm vt

kane hinofene fafawa nematamonaka
 ka- na+M hinofene fa- fawa na -himata -mona -ka
 COMIT AUX manioc juice DUP drink AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux nm vt aux

'He took the vessel. He dipped out some manioc juice, and drank a little.'

716 *Inaa amosaka*
 inaa , amosa -ka
 hmmm be good DECL+M
 interj vi

"Yum, it is good."

717 *Amosatinoho*
 amosa -tee.NOM -no -ho
 be good HAB IP.N+M DUP
 vi

"It's good."

718 *Hawa fawi amosate amani hinofene karo*
 hawa fawa.NFIN amosa -tee ama -ni hinofene karo
 palm sp drink be good HAB SEC BKG+F manioc juice LOC
 nf vt vi sec nm prt

"It's good to drink *hawa* fruits in manioc juice."

719 *Hinofene ka hawa fawi amosake*
 hinofene ka hawa fawa.NFIN amosa -ke
 manioc juice pertaining to palm sp drink be good DECL+F
 nm prt nf vt vi

"It's good to drink *hawa* fruits in manioc juice."

720 *Faya me me tafemetemone fahi*
 faya me me tafa -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3PL 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron pron vi dem

'They ate.'

BAHI (2)

721 *Me tafa me , me tafi aba me , faya*
 me tafa+F me , me tafa.NFIN ahaba+F me , faya
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.S eat end 3PL.POSS so
 pron vi pron pron vi vi pron conj

me tafi aba me amo na me , me amo
 me tafa.NFIN ahaba+F me amo na+F me , me amo
 3PL.S eat end 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep
 pron vi vi pron vi aux pron pron vi

nemetemoneke

na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

aux

'They ate. They finished eating. They slept.'

722 *Me amo na me fati , fati ai*
 me amo na+F me fati , fati ahi
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife have sex with
 pron vi aux pron nf nf vt

nabarawe ai hinabarawa me
 na nahaba -rawa+M , ahi hi- na nahaba -rawa+F , me
 AUX at night F.PL have sex with OC AUX at night F.PL 3PL.POSS
 aux vt aux pron

nabati kerewe raba me nabati kerewe raba
 nabati kerewe na -ra -haba me nabati kerewe na -ra -haba
 stomach be slow AUX NEG FUT+F 3PL.POSS stomach be slow AUX NEG FUT+F
 pn vi aux pron pn vi aux

mati

mati
 3PL.POSS
 pron

'They slept. He had sex with his wives all night long. They quickly got pregnant.'

723 *Naba toharawemetemoneke*
 naba to- ha -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 pregnant CH be F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 adj vc

'They were pregnant.'

724 *Faya tokome kakama toharematamona*
 faya to- ka -ma+M ka- ka -ma to- ha -ra -himata -mona
 so away go/come back DUP go/come back CH be NEG FP.N+M REP+M
 conj vi vi vc

mata

mata
 for now
 prt

'He went away, and didn't come back right away.'

725 *Kamare , me noki hine inamatewe hahi*
 ka -ma -ra+M me noki hi- na+M inamatewe haahi
 go/come back NEG 3PL.S wait for OC AUX child this one+M
 vi pron vt aux nm dem

ihamakehi , nafimaki ya , inamatewe nanafi
 iha -makI+M , nafi -makI.NOM ya , inamatewe na- nafi
 be born following be big following ADJU child DUP be big
 vi vi prt nm vi

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

Free Translation

The ones who became white-lipped peccaries were always playing, with no women among them. The women were cooking food, but the men weren't eating the food they prepared. They were always playing in the forest. They were playing, and they wouldn't come back to the women. The women were cooking food and were eating. The men weren't eating and their voices could always be heard. Their voices could be heard, because there weren't white-lipped peccaries yet. Our people became the white-lipped peccaries.

There is still a lot. It's long.

They cut trees down and burned them. They heard their future voices in the sound of the burning trees. They didn't plant the garden. They burned the garden but they didn't plant it. Their voices could be heard. "Ooo, ooo, teo, teo, hooo."

Oh man, it's a long story.

When the flames died down, they just played all the time, without bathing. They were playing. His wives were cooking food. He hadn't had sex with his wives. His wives were pregnant. Their wives were pregnant, because of the giant otters.

"I haven't had sex with you, yet you are pregnant. Who did that to you?"

She didn't say anything. Her daughter didn't tell about her, either. All of them were there washing off *nakafira* taro tubers.

"Ask for some fish for us [that is, ask for the river otter to catch some fish for us]."

The river otter liked to have sex with the women. A white-lipped peccary was coming quickly with a *sako fana* fish in his hand, and he spoke. "Wait, no one has seen them having sex, and yet they are pregnant."

He went with a switch in his hand. He went to the other peccaries, who were going to bathe. The women's voices could be heard as they were coming. They came and stood at the stream's edge. They ordered their daughters.

"Hit with the reeds on the water's surface, so we will have *aba* fish. They don't kill anything for us to eat, they can always be heard [as they play]," they said, as they made the starch to eat with fish.

Their daughters were hitting the water with reeds. As they were hitting the water, the giant otter appeared, holding some *aba* fish in his hands.

"Have you eaten something like this that he killed?" asked the giant otter [i.e., is your husband providing meat or fish for you?].

"I haven't eaten anything he killed, because of the others."

"Are you eating what he killed?"

Then the river otter came.

"Are you eating what he killed?"

The river otter threw a *sako fana* fish on the ground. Then they had sex with them, as payment for the fish. The peccary was lying on top of a log. As he lay there, his wives were having sex. He jumped off the log. He jumped off, and beat the giant otter with the switch. "Kowiyiyiyi, kowiyiyiyi," went the giant otter. He beat them with the switch. He beat the river otter, too. The

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river otter cried out.

"That's why they are pregnant," said the peccary.

He grabbed his wife. He twisted her neck. There was a hollow log there on the ground. He stuffed his wife [dead] into the log.

"You are going to be the paca." [Pacas live in hollow logs.]

After he turned them into animals, he went away. His two daughters escaped. His daughters were hitting the water with reeds. They escaped, running away. They stood in the forest, listening. They hid in the forest. He looked for them and found them. He came back.

"That's why they got pregnant, they have been having sex with them. I beat them, and they went away."

He came back. They came back. His other daughter, who was married, was lying in her hammock.

"Daughter, give me some *biha* vine root." He wanted to chew the *biha* root.

"The owner of the *biha* vine is still out in the forest. The owner of the *biha* went hunting. I don't want to give away his *biha*. He will be angry with me."

"Give me some. I'm going to have some of it."

He wouldn't stop talking, he was going to turn into an animal. She gave him one *biha* root, and he chewed it. They were all there. He gave each one a piece of *biha*. They took snuff. They started themselves up.

"Hifotare, oooo." [These are sounds of white-lipped peccaries.]

They went after the woman's husband. the collared peccary. His son, a small child, was with them. He was a young white-lipped peccary. His father came back. Their voices could be heard as they went.

"They heard what I said," the collared peccary said.

The collared peccary came back.

"Look, there are signs of them there."

He came back carrying game. He brought back the game to his wife.

"Where is my son?"

"The boy is with them."

"Did she make my son join them?"

He went carrying his pack of darts slung on his shoulder. He was making heads on the darts, twisting them in his mouth, as he went along. He went making heads on the darts. He made their scent glands by hitting them with the darts. He made scent glands for all of them with the darts, and they yelled out. They yelled out as they went away. They disappeared into the forest. He got his son and brought his son back. He turned his son back into a person. He made his son stay with them. They went away and didn't come back.

"What should we become? Where is my *biha*?"

"I gave away most of the *biha*. There is a little in the pot."

"I want my stuff, didn't you hear me?" he said. "I want my stuff, you heard me." They ate. He looked at where the sun was. He quickly finished eating. His wife was pregnant.

"Come on, chew some *biha*," he said to his wife. "Let's go. I don't want them to leave us behind. Let's go."

He was ready. The collared peccary took out a dart and pierced himself to make his scent gland. He pierced repeatedly. "Ho, ho, ho." [That's the sound collared peccaries make.] They turned into animals. He also pierced his wife to make her scent gland. He also pierced his son to make his scent gland. [Both species of peccaries have scent glands.] They went. He made the sound of a collared peccary, it was his sound. They went. They disappeared into the forest.

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It was the kinkajou. That was his only name. He was ready. The son of the kinkajou died.

There was a ceramic pot. The pot was full of snakes to the brim. The boy's grandmother went out to get food for the snakes, and she took a long time. She was killing *korakaka* toads. She was coming back. The boy was eating.

"Father, I'm thirsty."

He was thirsty, but there wasn't any water.

"I think there is water in your grandmother's pot. There is water in your grandmother's pot there. Drink some of your grandmother's water. The pot is there with its lid on."

Because he didn't say, "I will go get water," he grieved afterwards. The boy got up quickly and went. He took off the lid of the pot. When he was bending over to drink water, the snakes bit him on the face.

"Aya ya ya, my face, my face." He cried out as the snakes bit him on the face.

His father ran to him.

"She has been raising them, and her things bit my son," he said.

He destroyed the pot with the snakes. He killed them, but one escaped and went running away. The others all died. The snakes died. The boy died quickly because of the snakes. His father grieved.

His grandmother came back, the one who was raising the snakes. She came back, and arrived.

"Who destroyed my pot?"

"Mother, the snakes bit your grandson on the face, and his father is holding him."

"Were you raising them?"

"Didn't he see them in the pot? Why didn't he go get water for the boy at the stream? He should have gone after water, and eaten with him."

The boy's father sucked on him to cure him, but it was no use. The boy died. If he had gotten well, people could come back from the dead. The kinkajou's son died. He held him. He took his son away.

"I'm going to bury the boy."

So he buried him. He came back. He hung up some bananas for him. There was also a gourd cup, and some water in a container on the grave. There was water in a container for the boy to drink. He made a place for his food, so he could find it when he came back, if he woke up and came back.

His mother said something bad.

"Mother."

"What?"

"Mother, let's sweep around my son's grave."

"Don't go there. Don't look at my son's grave. Don't go there. Did you hear me? Don't look at my son's grave. I'm going out into the forest."

He went out and killed animals with his blowgun, and brought the animals back. He came back carrying the animals. As he was coming back, they ate and went out. The boy's blood was all over the ground. His mother had cut off his head with a knife.

"She heard what I said. I'm going to meet my son on the way back."

He went. He spoke right away [when he got home, after having seen the boy's grave on the way]. "Did you do that?"

"I did that. I was sweeping around the boy's grave, and I cut off his head as I was sweeping."

He was planning to turn them into animals. He killed his mother-in-law, and killed his wife,

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too. When he killed his wife, it was a bad situation, because he killed his wife. She was pregnant when he killed her.

After he killed her, he went to his parents. He went and arrived. He went crying. They heard him crying. He stopped crying. He appeared.

His mother asked him. "Where are my grandchildren?"

"I don't have any children. I am coming, and I don't have any children. The others are living there. I stayed there a long time, and I am coming."

He came and stayed there. He stayed there a long time.

A different boy died, and his father buried him. His son turned into a harpy eagle, a young harpy eagle. He found the harpy eagle on his way back from fishing and brought the harpy eagle back. He raised the harpy eagle. It was his own son. He raised his own son in a basket. He was in the basket hanging up high. He grew hanging in it up high. He was growing. His own father had hung him up, and he fed him. [No one else saw the eagle, it was hidden.] He killed food for him with his blowgun. He gave him animals at night. As he ate, he grew. He didn't have a blowgun.

"Haa, I'm going to go hunting. Oof, I'm going hunting."

He untied him and slung him over his shoulder, in a basket. He took him. He had a knife. When he went out, he ate what his own son killed. He killed a lot of animals. He killed a lot of animals. He carried his animals. He put him back in the basket and brought him, slung over his shoulder. He also carried his animals.

He arrived with him. His brother-in-law, who was going to do something bad, was there. There were some titi monkeys that started chattering. The titis were chattering. "Soso, soso."

"Here, there are titis chattering nearby. Where is a blowgun? The blowgun, where is my brother-in-law's blowgun?"

"There is no blowgun."

"Where is my brother-in-law's *moho* cotton? Is that the *moho* there?"

"Don't touch that. Just let that thing hang there," his older sister said, but he didn't listen to her.

He should have listened to her and left it go.

He untied the mouth of the basket. He freed the eagle that was inside. He should have run away, but he freed it.¹⁰⁷ He opened its eyes, and it saw his eyes. It jumped out. It grabbed his throat.

"Aya, aya ya ya." He cried out because of the eagle.

"He didn't listen to me, and now he is crying out. He should have just complained [about not having *moho* cotton, without going poking around]."

His cries could be heard, as it went carrying him. It took him to where they were cutting trees down. The sound of them could be heard as they cut down trees.

He took his mother's brother. He carried him. His father was standing out there, and he was going to be upset.

"They are really bad. They never listen to me. My thing was in there."

"Kill it with your blowguns," they said. "It killed someone. Kill it with your blowguns."

They shot it with their blowguns. It was sitting on a branch. It opened its wings and fended off the darts.

He was upset as he cut down the trees.

"They do bad things."

He finished eating one side of his uncle's rear end, and then he threw the other side down.

¹⁰⁷ In the English translation, I use 'it' to refer to the eagle when it is seen as a bird, and I use 'him' when it is seen as a human being. There is no difference in Jarawara (or Portuguese, either).

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"Father, Father, fiio, fiio. Here is some food for you. I ate him."

He threw down his uncle's leg.

His father was upset.

They shot blowgun darts. They shot at it, but they couldn't hit it. It was fending off the darts. He stood there shooting at the eagle. He yanked a blowgun from one of them. He yanked the blowgun away. He pulled out a dart. He twirled the dart head in his mouth. Then he shot his son, and after that he grieved. He was going to grieve, and he shot his son.

"You people never listen."

He shot his son. His father shot him, and he tottered. He came after him, and landed near him. The poison affected him more strongly, and he fell, "Wahaa beo," because his stomach was full after he ate his uncle.

"You people never listen. I had warned them. I told them to leave it hanging there, but it was no use. Did the bird kill him?"

He was scolding. "Did you (pl) undo it because you thought it was yours? I was carrying a blowgun when I went out and you thought I was carrying animals that I had hunted. You caused misfortune to the one who killed animals for me to eat. You eat him. I killed him with my blowgun." He told them to eat it, but they didn't want to eat it. "I killed him with a blowgun because he killed someone. I killed him with a blowgun because he killed my brother-in-law. He thought he saw me carrying blowgun darts when I went out, so he opened the thing looking for darts," he said.

His mother cried. His mother cried again. The kinkajou came back.

The others turned into animals. He wanted to get his daughters so they could marry, but his daughters frustrated him. His daughters went running away. He went after them. He didn't find them when he looked for them. He looked for them. When it was starting to get dark, they came and appeared.

They turned into animals the next morning. They turned into animals in the morning.

He called to his daughter for some *biha*, his other daughter who was married. "Daughter, give me some *biha*. I want to turn into an animal."

He got ready. He wouldn't stop asking, so she gave him some *biha*. They went. They blew snuff into each other's noses, so they would turn into animals. When they blew snuff into each other's noses, they turned into animals. They ate *biha*. They all yelled. They went into the forest. "Oooooo," they went, grunting as white-lipped peccaries do. They began grunting like peccaries. They went into the forest yelling. Their voices could be heard. They went after the one who had gone into the forest. His son was with them. They had taken him along. They went after him.

He came back. As he came back, he came upon their trail. The underbrush was all messed up. The stream was all messed up, too.

"They heard what I said. She gave out my *biha*. That's why they turned into animals," he said.

He came back. He arrived back, and threw down the animals.

"Did you give away my *biha*?"

"My father really wanted the *biha*, so I gave it."

"Didn't you hear what I said? I wanted us all to turn into animals together," he said.

He turned into an animal, too. He wanted to change himself. He wanted to turn into a collared peccary. His son-in-law turned into an animal. When he went he carried blowgun darts slung on his shoulder. He went twirling the heads of darts in his mouth. He made their scent glands by shooting them with darts. He came upon them and made their scent glands by shooting them with darts. He took his son back and brought his son home. He turned his son back into a boy. He

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came back and arrived back.

"Where are they?"

"They went out there."

"I made their scent glands by shooting them with darts. I shot them and they went away."

The white-lipped peccaries went away. They went, and ate. They slept.

"You gave away my *biha*. We were all going to turn into animals."

"There is one left in the basket, and I will take it out and give it to you."

She took out the piece of *biha*. "Here."

"Come on, give it to me."

He quickly got some snuff and took the snuff. He cleaned the tube out with a feather. He was high. He wanted to change himself. He changed his wife first. He grabbed his wife. He put his wife's snout on. He put her snout on. He also broke her arms. He also broke her legs. She went running off. He grunted like a collared peccary, "Hwo hwo hwo." Her husband went behind her, "Hwo hwo hwo." He wasn't a collared peccary yet. He wasn't a peccary. Then he turned himself into a peccary. We eat them. The two of them went off.

His son, the one who was with the white-lipped peccaries...yes, is he the one?

He was going to turn himself into an animal and he got ready. He was with his son. They slept.

"They all turned into animals. They aren't living here anymore. They are said to have turned into animals. Come on. Let's find a place to live," he said, the first arapaima fish.

The arapaima started out to look for a place to live. He started out. His wife went ahead. They all went. The boy was only this big. They went with the boy. They went...it was a canoe. They were in the boat. He wanted to change his son. He broke his son's neck. His son's nose was like a curasow's beak. He stood his son. He left.

He told his son to fly, "Fofofifo." He landed on the branch of an *iro* tree. "Fayo," he said, calling like the bird he was turning into. He began the call of the bird he was turning into. He called while perched. But his father wanted to change into an animal, along with his wife. They were rocking back and forth in the canoe. They were going to change into tambaqui fish, and they were rocking back and forth, "Asiooo," went the sound of the water coming into the boat. He made a wave a little later, "Bofoo," as he became an arapaima fish. Then the sound of the tambaqui fins started, "Bofoo, taao." They turned into animals. The tambaqui didn't come back.

The others didn't come back. They turned into animals. The others, when they were going to turn into animals, yelled like white-lipped peccaries. They were brown capuchin monkeys, howler monkeys, squirrel monkeys, titis, sakis, and white-fronted capuchins. They were always playing, shooting arrows at a disk that rolled on the ground. They were shooting at the disk in order to turn themselves into animals. They went to bathe. They went and bathed and came back and played again. They went again and bathed again. They played.

The one who became an anaconda spoke. The howler monkey wanted to marry the anaconda, but the anaconda didn't like the howler. She didn't like the howler. They played. The howler went to the water. He washed his face. He made an *aba* fish with the sweat from his face. It wasn't really a fish, it was a magic object. It was his magic object. He turned it into an *aba* fish. He strung it on a line, and took it away. He took it and hung it up.

The anaconda was in her hammock and spoke. The anaconda was toasting manioc mash. She was in her hammock eating manioc mash.

"Sister, sister."

"Huh?"

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"Sister, get the *aba* fish that is hanging there for me. I want to eat the *aba* fish." "Let the howler's *aba* fish hang there."

"I want to eat the *aba* fish."

"The howler will be mad at me," she said, her younger sister.

"He won't be mad at you. Get up. I want to eat the *aba* fish."

So she went. Her older sister was pestering her, so she went and removed the *aba* fish and brought it. She fanned the fire and roasted the *aba* fish on the coals. The fish was sizzling, its fat. It was dripping with fat. She licked her fingers.

"Lick your fingers."

She licked her fingers. The *aba* fish was dripping with fat. She licked her fingers. She turned the *aba* fish over. After she turned it over, she took a little manioc mash with her fingers. She was licking her other hand, it was greasy. She took the manioc mash and put it in her mouth. She didn't want her younger sister to have any of the *aba* fish. She ate the *aba* fish. She finished the manioc mash. She ate the fat of the *aba* fish. After she ate the *aba* fish, she drank a little water. She washed her hands. Then she lay in her hammock. As she lay in the hammock, she got thirsty.

"Sister, I want some water."

"Go drink some water at the stream. You already drank all the water, and the empty water pot is there."

"There wasn't much water in it. Go quickly [to get water for me]."

She ordered her younger sister, and her sister went to get water. She went and came back.

"Here, drink all of it."

Her mother was sitting there, and she spoke. "Why is she complaining all the time? She ate the *aba* fish that the howler brought, she got thirsty, she ordered you during the day, she doesn't like the howler."

She sucked up the water. She was still thirsty. She pestered her sister, and her mother scolded her.

"Take a bath. Drink lots of water. Go. You don't like the howler, but you ate the howler's fish, so now you are thirsty."

Then she left. She left and went to the water. Her mother scolded her, so she went to the water. She squatted in the water and drank lots of water. She floated.

The others went there to bathe and play. They went there and jumped in the water, "Ooo".

"Tiotiotio," the squirrel monkey dove down deep. Some of them came back. They were bathing, all of them, "Teo teo teo." They were crying out like monkeys, as they changed into animals. As they were bathing, the squirrel monkey dove down deep, and he saw something. The squirrel monkey saw something, and when he came to the surface, he spoke, "Seo seo."

"Did you see something?"

"There is a creature lying on the bottom. There is a creature lying right where we are bathing."

"There has never been anything here."

"It is lying there. It's looking this way, but not at me. It's looking that way."

It was the anaconda, hiding from them. She was waiting for the brown capuchin.

They jumped in the water on the other bank. They were wading. They saw her.

"Did you see it?"

"Yes, we saw it. There is something lying there. It is lying there."

"Is it a log?"

"It's not a log."

They all went in the water.

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"Wait, let's look at it, all of us."

"Kofai, oooo," they went, jumping into the water and swimming. They went down. She grasped the brown capuchin. She coiled herself around the capuchin. They all came back up. They went.

"Something caught the brown capuchin. The brown capuchin isn't going to come back."

She swallowed the brown capuchin, but the capuchin wouldn't go down her throat. The capuchin was sitting on her nose. The capuchin was sitting there. The anaconda was in the water.

"Something caught the brown capuchin," they said, as they went back.

She had decided to marry the brown capuchin. She caught the brown capuchin. He was inside her, and she was lying in the water with him.

"I'm going to take a bath," her mother said. "You go on ahead. Take along a basket. Take a small basket. She wants to turn into an animal, and she doesn't want to marry. She doesn't like the howler monkey. She turned into an animal, and made the brown capuchin go away," she said.

Her mother went to the water. She was lying there. She was lying on the beach and her brown capuchin was sitting on the bridge of her nose, crying. The capuchin was crying, as he sat on the bridge of her nose.

"You get out of here," her mother said.

She attacked her mother.

"Did I say, 'Attack me'? Is that why you are attacking me?"

She jumped away.

Her younger daughter said, "Why are you after my mother?"

She had breasts, she was big. The two of them were going to bathe.

"Mother, Mother," said the anaconda. She was in the water. Her head was on the beach.

"Mother, there is a voice coming out of my nose, hit a little bit on it."

She found a stick for her. "Here, hit on my nose."

She knew her daughter was going to marry the capuchin. She tipped the basket. She tipped the basket, and hit lightly on her nose.

"Hit harder."

She hit on her nose, and the capuchin jumped into the basket. She held the mouth of the basket shut, shutting the capuchin inside. She held the capuchin in, and tied the mouth of the basket.

Her mother scolded her. "Go. Go everywhere."

Her mother threw her back into the water. Her mother threw her in the water, and she went down.

"You will go to the waters everywhere."

So she went down to the bottom. When she went down, the one who was going to be the wife of the brown capuchin [i.e., the younger sister] was holding him. She stayed with him.

The two of them bathed and came back. She came back with her mother. She came back holding onto the brown capuchin.

Then she raised the capuchin. He got somewhat better, and then got up.

"The anaconda swallowed him whole, but finally he got up."

"The anaconda bit me. I got up now."

He played once again. They played again. They shot arrows at the disk. They fought over the disk. One of them took the disk and threw it at someone. He put a hole in the disk. He twisted the disk off the arrow and threw it. Someone else hit the disk with an arrow. They fought with each other. The brown capuchin ran, planning against the howler monkey. He ran and grabbed the disk. He grabbed the disk and broke the howler's neck, and shoved the disk on him. It was his disk, that stays in his throat [i.e., his voice box]. He shoved it on his throat. Then he broke his legs [so that he

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would not walk on the ground, only staying in the trees]. He broke his feet and his hands, and threw him up high. He went along saying, "Kirikirikirikirikiri."

"Look at him [i.e., see how smart the brown capuchin is]."

So that he could turn them into animals, the anaconda swallowed him. He turned them into animals, the brown capuchin. The squirrel monkey also cried out. He grabbed the squirrel monkey and broke him. He threw the squirrel monkey up high. The squirrel monkey began hissing right away. He also turned the others into brown capuchins. He turned them into female saki monkeys, and white-fronted capuchins, too. He turned them into animals. They all went up into the trees.

There had been lots of voices before, but now there was silence. The giant anteater was with his wife, the tambaqui fish.

"What shall we do?" said the anteater. "Look at the difficult thing they are doing [i.e., I don't know how to turn into an animal]. We will stay here [i.e., we won't turn into animals]. It's hard [to turn into an animal]. Let's stay."

"No, let's not stay. There is no food to eat."

"We will eat fruits," he said.

They got ready and called each other to go. They went around the edge of the lake.

"Anteater, you stay here. I'm going."

"What are you going to do?"

"I'm going. I'm going to stay in the water. I don't want you to cause me to starve. I'm going to the water."

She was going to go into the water.

"I guess I will live alone," he said, the anteater. She left. She went to the water and waded in.

"It's nice. I'm going to take a look. Anteater, you stay there."

"Don't go there."

"Wait, I want to take a look at the nice place."

"Tebo," went the sound of her going into the water. She disappeared. She made a wave. She made a wave as she went. She went and turned back. She made a noise, "Tooo," as she came to the surface and her tail hit the surface. She came back and came to the surface. The anteater sat there crying. She called him to go, but he didn't listen to her. She came to the surface.

"Anteater, it's really nice. It's nice."

"You will cause me to drown."

"You won't drown, it's just like the land. I am coming back on something just like the land. I'm going back. You sit there."

"I'm crying because I miss you."

She didn't stay. She went. "Tebo." She was gone.

"I'm not coming back," she said.

So she went, and disappeared. The anteater cried.

"Whew, I'm really hungry. I'm going to go along the edge of the lake."

He went along the edge of the lake, the whole lake. Then he turned into an anteater. He licked up the termites that were on the tree. They were his food now.

"I'm really hungry. The tambaqui doesn't like me."

He went along the edge of the lake, and turned into an anteater. He stayed there. They turned into animals. The village was silent, because they had turned into animals. Others turned into animals later. They became the woolly monkeys.

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nemetemoneke

na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'They burned the garden but they didn't plant it.'

10 *Me ati sai* *saihemetemone*
 me ati sai -hemete -mone
 3PL.POSS voice be heard FP.N+F REP+F
 pron pn vi

ooo , *ooo* ,
 ooo , ooo ,
 (grunting of white-lipped peccary) (grunting of white-lipped peccary)
 sound sound

ooo , *ooo* ,
 ooo , ooo ,
 (grunting of white-lipped peccary) (grunting of white-lipped peccary)
 sound sound

teo , *teo* , *teo* ,
 teo , teo , teo ,
 (sound of popping) (sound of popping) (sound of popping)
 sound sound sound

hoooo
 hoooo
 (sound of herd of white-lipped peccaries)
 sound

'Their voices could be heard. "Ooo, ooo, teo, teo, hooo."'

11 *Hika yama yabo* *yabo*
 hika yama yabo -ke
 wow! thing be long DECL+F
 interj nf vi

'Oh man, it's a long story.'

12 *Faya me* , *awa hiri ni* *ahabi* *ya* , *me*
 faya me , awa hiri ni ahabi ya , me
 so 3PL tree catch fire na.NFIN ahaba.NOM+F ya 3PL.S
 conj 3PL pron nf vi aux end ADJU prt

afi me *afi ra* *mati me* *afi ra* *me* ,
 afi me afi na -ra+F mati me afi na -ra+F me ,
 bathe 3PL.S bathe AUX NEG 3PL.S 3PL.S bathe AUX NEG 3PL.S
 vi pron vi aux pron pron vi aux pron

hine ya me *sisiva* *toemetemone* *ahi*
 hine ya me si- siwa to- ha -hemete -mone ahi
 only ADJU 3PL.S DUP play CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron prt pron vi aux dem

'When the flames died down, they just played all the time, without bathing.'

13 *Me siwa na me me* *siwa ni* *ya* *ahi* ,
 me siwa na+F me me siwa na.NOM+F ya ahi ,
 3PL.S play AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S play AUX ADJU then
 pron vi aux pron pron vi aux prt dem

fati *yamata* *wasirawa* , *fati* *yamata* *wasirawa*
 fati yamata wasi -rawa+F , fati yamata wasi -rawa+F
 3SG.POSS.wife food cook F.PL 3SG.POSS.wife food cook F.PL
 nf nf vt nf nf vt

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fati fati 3SG.POSS.wife nf	yori yori have sex with vt	re na -ra+M AUX NEG aux	fati fati 3SG.POSS.wife nf	nabati nabati stomach pn	weyeri weye -ri carry DISTR vt	na na+F AUX aux	me me 3PL.POSS pron	me me 3PL.POSS pron
me me 3PL pron	ka ka POSS prt	yibote yibote wife nf	me me 3PL.POSS pron	nabati nabati stomach pn	weyeri weye -ri carry DISTR vt	na na+F AUX aux	me me 3PL.POSS pron	me me 3PL.POSS pron
sabo sabo giant nm	me me 3PL.POSS pron	ihi ihi because of+F post	ih ih because of+F post	faya faya so conj	fati fati 3SG.POSS.wife nf	nabati nabati stomach pn	me me 3PL.POSS pron	me me 3PL.POSS pron
weyeri weye -ri carry DISTR vt	narawa na -rawa+F AUX F.PL aux	Tiwa tiwa 2SG.O pron	yoyori yo- yori DUP have sex with vt	me me 3PL.POSS pron	me me 3PL.POSS pron	me me 3PL.POSS pron	me me 3PL.POSS pron	me me 3PL.POSS pron
onofara o- na 1SG.S prt	nofa nofa recently prt	-ra+F -ra+F NEG vi	naba naba pregnant vi	tihine ti- to- 2SG.S CH aux	ha ha AUX aux	-ne -ne CONT+F aux	tike ti- ke 2SG.S DECL+F prt	ke ke DECL+F prt

"They were playing. His wives were cooking food. He hadn't had sex with his wives. His wives were pregnant. Their wives were pregnant, because of the giant otters. His wives were pregnant. "I haven't had sex with you, yet you are pregnant."

14 Hibeke hibeke who+M nm	ehene ehene result of+M pn	ama ama be vc	tiri ti- ri 2SG.S CQ+F prt	?
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"Who did that to you?"

15 Ati ati voice pn	wataremetemoneke wata -ra -hemete -mone -ke exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi
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'She didn't say anything.'

16 Bite bite 3SG.POSS.daughter nf	hikaminarihi hi- kamina -rihi OC tell NEG.LIST vt
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'Her daughter didn't tell about her, either.'

17 Me me 3PL.POSS pron	nafi nafi all pn	nakafira nakafira taro sp nf	me me 3PL.S pron	soko soko wash vt	na na+F AUX aux	me me 3PL.S pron	nahometemone nahom -hemete -mone stand FP.N+F REP+F vi
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'All of them were there washing off *nakafira* taro tubers.'

18 E ee 1IN pron	ka ka POSS prt	aba aba fish nm	meba me -ba 3PL FUT pron	me me 3PL.O pron	te tee 2PL.S pron	haha ha- haa DUP call vt	nahi na -hi AUX IMP+F aux
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"Ask for some fish for us."

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

nima	na	E	ka	aba	meba	me	te	ee
nima	na+F	ee	ka	aba	me -ba	me	tee	ee
communicate to	AUX	1IN	POSS	fish sp	3PL FUT	3PL.O	2PL.S	(pause)
vt	aux	pron	prt	nm	pron	pron	pron	interj

fa	te	kokoho	nahi
faha	tee	ko- koho	na -hi
water	2PL.S	DUP hit	AUX IMP+F
nf	pron	vt	aux

"They came and stood at the stream's edge. They ordered their daughters. "Hit with the reeds on the water's surface, so we will have *aba* fish."

24 Fa	te	kokoho	nahi
faha	tee	ko- koho	na -hi
water	2PL.S	DUP hit	AUX IMP+F
nf	pron	vt	aux

"Hit with the reeds on the water."

25 Me	ihi	me	kabi	nofa	me	ati
me	ihi	me	kaba	nofa+F	me	ati
3PL.POSS	victim of+F	3PL.S	eat	recently	3PL.POSS	voice
pron	pn	pron	vt	prt	pron	pn

sasai	tohineni
sa- sai	to- ha -ne -ni
DUP be heard	CH AUX CONT+F BKG+F
vi	v

(This sentence is a mistake, the correct sentence is the next one.)

26 Me	ihi	e	kabi	nofara	me	ati
me	ihi	ee	kaba	nofa -ra+F	me	ati
3PL.POSS	victim of+F	1IN.S	eat	recently NEG	3PL.POSS	voice
pron	pn	pron	vt	prt	pron	pn

sasai	toineni	me	me	ka	yama
sa- sai	to- ha -ne -ni	me	me	ka	yama
DUP be heard	CH AUX CONT+F BKG+F	3PL	3PL	POSS	thing
vi	aux	pron	pron	prt	nf

kakawiba	me	wasi	nofa	mati
ka- kawi	-ba me	wasi	nofa+F	mati
DUP eat with something	FUT	3PL.S	cook	recently
pn	pron	vt	prt	pron

"They don't kill anything for us to eat, they can always be heard [as they play]," they said, as they made the starch to eat with fish.'

27 Faya	faha	bite	koho	narawa	fa	koho
faya	faha	bite	koho	na -rawa+F	faha	koho
so	water	3SG.POSS.daughter	hit	AUX F.PL	water	hit
conj	nf	nf	vt	aux	nf	vt

narawa	fa	koho	narawemetemone
na -rawa+F	faha	koho	na -rawa -hemete -mone
AUX F.PL	water	hit	AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F
aux	nf	vt	aux

'Their daughters were hitting the water with reeds.'

28 Fa	koho	ni	ya	sabo	tasi
faha	koho	na.NOM+F	ya	sabo	tasi
water	hit	AUX	ADJU	giant otter	emerge
nf	vt	aux	prt	nm	vi

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

nakematamonaka	aba	me	tama	kanari
na -kI -himata -mona -ka	aba	me	tama	ka- na -haari
AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	fish sp	3PL.O	hold onto	COMIT AUX IP.E+M
aux	nm	pron	vt	aux

ahi

ahi
then
dem

'As they were hitting the water, the giant otter appeared, holding some *aba* fish in his hands.'

29 Ehene	e	ne	kakaba	tihini	?
ehene	ee	na+M	ka- kaba	ti- to- ha -ni	
victim of+M	be similar	AUX	DUP eat	2SG.S CH AUX BKG+F	
pn	vi	aux	vt	aux	

""Have you eaten something like this that he killed?""

30 Ehene	okobi	onofarene	me
ehene	o- kaba	o- nofa	-ra -ne
victim of+M	1SG.S eat	1SG.S recently	NEG BKG+M
pn	vt	prt	3PL.POSS pron

ihi

ihi
because of+F
post

""I haven't eaten anything he killed, because of the others.""

31 Ehene	kakaba	tihini	?
ehene	ka- kaba	ti- to- ha -ni	
victim of+M	DUP eat	2SG.S CH AUX BKG+F	
pn	vt	aux	

""Are you eating what he killed?""

32 Ee	sabira	kamakibisematamonaka
ee	sabira	ka -makI -bisa -himata -mona -ka
(pause)	river otter	go/come following also FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
interj	nm	vi

ahi

ahi
then
dem

'Then the river otter came.'

33 Ehene	kakaba	tiwini	?
ehene	ka- kaba	ti- to- ha -ni	
victim of+M	DUP eat	2SG.POSS CH AUX BKG+F	
pn	vt	aux	

""Are you eating what he killed?""

34 Sabira	sako	fana	koro	nakekane	ahi
sabira	sako	fana	koro	na -kI -kane	ahi
river otter	fish sp	female	throw	AUX coming ?+M	then
nm	nf	nf	vt	aux	dem

'The river otter threw a *sako fana* fish on the ground.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

35 *Faya me me , faya me yori nemetemoneke*
 faya me me , faya me yori na -hemete -mone -ke
 so 3PL 3PL so 3PL.O have sex with AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj pron pron conj pron vt aux

ahi aba me manakone .
 ahi aba me manakone
 then fish 3PL.POSS price
 dem nm pron pn

'Then they had sex with them, as payment for the fish.'

36 *Aba me manakone me yori na me*
 aba me manakone me yori na+F me
 fish 3PL.POSS price 3PL.S have sex with AUX 3PL.S
 nm pron pn pron result aux pron

forehimatamonaka awa bari ya ahi .
 forI -himata -mona -ka awa bari ya ahi
 lie on top FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M tree back ADJU then
 vi nf pn prt dem

'They had sex with them as payment for the fish. The peccary was lying on top of a log.'

37 *Fore ni ya , fati kahiwarawa*
 forI ni ya , fati ka- hiwa -rawa+F
 lie on top to ADJU 3SG.POSS.wife COMIT have children F.PL
 vi prt prt nf vi

fati kahiwarawemetemoneke .
 fati ka- hiwa -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 3SG.POSS.wife COMIT have children F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi

'As he lay there, his wives were having sex.'

38 *Fati kahiwarawa na , yora*
 fati ka- hiwa -rawa+F na , yora
 3SG.POSS.wife COMIT have children F.PL AUX jump
 nf vi aux vi

nisematamonaka ahi .
 na -risa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'His wives were having sex. He jumped off the log.'¹⁰⁸

39 *Yora nise ni ya , sabo kosi*
 yora na -risa+M ni ya , sabo kosi
 jump AUX down to ADJU giant otter flail
 vi aux prt prt nm vt

narematamonaka Kowiyiyiyi
 na -rI -himata -mona -ka kowiyiyiyi
 AUX raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (call of giant otter)
 aux sound

kowiyiyiyi .
 kowiyiyiyi
 (call of giant otter)
 sound

'He jumped off, and beat the giant otter with the switch. "Kowiyiyiyi, kowiyiyiyi."'

¹⁰⁸ The auxiliary *na* is a mistake.

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40 *Mera kosi nematamonaka ahi*
 mera kosi na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 3PL.O flail AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 pron vt aux dem
 'He beat them with the switch.'

41 *Sabira sabira kosi nare*
 sabira sabira kosi na -rI.LIST
 river otter river otter flail AUX raised surface
 nm nm vt aux

nematamonaka ahi
 na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'He beat the river otter, too.'

42 *Sabira , kiya kanematamonaka ahi*
 sabira , kiya ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 river otter yell COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm vi aux dem

'The river otter cried out.'

43 *E me nimakoni naba me totoha*
 ee me na -makoni naba me to- to- ha
 like this 3PL.S AUX for this reason+F pregnant 3PL.S DUP CH AUX
 dem pron aux vi pron aux

tohine ninihi
 to- ha -ne na.NOM+F -ni -hi
 CH AUX CONT+F AUX IP.N+F DUP
 aux aux

""That's why they are pregnant.""

44 *Fati , fati watematamonaka*
 fati , fati wata -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife catch FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf nf vt

'He grabbed his wife.'

45 *Fati wate , fati wate fati namiti*
 fati wata+M , fati wata+M fati namiti
 3SG.POSS.wife catch 3SG.POSS.wife catch 3SG.POSS.wife neck
 nf vt nf vt nf pn

wari nawahe , awa hoti homemetemoneke ahi
 wari na -waha+M , awa hoti homa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 turn AUX change tree hole lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F there
 vt aux nf nf vi dem

'He grabbed his wife. He twisted her neck. There was a hollow log there on the ground.'

46 *Awa hoti homa ya fati yoko*
 awa hoti homa+F ya fati yoko
 tree hole lie on ground ADJU 3SG.POSS.wife push
 nf nf vi prt nf vt

toniyomematamonaka ahi
 to- na -yoma -himata -mona -ka ahi
 CH AUX through FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

'He stuffed his wife into the log.'

47 *Wakowa tihateba ama ti*
 wakowa ti- to- ha -tee -haba ama ti-
 paca 2SG.S CH AUX HAB FUT+F SEC 2SG.S
 nm vc sec prt

'''You are going to be the paca.'''

48 *Faya , faya mera tonahiye*
 faya faya mera to- na- hiya+M
 so so 3PL.O CH CAUS be different
 conj conj pron vt

tokomematamonaka ahi
 to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi
 away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem

'After he turned them into animals, he went away.'

49 *Bite hasi karawemetemoneke*
 bite hasi ka- na -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 3SG.POSS.daughter escape COMMIT AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi aux

'His two daughters escaped.'

50 *Bite fa koho narawa hasi karawa*
 bite faha koho na -rawa+F hasi ka- na -rawa+F
 3SG.POSS.daughter water hit AUX F.PL escape COMMIT AUX F.PL
 nf vt aux vi aux

kana ni kana ni towakarawa yoro narawa
 kana na.NFIN kana na.NFIN to- ka- ka -rawa+F yoro na -rawa+F
 run AUX run AUX away COMMIT go/come F.PL stand AUX F.PL
 vi aux vi aux vi vi aux

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'His daughters were hitting the water with reeds. They escaped, running away. They stood in the forest.'

51 *Me yoro towitiani me , me siba hina*
 me yoro to- na -witI -hani me , me siba hi- na+F
 3PL.S stand away AUX out IP.N+F 3PL.S 3PL.O look for OC AUX
 pron vi aux pron pron vt aux

me me me hiwasimetemone
 me me me hi- wasi -hemete -mone
 3PL.O 3PL 3PL.O OC find FP.N+F REP+F
 pron pron pron vt

'They hid in the forest. He looked for them and found them.'

52 *Faya , kame tokome E me na me*
 faya ka -ma+M to- ka -ma+M ee me na+F me
 so go/come back away go/come back be similar 3PL.S AUX 3PL.S
 conj vi vi vi pron aux pron
 , *e me na me , naba me totoa*
 ee me na+F me , naba me to- to- ha
 be similar 3PL.S AUX 3PL.S pregnant 3PL.S DUP CH be
 vi pron aux pron vi pron vc

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

58 *Yama hinaka bia ta onaho*
 yama hinaka biha taa o- na -ho
 thing 3SG.POSS plant sp give 1SG.S AUX IMP+M
 nf pron nm vt aux

"I don't want to give his *biha*."

59 *Owa kakobaya*
 owa kaako -ba -ya
 1SG.O be angry with IMMED+M now
 pron vt

"He will be angry with me."

60 *Ta tinaho owa*
 taa ti- na -ho owa
 give 2SG.S AUX IMP+M other+M
 vt aux adj

"Give me some."

61 *Owa owa , ohehibanaka*
 owa owa o- iha -hibana -ka
 other+M other+M 1SG.S have FUT+M DECL+M
 adj adj vt

"I'm going to have some of it."

62 *Ati yoko namarematamonane toiyebana*
 ati yoko na -ma -ra -himata -mona -ne to- hiya -hibana
 voice stop AUX back NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M CH be different FUT+M
 pn vi aux vi

'He wouldn't stop talking, he was going to turn into an animal.'

63 *Biha ohari bite ta hine bia wai*
 biha ohari+M bite taa hi- na+M biha wai
 plant sp be one 3SG.POSS.daughter give OC AUX plant sp bite
 nm vi nf vt aux nm vt

nawahe fara me nima ahi
 na -waha+M fara me nima ahi
 AUX change same+F 3PL like there
 aux dem pron prt dem

'She gave him one *biha* [root], and he chewed it. They were all there.'

64 *Bia ebe nematamonaka ahi*
 biha ebe na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 plant sp divide up AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm vt aux dem

'He gave each one a piece of *biha*.'

65 *Sina me hisi nemetemoneke ahi*
 sina me hisi na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf pron vt aux dem

'They took snuff.'

66 *Sina me hisi na me hine me tonahiya me*
 sina me hisi na+F me hine me to- na- hiya+F me
 snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX 3PL.S 3.REFL 3PL.S CH CAUS be bad 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux pron pron pron vt pron

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

me	yaro	kanemetemone		ahi	Hifotare
me	yaro	ka- na -hemete -mone		ahi	hifotare
3PL.S	start	COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F		then	(grunt of white-lipped peccary)
pron	vt	aux		dem	sound

ooo	ooo
ooo	ooo
(grunting of white-lipped peccary)	(grunting of white-lipped peccary)
sound	sound

"They took snuff. They started themselves up." ¹⁰⁹Hifotare, oooo."

67 Fare	toke		nowati	ka	ya	me	
fare	to-	ka+M	nowati	ka	ya	me	,
same+M	away	go/come	behind	LOC	ADJU	3PL.S	
dem	vi		pn	prt	prt	pron	

tokomaketemoneke						ahi
to-	ka	-makI	-hemete	-mone	-ke	ahi
away	go/come	following	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then
vi						dem

"They went after him."

68 Biti		iisi		kabote		ne	inamate	nafire
biti		i- isi		na -kabote	na+M	,	inamate	nafi -ra+M
3SG.POSS.son		DUP be small		AUX quickly	AUX		child	be big NEG
nm		vi		aux	aux		nm	vi

inamate	nafire		inamate	iisi		kabote	ne
inamate	nafi -ra+M	,	inamate	i- isi		na -kabote	na+M
child	be big NEG		child	DUP be small		AUX quickly	AUX
nm	vi		nm	vi		aux	aux

sawihi		hiyama		biti	toahi
sawi+M		hiyama		biti	to- ha+M
be present		white-lipped peccary		small+M	CH be
vi		nm		adj	aux

hiyama		biti	toe	bati		kame
hiyama		biti	to- ha+M	bati		ka -ma+M
white-lipped peccary		small+M	CH be	3SG.POSS.father		go/come back
nm		adj	vc	nm		vi

me	ati	tokomake		me
me	ati	to- ka	-makI	me
3PL.POSS	voice	away go/come	following	3PL.S
pron	pn	vi		pron

tokomaketemoneke					ahi
to-	ka	-makI	-hemete	-mone	-ke
away	go/come	following	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F
vi					then
					dem

'His son, a small child, was with them. He was a young white-lipped peccary. His father came back. Their voices could be heard as they went.'

69 Owati		me	mitarake		kobaya	ati
o-	ati	me	mita -hara -ke	,	kobaya	ati
1SG.POSS	voice	3PL.S	hear IP.E+F DECL+F		collared peccary	say
pn		pron	vt		nm	vt

nematamona		kobaya
na -himata -mona		kobaya
AUX FP.N+M REP+M		collared peccary
aux		nm

"They heard what I said," the collared peccary said.'

¹⁰⁹ It should be *hine me yaro kanemetemone*.

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

70 *Kobaya* *kame* , *kobaya* *kame* *Me* ,
 kobaya ka -ma+M kobaya ka -ma+M me ,
 collared peccary go/come back collared peccary go/come back 3PL
 nm vi nm vi pron
me *ihi* *naro* *haro* .
 me ihi na -haaro haaro
 3PL.POSS result of+F exist look+F that one+F
 pron pn vi dem
 'The collared peccary came back. "Look, there are signs of them there."

71 *Kame* *bani* *me* *weye* *ni* *kame* *bani* *me*
 ka -ma+M bani me weye na.NFIN ka -ma+M bani me
 go/come back animal 3PL.O carry AUX go/come back animal 3PL.O
 vi nm pron vt aux vi nm pron
iseme *fati* *ni* *ya* *bani* *me*
 isI -ma+M , fati ni ya bani me
 drop off back 3SG.POSS.wife to ADJU animal 3PL.O
 vt nf prt prt nm pron
isemematamonaka
 isI -ma -himata -mona -ka
 drop off back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt
 'He came back. He came back carrying game. He brought back the game. He brought back the game to his wife.'

72 *Bani* *me* *iseme* , *Oka* , *okatao* *e*
 bani me isI -ma+M , o- ka , okatao ee
 animal 3PL.O drop off back 1SG.POSS POSS my son (question)
 nm pron vt prt nm vi
ra ?
 na -ra
 AUX CQ+M
 prt
 'He brought the game back. "Where is my son?"'

73 *Inamate* *sawiharene* *ahi* .
 inamate sawi -hare -ne ahi
 child be present IP.E+M BKG+M there
 nm vi dem
 ""The boy is with them.""

74 *Okatao* *nasawino* *awa* ?
 okatao na- sawi -hino awa
 my son CAUS be present IP.N+M seem+M
 nm vt sec
 ""Did she make my son join them?""

75 *Faya* *sare* *sana* *kani*
 faya sarehe sana ka- na.NFIN
 so blowgun dart carry strapped on shoulder COMIT AUX
 conj nf vt aux
tokomake , *tokomakematamonaka*
 to- ka -makI , to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come following away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

sare **sana** **kanahari**
sarehe sana ka- na -haari
blowgun dart carry strapped on shoulder COMMIT AUX IP.E+M
nf vt aux
'He went carrying his pack of darts slung on his shoulder.'

76 **Sare** **rofirofi** **tosì**
sarehe rofi- rofi to- na -sii
blowgun dart DUP twirl in mouth CH AUX slowly along the way
nf vt aux

nematamonaka **ahi**
na -himata -mona -ka ahi
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
aux dem

'He was making heads on the darts, twisting them in his mouth, as he went along.'

77 **Sare** **rofi** **ne** **tokomake**
sarehe rofi na+M to- ka -makI
blowgun dart twirl in mouth AUX away go/come following
nf vt aux vi

tokomake **ya** **me** **bosiri** **fora**
to- ka -makI.NOM ya me bosiri fora
away go/come following ADJU 3PL.POSS scent gland shoot with blowgun
vi prt pron pn vt

hinemetemoneke **ahi**
hi- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
aux dem

'He went making heads on the darts. He made their scent glands by hitting them with the darts.'

78 **Me** **bosiri** **fora** **hina** **me** **me**
me bosiri fora hi- na+F me me
3PL.POSS scent gland shoot with blowgun OC AUX 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS
pron pn vt aux pron pron

bosiri **nafi** **fora** **ne** **ya** **me** **ye**
bosiri nafi fora na.NOM+M ya me yee
scent gland all shoot with blowgun AUX ADJU 3PL.S yell
pn pn vt aux prt pron vi

nemetemoneke **ahi**
na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
aux dem

'He made their scent glands by hitting them with the darts. He made scent glands for all of them with the darts, and they yelled out.'

79 **Me** **ye** **na** **me** **toka** **me** **fawa**
me yee na+F me to- ka+F me fawa
3PL.S yell AUX 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S disappear
pron vi aux pron vi pron vi

tosawitia **biti** **totimake**
to- na -kosa -witI+F biti to- iti -makI
away AUX middle out 3SG.POSS.son away take out following
aux nm vt

biti **kakamematamonaka**
biti ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
3SG.POSS.son COMMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nm vi

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

'They yelled out as they went away. They disappeared into the forest. He got his son and brought his son back.'

80 *Biti* *kakame* , *biti* , *biti*
 biti ka- ka -ma+M , biti , biti
 3SG.POSS.son COMMIT go/come back 3SG.POSS.son 3SG.POSS.son
 nm vt nm nm

kakamematamona

ka- ka -ma -himata -mona
 COMMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M
 vt

'He brought his son back.'

81 *Biti* *kakame* , *biti* , *biti*
 biti ka- ka -ma+M biti , biti
 3SG.POSS.son COMMIT go/come back 3SG.POSS.son 3SG.POSS.son
 nm vt nm nm

tonihawahame

to- niha- ha -waha -ma+M *biti* *nasawi* , *faya* *me*
 CH CAUS AUX change back 3SG.POSS.son CAUS be present so 3PL.S
 vt nm vt conj pron

toka

to- ka+F *me* , *kamaremetemoneke*
 away go/come 3PL.S ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 vi pron vi NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

'He brought his son back. He turned his son back into a person. He made his son stay with them. They went away and didn't come back.'

82 *Himata* *nima* *e* *ribe* ?
 himata nima ee na -ri -be
 what? like 1IN.S AUX CQ+F IMMED+F
 interrog prt pron aux

""What should we become?""

83 *Himata* *nima* *e* *ribeya* ?
 himata nima ee na -ri -be -ya
 what? like 1IN.S AUX CQ+F IMMED+F now
 interrog prt pron aux

""What should we become?""

84 *Oka* *bia* *e* *ra* ?
 o- ka biha ee na -ra+F
 1SG.POSS POSS plant sp (question) AUX NEG
 prt nm vi aux

""Where is my *biha*?""

85 *Bia* *owa* *ta* *one* *owa* *nafire* *foya*
 biha owa taa o- na+M owa nafi -ra+M foya.CONT+M
 plant sp other+M give 1SG.S AUX other+M be big NEG be inside
 nm adj vt aux adj vi vi

hari

haari
 that one+M
 dem

""I gave away most of the *biha*. There is a little in the pot.""

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

- 91 *E tokomake ahi*
 ee to- ka -makI ahi
 1IN.S away go/come following there
 pron vi dem
 "'Let's go.'"
- 92 *Era me kakosariyahi*
 era me ka- kana -kosa -ra -yahi
 1IN.O 3PL.S COMIT leave middle NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron pron vt
 "'I don't want them to leave us behind.'"
- 93 *E tokomakibeya*
 ee to- ka -makI -be -ya
 1IN.S away go/come following IMMED+F now
 pron vi
 "'Let's go.'"
- 94 *Faya yana tonematamonaka ahi*
 faya yana to- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj vi aux dem
 'He was ready.'
- 95 *Kobaya kobaya , sare soba nake*
 kobaya kobaya , sarehe soba na -kI
 collared peccary collared peccary blowgun dart pull out AUX coming
 nm nm nf vt aux
 , *sare bosiri itematamonaka ahi*
 sarehe bosiri ita -himata -mona -ka ahi
 blowgun dart scent gland pierce FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nf pn vt dem
 'The collared peccary took out a dart and pierced himself to make his scent gland.'
- 96 *Saka kabote nematamonaka ahi*
 saka kabote na -kabote na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 pierce repeatedly AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt aux aux dem
- Ho ho*
 ho ho
 (grunt of collared peccary) (grunt of collared peccary)
 sound sound
ho ho
 ho ho
 (grunt of collared peccary) (grunt of collared peccary)
 sound sound
 'He pierced repeatedly. "Ho, ho, ho.'"
- 97 *Me yana tonemetemoneke ahi*
 me yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi aux dem
 'They turned into animals.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

98 *Fati* , *fati* *bosiribone* *ita*
 fati fati bosiri -bone ita.LIST
 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife scent gland INT+F pierce
 nf nf pn vt

nematamonaka

na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'He also pierced his wife to make her scent gland.'

99 *Biti* *bosiribona* *ita* *nematamonaka* *ahi*
 biti bosiri -bona ita.LIST na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 3SG.POSS.son scent gland INT+M pierce AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm pn vt aux dem

'He also pierced his son to make his scent gland.'

100 *Faya me tokomaketemoneke* *ahi*
 faya me to- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 so 3PL.S away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 conj pron vi dem

'They went.'

101 *Hobehobe kawahematamonaka* *ahi* , *fare*
 hobe- hobe ka- na -waha -himata -mona -ka ahi , fare
 DUP squeal COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then same+M
 vi aux dem dem

atitebana

ati -tee -bana
 voice HAB FUT
 pn

'He made the sound of a collared peccary, it was his sound.'

102 *Me toka me* , *me fawa tosi*
 me to- ka+F me me fawa to- na -kosa.NOM+F
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S 3PL.S disappear CH AUX middle
 pron vi pron pron vi aux

ya , *kokosi* , *kokosi* , *kokositeba* *kokosi* *kokosi*
 ya kokosi kokosi kokosi -tee -ba kokosi kokosi
 ADJU kinkajou kinkajou kinkajou HAB FUT kinkajou kinkajou
 prt nf nm nm nm nm nm

fare ino amane kokosi
 fare ino ama -ne kokosi
 same+M name+M be BKG+M kinkajou
 dem pn vc nm

'They went. They disappeared into the forest. It was the kinkajou. That was his only name.'

103 *Kokosimatamonaka*

kokosi -mata -mona -ka
 kinkajou FP.N+M REP+M DECL
 nm

'It was the kinkajou.'

104 *Faya yana tone* , *kokosi biti* , *biti*
 faya yana to- na+M , kokosi biti , biti
 so start CH AUX kinkajou 3SG.POSS.son 3SG.POSS.son
 conj vi aux nm nm nm

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

ababisematamona

ahaba -bisa -himata -mona
die also FP.N+M REP+M
vi

'He was ready. The son of the kinkajou died.'

105 **Hinakaki** , **maka** , **yiwa bonimetemone** **yiwa boni**
hinaka aki , maka , yiwaha boni -mete -mone yiwaha boni
3SG.POSS grandmother snake ceramic pot FP.N+F REP+F ceramic pot
nf nf nf

'His grandmother...snakes...there was a ceramic pot.'

106 **Aya** **yiwa boni** **itemetemoneke** **ahi**
aya yiwaha boni ita -hemete -mone -ke ahi
this ceramic pot sit FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
dem nf vi dem

'There was a ceramic pot.'

107 **Maka** **mo** **karawemetemone** **makarawa** **ahi** ,
maka moo ka- na -rawa -hemete -mone maka -rawa ahi
snake be full COMIT AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F snake F.PL then
nf vi aux nf dem

yowamisarawaharo

yowa -misa -rawa -haaro
reach up F.PL IP.E+F
vi

'The pot was full of snakes to the brim.'

108 **Hinakaki** , **maka** **taferawabone** **ra**
hinaka aki , maka tafe -rawa -bone ra
3SG.POSS grandmother snake food+F F.PL INT+F O
nf nf pn prt

hinakaki **tonaka** **fawa** **na** , **korakaka** **mera**
hinaka aki to- na- ka+F fawa na+F , korakaka mera
3SG.POSS grandmother away CAUS go/come disappear AUX toad sp 3PL.O
nf vt vi aux nm pron

waka **nani** **kama** , **kamemetemoneke**
waka na -hani ka -ma+F ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
kill AUX IP.N+F go/come back go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vt aux vi vi

'His grandmother went out to get food for the snakes, and she took a long time. She was killing korakaka toads. She came back.'

109 **Kama** , **inamatewe** **tafematamonaka**
ka -ma+F , inamatewe tafa -himata -mona -ka
go/come back child eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi nm vi

'She came back. The boy was eating.'

110 **Inamatewe** **tafe** , **inamate** **Abi** , **bakasi** **owini**
inamatewe tafa+M , inamate abi , bakasi o- awa -ni
child eat child father thirst 1SG.S feel BKG+F
nm vi nm nm nf vt

'The boy was eating. "Father, I'm thirsty."'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

- 111 **Bakasi fa fa wataremetemoneke**
 bakasi faha faha wata -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 thirst water water exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf nf nf vi
 'He was thirsty, but there wasn't any water.'
- 112 **Aki ka fa kawita awineke**
 aki ka faha ka- ita+F awine -ke
 your grandmother POSS water COMMIT sit seem+F DECL+F
 nf prt nf vi sec
 "'I think there is water in your grandmother's pot.'"
- 113 **Aki ka fa kawitine haro**
 aki ka faha ka- ita -ne haaro
 your grandmother POSS water COMMIT sit CONT+F that one+F
 nf prt nf vi dem
 "'There is water in your grandmother's pot there.'"
- 114 **Aki ka fa , tifahi**
 aki ka faha , ti- fawa -hi
 grandmother POSS water 2SG.S drink IMP+F
 nf prt nf vt
 "'Drink some of your grandmother's water.'"
- 115 **Yiwa boni kawitineke haro , noki yoto**
 yiwaha boni ka- ita -ne -ke haaro , noki yoto
 ceramic pot COMMIT sit CONT+F DECL+F that one+F end+F cover
 nf vi dem pn result
kanaharo haro
 ka- na -haaro haaro
 COMMIT AUX IP.E+F that one+F
 aux dem
 "'The pot is there with its lid on.'"
- 116 **Fa onakamamatibe ati**
 faha o- to- na- ka -ma -mata -be ati
 water 1SG.S away CAUS go/come back short time IMMED+F say
 nf vt vt
namako , yawematamona
 na -mako , yawa -himata -mona
 AUX for this reason+M be upset FP.N+M REP+M
 aux vi
 'Because he didn't say, "I will go get water," he grieved afterwards.'
- 117 **Inamate yana kabote nematamonaka**
 inamate yana na -kabote na -himata -mona -ka
 child get up AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vi aux aux
 'The boy got up quickly.'
- 118 **Inamate yana ne tokematamonaka ahi**
 inamate yana na+M to- ka -himata -mona -ka ahi
 child get up AUX away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M there
 nm vi aux vi dem
 'The boy got up quickly and went.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

119 *Toke* , *yiwa noki bori iti* , *fa boko*
to- ka+M , yiwa noki bori iti+M , faha boko
away go/come pot lid+F take out water close
vi nf pn vt nf vt

tonihebona , *noko maka kose*
to- niha- na -hibona , noko maka kose
CH CAUS AUX INT+M face+M snake bite many times
aux pn nf vt

hirawematamona ahi .
hi- na -rawa -himata -mona ahi
OC AUX F.PL FP.N+M REP+M then
aux dem

'He went. He took off the lid of the pot. When he was bending over to drink water, the snakes bit him on the face.'

120 *Aya ya ya*
aya yaa yaa
(expression of pain) (expression of pain) (expression of pain)
interj interj prt

onokora onokora .
o- noko -ra o- noko -ra
1SG.POSS face NPQ 1SG.POSS face NPQ
pn pn

'"Aya ya ya, my face, my face."'

121 *Faya maka noko kose hirawe kiya kane*
faya maka noko kose hi- na -rawa+M kiya ka- na+M
so snake face+M bite many times OC AUX F.PL yell COMIT AUX
conj nf pn vt aux vi aux

, *bati fito tonamake* , *yama nawati*
bati fito to- na -makI yama na- wata
3SG.POSS.father rush away AUX following thing CAUS exist
nm vi aux nf vt

nofaraweno Hinaka yama okatao kose
nofa -rawa -hino , hinaka yama okatao kose
recently F.PL IP.N+M 3SG.POSS thing my son bite many times
prt pron nf nm vt

nineni ati nematamonaka ahi .
na -ne -ni ati na -himata -mona -ka ahi
AUX CONT+F BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
aux vt aux dem

'He cried out as the snakes bit him on the face. His father ran to him. "She has been raising them, and her things bit my son," he said.'

122 *Faya hikanabowarawemetemone ahi* .
faya hi- ka- na- aboha -rawa -hemete -mone ahi
so OC COMIT CAUS die F.PL FP.N+F REP+F then
conj vt dem

'He destroyed the pot with the snakes.'

123 *Hikanabowarawa one hasi na kana ni*
hi- ka- na- aboha -rawa+F , one hasi na+F kana na.NFIN
OC COMIT CAUS die F.PL other+F escape AUX run AUX
vt adj vi aux vi aux

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

tokemetemoneke

to- ka -hemete -mone -ke
away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vi

'He killed them, but one escaped and went running away.'

124 **Maka kana ni toka one abarawemetemone**
maka kana na.NFIN to- ka+F one ahaba -rawa -hemete -mone
snake run AUX away go/come other+F die F.PL FP.N+F REP+F
nf vi aux vi adj vi

nafi

nafi
all
pn

'The snake went running away. The others all died.'

125 **Faya abarawa , faya maka abarawa , faya inamate ,**
faya ahaba -rawa+F , faya maka ahaba -rawa+F , faya inamate ,
so die F.PL so snake die F.PL so child
conj vi conj nf vi conj nm

inamate abibote nematamona amaka maka
inamate ahaba -bote na -himata -mona ama -ka maka
child die quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M snake
nm vi aux sec nf

ihirawa , bati yawebana
ihi -rawa , bati yawa -hibana
because of+F F.PL 3SG.POSS.father be upset FUT+M
pn nm vi

'They died. The snakes died. The boy died quickly because of the snakes. His father grieved.'

126 **Bati yaweba , hinakaki**
bati yawa -hiba , hinaka aki
3SG.POSS.father be upset FUT+M 3SG.POSS grandmother
nm vi nf

kamemetemoneke ahi , maka nanawatarawaha
ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi , maka na- na- wata -rawa -ha
go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then snake DUP CAUS exist F.PL DUP
vi dem nf pn

'His father grieved. His grandmother came back, the one who was raising the snakes.'

127 **Kama kobo namemetemoneke**
ka -ma+F kobo na -ma -hemete -mone -ke
go/come back arrive AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vi vi aux

'She came back, and arrived.'

128 **Oka , oka yiwa boni hibeke waka**
o- ka , o- ka yiwaha boni hibeke waka
1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS ceramic pot who+M destroy
prt prt nf nm vt

raya ?

na -ra -ya
AUX CQ+M now
aux

""Who destroyed my pot?""

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

129 *Ami* , *ami* *tikanoti* *noko* *maka* *kose*
ami ami ti- ka noti noko maka kose
mother mother 2SG.POSS POSS grandson face+M snake bite many times
nf nf nm pn nf vt

hirawe *bati* *tama* *kanahari*
hi- na -rawa+M bati tama ka- na -haari
OC AUX F.PL 3SG.POSS.father hold onto COMMIT AUX IP.E+M
aux nm vt aux

"Mother, the snakes bit your grandson on the face, and his father is holding him."

130 *Tinawati* *tinofarawanihi* ?
ti- na- wata ti- nofa -rawa -hani -hi
2SG.S CAUS exist 2SG.S recently F.PL IP.N+F DUP
vt prt

"Were you raising them?"

131 *Oko* *yama* *kawitarawa* *aawa* *rawareno*
o- ka yama ka- ita -rawa+F a- awa na -rawa -ra -hino
1SG.POSS POSS thing COMMIT sit F.PL DUP see AUX F.PL NEG IP.N+M
prt nf vi vt aux

awane ?
awa -ne
seem+M BKG+M
sec

"Didn't he see them in the pot?"

132 *Inamate* *feneba* *tonakamarawareno*
inamate fehene -ba to- na- ka -ma -rawa -ra -hino
child juice+M FUT away CAUS go/come back F.PL NEG IP.N+M
nm pn vt

awane ?
awa -ne
seem+M BKG+M
sec

"Why didn't he go get water for the boy?"

133 *Fa* *tonakamiha* *inamate* *katafare*
faha to- na- ka -ma -ha inamate ka- tafa -ra+M
water away CAUS go/come back child COMMIT eat NEG
nf vt nm vt

"He should have gone after water, and eaten with him."

134 *Inamate* *bati* *toma* *hikana* *ati*
inamate bati toma hi- na -ka -na ati
child 3SG.POSS.father suck OC AUX DECL+M IRR+M say
nm nm vt aux vt

nematamonaka
na -himata -mona -ka
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux

'The boy's father sucked on him to cure him, but it was no use.'

135 *Inamate* *ahabematamonaka*
inamate ahaba -himata -mona -ka
child die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nm vi

'The boy died.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

136 *Ahabe* , *faya me kamenemete me amake*
 ahaba+M , faya me ka -ma -hene -mete me ama -ke
 end so 3PL.S go/come back IRR+F FP.N+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F
 vi conj pron vi pron sec

fahi .
 fahi
 then
 dem

'He died. If he had gotten well, people could come back from the dead.'

137 *Faya kokosi* , *kokosi biti* , *biti tama*
 faya kokosi , kokosi biti , biti tama
 so kinkajou kinkajou 3SG.POSS.son 3SG.POSS.son hold onto
 conj nm nm nm nm vt

ne biti *abe tama* *ne* , *faya biti* ,
 na+M biti ahaba+M tama na+M , faya biti ,
 AUX 3SG.POSS.son die hold onto AUX so 3SG.POSS.son
 aux nm vi vt aux conj nm

towakamakimatamonaka

to- ka- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 away COMIT go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'The kinkajou's son died. He held him. He took his son away.'

138 *Biti* *towakamaki* , *Inamatewe*
 biti to- ka- ka -makI+M , inamatewe
 3SG.POSS.son away COMIT go/come following child
 nm vi nm

okomatibe

o- kamo -mata -be
 1SG.S bury short time IMMED+F
 vt

'He took his son away. "I'm going to bury the boy."'

139 *Faya hikamo* , *hikamomatamonaka*
 faya hi- kamo+M , hi- kamo -himata -mona -ka
 so OC bury OC bury FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vt vt

'So he buried him.'

140 *Hikamo* , *hikamomatamonaka*
 hi- kamo+M , hi- kamo -himata -mona -ka
 OC bury OC bury FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt vt

'He buried him.'

141 *Hikamo* *kame* , *inamatewe* , *hinaka yifaribone*
 hi- kamo+M ka -ma+M , inamatewe , hinaka yifari -bone
 OC bury go/come back child 3SG.POSS banana INT+F
 vt vi nm pron nf

hikanawina , *hinaka kasibona* , *kasi* , *kasi*
 hi- ka- na- wina+F , hinaka kasi -bona , kasi , kasi
 OC COMIT CAUS hang 3SG.POSS gourd INT+M gourd gourd
 vt pron nm nm nm

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

biti , *faha* , *fa* *kawitare* , *fa*
 biti , faha , faha ka- ita -rI , faha
 3SG.POSS.son water water COMIT sit raised surface water
 nm nf nf vi nf

kawitaremoneke

ka- ita -rI -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT sit raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'He buried him. He came back. He hung up some bananas for him. There was also a gourd cup, and some water in a container.'

142 *Fa* *kawitare* *ama* , *inamate* *hifahabonehe*
 faha ka- ita -rI ama , inamate hi- fawa -habone -he
 water COMIT sit raised surface SEC child OC drink INT+F DUP
 nf vi sec nm vt

'There was water in a container for the boy to drink.'

143 *Tafa* *tafe* *hiwasimabona* *ka* *tefebona* *botone*
 tafa+F tafa+M hi- wasi -ma.NOM+M -bona ka tefe -bona botone
 eat eat OC find back INT+M which food+M INT+M bunch+M
 vi vi vt prt pn

hinahome , *inamate* , *tafimenaha*
 hi- na- homa+M , inamate , tafi -ma -hina -ha ,
 OC CAUS lie on ground child wake up back IRR+M DUP
 vt nm vi

kamehinaha

ka -ma -hina -ha
 go/come back IRR+M DUP
 vi

'He made a place for his food, so he could find it when he came back, if he woke up and came back.'¹¹⁰

144 *Mati* *ati* *hiyara* *mati* *ati*
 mati ati hiya -ra+F mati ati
 3SG.POSS.mother voice be bad NEG 3SG.POSS.mother voice
 nf pn vi nf pn

hiyaremetemone

hiya -ra -hemete -mone fara
 be bad NEG FP.N+F REP+F same+F
 vi dem

'His mother said something bad.'

145 *Inamate* , *okatao* *ami* , *ami*
 inamate , okatao ami , ami
 child my son mother mother
 nm nm nf nf

""Mother.""

146 *Haa* ?

haa
 huh?
 interj

""What?""

¹¹⁰ The first two words of the sentence, i.e. *tafa* and *tafe*, are false starts.

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

147 *Ami okatao , temene e yowi kamatahi*
ami okatao , temene ee yowi ka- na -mata -hi
mother my son grave+M 1IN.S sweep COMMIT AUX short time IMP+F
nf nm pn pron vt aux

"Mother, let's sweep around my son's grave."

148 *Tikamakeriyahi*
ti- to- ka -makI -ra -yahi
2SG.S away go/come following NEG DIST.IMP+F
vi

"Don't go there."

149 *Okatao temene tiwariyahi*
okatao temene ti- awa -ra -yahi
my son grave+M 2SG.S see NEG DIST.IMP+F
nm pn vt

"Don't look at my son's grave."

150 *Tikamakeriyahi*
ti- to- ka -makI -ra -yahi
2SG.S away go/come following NEG DIST.IMP+F
vi

"Don't go there."

151 *Owati timitini ?*
o- ati ti- mita -ni
1SG.POSS voice 2SG.S hear BKG+F
pn vt

"Did you hear me?"

152 *Okatao temene tiwariyahi*
okatao temene ti- awa -ra -yahi
my son grave+M 2SG.S see NEG DIST.IMP+F
nm pn vt

"Don't look at my son's grave."

153 *Okamatibeya*
o- to- ka -mata -be -ya
1SG.S away go/come short time IMMED+F now
vi

"I'm going out."

154 *Faya toka , tokahi bani me fora*
faya to- ka , to- ka+M bani me fora
so away go/come away go/come animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun
conj vi vi nm pron vt

ne bani me kakamematamonaka
na+M bani me ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
AUX animal 3PL.O COMMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux nm pron vt

'He went out and killed animals with his blowgun, and brought the animals back.'

155 *Bani me weye ni kame , bani me weye*
bani me weye na.NFIN ka -ma+M , bani me weye
animal 3PL.O carry AUX go/come back animal 3PL.O carry
nm pron vt aux vi nm pron vt

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

ni *kame* *bani* *me* , *kame* *taha* *me*
na.NFIN ka -ma+M bani me ka -ma+M taha me
AUX go/come back animal 3PL go/come back sweat bee sp 3PL.S
aux vi nm pron vi nm pron

tokehemetemoneke *ahi*
to- ka -hemete -mone -ke ahi
away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
vi dem

'He came back carrying the animals. The taha sweat bees went away.'

156 *Inamate* *emene* *so* *kanikimematamona* *tati* *tati*
inamate emene soo na -kanikima -himata -mona tati tati
child blood+M lie AUX scattered FP.N+M REP+M head head
nm pn vi aux pn pn

mati *bobi* *hisari* *ahi* *yimawa* *ya*
mati bobi hi- na -kosa -haari ahi yimawa ya
3SG.POSS.mother slit OC AUX middle IP.E+M there knife ADJU
nf vt aux dem nf prt

'The boy's blood was all over the ground. His mother had cut off his head with a knife.'

157 *Owati* *mite* *amaka* *hari*
o- ati mita+M ama -ka haari
1SG.POSS voice hear SEC DECL+M that one+M
pn vt sec dem

""She heard what I said.""

158 *Okatao* *owasimebona* *one* *amane*
okatao o- to- wasi -ma -hibona ati o- na+M ama -ne
my son 1SG.S away find back INT+M say 1SG.S AUX SEC BKG+M
nm vt vt sec

""I'm going to meet my son on the way back.""

159 *Tokomakematamonaka*
to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi

'He went.'

160 *Tokomake* , *tokomake* ,
to- ka -makI to- ka -makI
away go/come following away go/come following
vi vi

tokomake *ati*
to- ka -makI ati
away go/come following voice
vi pn

towanamakimatamonaka
to- wana -makI -himata -mona -ka
away be attached following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi

'He went. He spoke right away.'

161 *Afa* *tiweheneni* *ama* ?
afa ti- ehene -ni ama
this+F 2SG.POSS deed IP.N+F be
dem pn vc

""Did you do that?""

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

162 *Owehene* *amani* .
 o- ehene ama -ni
 1SG.POSS deed be BKG+F
 pn vc

"I did that."

163 *Inamate* *temene* *yowi* *okane* , *namiti* *ti*
 inamate temene yowi o- ka- na+M , namiti tii
 child grave+M sweep 1SG.S COMIT AUX neck cut through
 nm pn vt aux pn vt

onakose *amane* *yama* *yowi* *ona* *owa* .
 o- na -kosa+M ama -ne yama yowi o- na+F owa
 1SG.S AUX middle SEC BKG+M thing sweep 1SG.S AUX 1SG.S
 aux sec nf vt aux pron

"I was sweeping around the boy's grave, and I cut off his head as I was sweeping."

164 *Faya* *inamate* , *faya* *mera* *tonahiyeba* *mera*
 faya inamate , faya mera to- na- hiya -hiba mera
 so child so 3PL.O CH CAUS be different FUT+M 3PL.O
 conj nm conj pron vt

wati *kanematamona* *fahi* .
 wati ka- na -himata -mona fahi
 plan against COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 vt aux dem

'He was planning to turn them into animals.'

165 *Hinakaki* , *hinakaki*
 hinaka aki hinaka aki
 3SG.POSS mother-in-law 3SG.POSS mother-in-law
 nf nf

nabowematamonaka *ahi* .
 na- aboha -himata -mona -ka ahi
 CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt dem

'He killed his mother-in-law.'

166 *Hinakaki* *nabowa* , *fati* *nabowa*
 hinaka aki na- aboha.LIST , fati na- aboha.LIST
 3SG.POSS mother-in-law CAUS die 3SG.POSS.wife CAUS die
 nf vt nf vt

nematamonaka *ahi* .
 na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'He killed his mother-in-law, and killed his wife, too.'

167 *Fati* *nabowe* *ya* , *yama*
 fati na- aboha.NOM+M ya , yama
 3SG.POSS.wife CAUS die ADJU thing
 nf vt prt nf

yehehemetemone *amani* *fati* *nabowe*
 yehe -hemete -mone ama -ni fati na- aboha.NOM+M
 be a problem FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F 3SG.POSS.wife CAUS die
 vi sec nf vt

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

karo

karo
because
prt

'When he killed his wife, it was a bad situation, because he killed his wife.'

168 *Naba koro toa ra nabowematamonaka*
naba koro to- ha+F ra na- aboha -himata -mona -ka
pregnant CH be O CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
adj vc prt vt

'She was pregnant when he killed her.'

169 *He nabowe ya*
hee na- aboha.NOM+M ya
3SG.O CAUS die ADJU
pron vt prt

tokomakematamonaka *ahi bati me ni*
to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka ahi bati me ni
away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M there 3SG.POSS.father 3PL to
vi dem nm pron prt

ya
ya
ADJU
prt

'After he killed her, he went to his parents.'

170 *Tokomake kobo tonamake ohi ni*
to- ka -makI kobo to- na -makI ohi na.NFIN
away go/come following arrive away AUX following cry AUX
vi vi aux vi aux

tokomake ohi ni me himite ohi ni
to- ka -makI ohi na.NFIN me hi- mita+M ohi na.NFIN
away go/come following cry AUX 3PL.S OC hear cry AUX
vi vi aux pron vt vi aux

fawa ne faya tasi tonamake faya mati
fawa na+M faya tasi to- na -makI faya mati
stop AUX so emerge away AUX following so 3SG.POSS.mother
vi aux conj vi aux conj nf

aate hinematamona fahi
a- ate hi- na -himata -mona fahi
DUP ask OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
vt aux dem

'He went and arrived. He went crying. They heard him crying. He stopped crying. He appeared. His mother asked him.'

171 *Mati aate hine Oka noti me*
mati a- ate hi- na+M o- ka noti me
3SG.POSS.mother DUP ask OC AUX 1SG.POSS POSS grandson 3PL.S
nf vt aux prt nm pron

e riya ?
ee na -ri -ya
(question) AUX CQ+F now
vi aux

'His mother asked him. "Where are my grandchildren?"'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

172 *Okahiwa* *okare*
 o- ka- hiwa o- ka -re
 1SG.S COMIT have children 1SG.S DECL NEG+F
 vi prt

"I don't have any children."

173 *Okahiwara* *okomakine*
 o- ka- hiwa -ra+F o- ka -makI -ne
 1SG.S COMIT have children NEG 1SG.S go/come following CONT+F
 vi vi

oke

o- ke
 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt

"I am coming, and I don't have any children."

174 *Me* *winarake*
 me wina -hara -ke
 3PL.S live IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vi

"The others are living there."

175 *Me* *winarani*
 me wina -hara -ni
 3PL.S live IP.E+F BKG+F
 pron vi

"They are living there."

176 *Fara* *owi* *ya* *okomakine*
 fara o- waa.NOM+F ya o- ka -makI -ne
 same+F 1SG.S stand ADJU 1SG.S go/come following CONT+F
 dem vi prt vi

oke

o- ke
 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt

"I stayed there a long time, and I am coming."

177 *Faya* *kamaki* *sawimake* , *faya*
 faya ka -makI+M sawi -makI , faya
 so go/come following be present following so
 conj vi vi conj

sasawimake *toe* , *hahi* *fati* , *inamate*
 sa- sawi -makI to- ha+M , haahi fati , inamate
 DUP be present following CH AUX this one+M 3SG.POSS.wife child
 vi aux dem nf nm

ahababise , *inamate* *ahababise* , *kamobisahi* , *inamate*
 ahaba -bisa+M , inamate ahaba -bisa+M , kamo -bisa+M , inamate
 die also child die also bury also child
 vi nm vi vt nm

kamobise , *biti* , *ahabe* *ka* ,
 kamo -bisa+M , biti , ahaba+M ka ,
 bury also 3SG.POSS.son end which
 vt nm vi prt

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

sibirimatamonaka

sibiri -mata -mona -ka
harpy eagle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nm

sibiri

sibiri
harpy eagle
nm

sibiri

sibiri
harpy eagle
nm

biti

biti
small+M
adj

'He came and stayed there. He stayed there a long time. Another man was fishing. The boy died, and he buried him. His son turned into a harpy eagle, a young harpy eagle.'

178 *Sibiri*

sibiri
harpy eagle
nm

biti

biti
small+M
adj

wasi

wasi+M
find
vt

sibiri

sibiri
harpy eagle
nm

biti

biti
3SG.POSS.son
nm

kakame

ka- ka -ma+M
COMIT go/come back
vt

sibiri

sibiri
harpy eagle
nm

nanawata

na- na- wata
DUP CAUS exist
vt

tohe

to- ha+M
CH AUX
aux

fare

fare
same+M
dem

biti

biti
3SG.POSS.son
nm

fare

fare
same+M
dem

bitimatamonaka

biti -mata -mona -ka
3SG.POSS.son FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nm

'He found the harpy eagle and brought the harpy eagle back. He raised the harpy eagle. It was his own son.'

179 *Fare*

fare
same+M
dem

biti

biti
3SG.POSS.son
nm

nawate

na- wata+M
CAUS exist
vt

isiri

isiri
basket
nf

ya

ya
ADJU
prt

isiri

isiri
basket
nf

ya

ya
ADJU
prt

ihahi

iha+M
be located
vi

kakawina

ka- ka- wina
DUP COMIT hang
vi

toematamonaka

to- ha -himata -mona -ka
CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux

ahi

ahi
there
dem

neme

neme
up
nf

ya

ya
ADJU
prt

'He raised his own son in a basket. He was in the basket hanging up high.'

180 *Kawine*

ka- wina+M
COMIT hang
vi

yayana

ya- yana
DUP grow
vi

toe

to- ha+M
CH AUX
aux

yayana

ya- yana
DUP grow
vi

toematamonaka

to- ha -himata -mona -ka
CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux

'He grew hanging in it up high.'

181 *Yayana*

ya- yana
DUP grow
vi

toe

to- ha+M
CH AUX
aux

fare

fare
same+M
dem

bati

bati
3SG.POSS.father
nm

hikanawine

hi- ka- na- wina+M
OC COMIT CAUS hang
vt

nanatafa

na- na- tafa
DUP CAUS eat
vt

hihe

hi- to- ha+M
OC CH AUX
aux

tefebona

tefe -bona
food+M INT+M
pn

fora

fora
shoot with blowgun
vt

hine

hi- na+M
OC AUX
aux

hinaka

hinaka
3SG.POSS
pron

bani

bani
animal
nm

mebone

me -bone
3PL INT+F
pron

me

me
3PL.O
pron

ta

taa
give
vt

hina

hi- na+F
OC AUX
aux

yama

yama
thing
nf

soki

soki.NOM
be dark
vi

ya

ya
ADJU
prt

'He was growing. His own father had hung him up, and he fed him. He killed food for him with his blowgun. He gave him animals at night.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

182 *Faya tafe ya yayana toe , karaboa kihare ,*
 faya tafa.NOM+M ya ya- yana to- ha+M , karaboha kiha -ra+M ,
 so eat ADJU DUP grow CH AUX blowgun have NEG
 conj vi prt vi aux nf vt

Haa yama yete omatibe
 haa yama yete o- na -mata -be
 oh thing hunt 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F
 interj nf vt aux

'As he ate, he grew. He didn't have a blowgun. "Haa, I'm going to go hunting."

183 *Oof , yama yete omatibeya*
 oof , yama yete o- na -mata -be -ya
 hoo thing hunt 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F now
 interj nf vt aux

"Oof, I'm going hunting."

184 *Faya hikatise sana hikana ,*
 faya hi- ka- tisa+M sana hi- ka- na.LIST ,
 so OC COMIT undo carry strapped on shoulder OC COMIT AUX
 conj vt vt aux

boro ya
 boro ya
 basket ADJU
 nf prt

'He untied him and slung him over his shoulder, in a basket.'

185 *Boro ya sana hikane ,*
 boro ya sana hi- ka- na+M ,
 basket ADJU carry strapped on shoulder OC COMIT AUX
 nf prt vt aux

hiwake , hiwake yimawa tatama
 hi- to- ka- ka+M , hi- to- ka- ka+M yimawa ta- tama
 OC away COMIT go/come OC away COMIT go/come knife DUP hold onto
 vt vt nf vt

yimawa , toke ya toke ya , fare biti
 yimawa to- ka.NOM+M ya to- ka.NOM+M ya , fare biti
 knife away go/come ADJU away go/come ADJU same+M 3SG.POSS.son
 nf vi prt vi prt dem nm

ehene kakaba toematamona
 ehene ka- kaba to- ha -himata -mona
 victim of+M DUP eat CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 pn vt aux

'He slung him over his shoulder in a basket. He took him. He had a knife. When he went out, he ate what his own son killed.'

186 *Bani me bani me , bani me*
 bani me bani me , bani me
 animal 3PL animal 3PL animal 3PL.O
 nm pron nm pron nm pron

katomematamonaka ahi
 katoma -himata -mona -ka ahi
 kill many FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt dem

'He killed a lot of animals.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

187	Bani	me	,	bani	me	katome	hinaka	bani	me	weye
	bani	me		bani	me	katoma+M	hinaka	bani	me	weye
	animal	3PL		animal	3PL.O	kill many	3SG.POSS	animal	3PL.O	carry
	nm	pron		nm	pron	vt	pron	nm	pron	vt
	hina	,	bani	me	,	faya	hibema			
	hi- na+F		bani	me		faya	hi- ibI		-ma.LIST	
	OC AUX		animal	3PL		so	OC put inside	back		
	aux		nm	pron		conj	vt			
	hibeme			ya		hiwakama				
	hi- ibI			ya		hi- ka- ka			-ma.LIST	
	OC put inside			ADJU		OC COMIT go/come			back	
	vt			prt		vt				
	hiwakame			ya		sana				
	hi- ka- ka			ya		sana				
	OC COMIT go/come			ADJU		carry strapped on			shoulder	
	vt			prt		vt				
	hikana	,	hinaka	bani	me	weye	,	hinaka	bani	
	hi- ka- na.LIST		hinaka	bani	me	weye.LIST		hinaka	bani	
	OC COMIT AUX		3SG.POSS	animal	3PL.O	carry		3SG.POSS	animal	
	aux		pron	nm	pron	vt		pron	nm	
	me	weye	hina	,	faya	kobo	hikana	,	kobo	
	me	weye	hi- na+F		faya	kobo	hi- ka- na.LIST		kobo	
	3PL.O	carry	OC AUX		so	arrive	OC COMIT AUX		arrive	
	pron	vt	aux		conj	vi	aux		vi	
	hikanematamonaka									
	hi- ka- na		-himata	-mona	-ka					
	OC COMIT AUX		FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M					
	aux									

'He killed a lot of animals. He carried his animals. He put him back in and brought him, slung over his shoulder. He also carried his animals. He arrived with him.'

188	Faya	wabori		ene	hiyareba
	faya	wabori		ehene	hiya -ra -hiba
	so	3SG.POSS	brother-in-law	deed+M	be bad NEG FUT+M
	conj	nm		pn	vi
	sawino		ya	,	wabori
	sawi.NOM	-no	ya		wabori
	be present	IP.N+M	ADJU		3SG.POSS
	vi		prt		brother-in-law
					deed+M
					pn
					vi
	mayawari	,	mayawari	me	ayaki
	mayawari		mayawari	me	ayaka.NFIN
	titi		titi	3PL.S	sing
	nm		nm	pron	vi
					yana
					tonemetemone
					yana
					to- na -hemete -mone
					start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
					vi aux
	mayawari	mati			
	mayawari	mati			
	titi	3PL			
	nm	pron			

'His brother-in-law, who was going to do something bad, was there. There were some titi monkeys that started chattering.'

189	Mayawari	me	ayaketemone	,	Soso
	mayawari	me	ayaka -hemete -mone		soso
	titi	3PL.S	sing FP.N+F REP+F		(chatter of titi)
	nm	pron	vi		sound

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

soso soso (chatter of titi) sound	soso soso (chatter of titi) sound	soso soso (chatter of titi) sound	sososo sososo (chatter of titi) sound
soso soso (chatter of titi) sound	soso soso (chatter of titi) sound	sososo sososo (chatter of titi) sound	.

"The titis were chattering. "Soso, soso."

190	Hiya	,	mayawari	me	ayakine	ayata	karo	.
	hiya		mayawari	me	ayaka -ne	ayata	karo	
	come on		titi	3PL.S	sing CONT+F	near	LOC	
	interj		nm	pron	vi	nf	prt	

"Here, there are titis chattering nearby."

191	Karaboara	?	
	karaboha -ra		
	blowgun NPQ		
	nf		

"Where is a blowgun?"

192	Karaboa	,	ota owa		ka	karabohara	?
	karaboha		ota owa		ka	karaboha -ra	
	blowgun		1SG.POSS.brother-in-law		POSS	blowgun NPQ	
	nf		nm		prt	nf	

"The blowgun, where is my brother-in-law's blowgun?"

193	Karaboa		watarini	
	karaboha	wata	-ra -ni	
	blowgun	exist	NEG BKG+F	
	nf		vi	

"There is no blowgun."

194	Karaboa		watarini	
	karaboha	wata	-ra -ni	
	blowgun	exist	NEG BKG+F	
	nf		vi	

"There is no blowgun."

195	Hibaka		ota owa		ka	moho	kawinaha	?
	hibaka		ota owa		ka	moho	ka- wina+F	
	where		1SG.POSS.brother-in-law		POSS	tree sp	COMIT hang	
	interrog		nm		prt	nf	vi	

"Where is my brother-in-law's moho cotton hanging?"

196	Moho		amari		haro	?
	moho	ama	-ra.NOM+F	haaro		
	tree sp	be	NEG	that one+F		
	nf	vc		dem		

"Is that the moho there?"

197	Yama		ahi		rima	tinahi
	yama		ahi	na	-rima	ti- na -hi
	thing	mess with	AUX	NEG.IMP+F	2SG.S	AUX IMP+F
	nf	vt	aux		aux	

"Don't touch that."

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

198 *Yama hine kawini na ahi hinakati ati*
 yama hine ka- wina.NOM+F na ahi hinaka ati ati
 thing only COMMIT hang AUX there 3SG.POSS older sister say
 nf pron vi aux dem nf vt

na ati mitarama ne hinakati ati mite
 na+F ati mita -rama na+M , hinaka ati ati mita+M
 AUX voice hear unusual AUX 3SG.POSS older sister voice hear
 aux pn result aux nf pn vt

sa kanibote ramako
 saa ka- na -bote na -ra -mako
 release COMMIT AUX quickly AUX NEG for this reason+M
 vt aux aux

'Just let that thing hang there,' his older sister said, but he didn't listen to her. He should have listened to her and left it go.'

199 *Faya yama katisematamonaka*
 faya yama ka- tisa -himata -mona -ka
 so thing COMMIT undo FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj nf vt

'He untied it.'

200 *Sibiri foye ra katisematamonane*
 sibiri foya+M ra ka- tisa -himata -mona -ne
 harpy eagle be inside O COMMIT undo FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 nm vi prt vt

'He freed the eagle that was inside.'

201 *Sibiri katise kana ni tokebona*
 sibiri ka- tisa+M , kana na.NFIN to- ka -hibona ,
 harpy eagle COMMIT undo run AUX away go/come INT+M
 nm vt vi aux vi

hikatise rama ahi
 hi- ka- tisa+M rama ahi
 OC COMMIT undo unusual then
 vt prt dem

'He freed the eagle. He should have run away, but he freed it.'

202 *Hikatise noko noko kefe hikanematamonaka*
 hi- ka- tisa+M noko noko kefe hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 OC COMMIT undo eye+M eye+M open OC COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt pn pn vt aux

'He freed it. He opened its eyes.'

203 *Noko kefe hikane he noko korone awe rama ahi*
 noko kefe hi- ka- na+M hee noko korone awa+M rama ahi
 eye+M open OC COMMIT AUX 3SG.POSS eye naked see unusual then
 pn vt aux pron pn pn vt prt dem

'He opened its eyes, and it saw his eyes.'

204 *Yora namise , namiti hotone yokana wara hine rama*
 yora na -misa+M , namiti hotone yokana wara hi- to- na+M rama
 jump AUX up neck hole+M true grab OC CH AUX unusual
 vi aux pn pn adj vt aux prt

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

ahi

ahi
then
dem

'It jumped out. It grabbed his throat.'

205 *Aya* , *aya* *ya*
aya aya yaa
(expression of pain) (expression of pain) (expression of pain)
interj interj interj

ya *sibiri*
yaa sibiri
(expression of pain) harpy eagle
interj nm

""Aya, aya ya ya, the eagle.""

206 *Ene* *kiya* *kanematamonaka* *ahi*
ehene kiya ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
result of+M yell COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
pn vi aux dem

'He cried out because of it.'

207 *Owati* *kasawari* *kiya* *kana* *hari*
o- ati ka- sawari+M kiya ka- na.CONT+M haari
1SG.POSS voice COMIT frustrate yell COMIT AUX that one+M
pn vt vi aux dem

""He didn't listen to me, and now he is crying out.""

208 *Owati* *kasawari* *kiya* *kana* *hari*
o- ati ka- sawari+M kiya ka- na.CONT+M haari
1SG.POSS voice COMIT frustrate yell COMIT AUX that one+M
pn vt vi aux dem

""He didn't listen to me, and now he is crying out.""

209 *Hine* *ati* *saibona*
hine ati sai -hibona
only voice be heard INT+M
pron pn vi

""He should have just complained.""

210 *Faya* *kiya* *ni* *sai* *ya* , *faya* , *tama* *ni*
faya kiya na.NFIN sai.NOM ya faya tama na.NFIN
so yell AUX be heard ADJU so hold onto AUX
conj vi aux vi prt conj vt aux

hikamake *rama* *ahi*
hi- to- ka -makI rama ahi
OC away go/come following unusual then
vi prt dem

'His cries could be heard, as it went carrying him.'

211 *Hiwakamakimatamonaka* *awa* *me* *ka*
hi- to- ka- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka awa me kaa
OC away COMIT go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M tree 3PL.S chop
vt nf pron vt

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

na me ni ya ahi
na+F me ni ya ahi
AUX 3PL to ADJU there
aux pron prt prt dem

'It took him to where they were cutting trees down.'

212 *Awa me ka na me moni saiha me , faya*
awa me kaa na+F me moni sai+F me , faya
tree 3PL.S chop AUX 3PL.POSS sound be heard 3PL.POSS so
nf pron vt aux pron pn vi pron conj

kokori towakamaki kokori
kokori to- ka- ka -makI+M kokori
3SG.POSS.father-in-law away COMIT go/come following 3SG.POSS.father-in-law
nm vt nm

tama kanematamonaka ahi
tama ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
hold onto COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
vt aux dem

'The sound of them could be heard as they cut down trees. He took his mother's brother. He carried him.'

213 *Yaweba wa , Me kakasiro raba*
yawa -hiba waa.LIST , me ka- kasiro na -raba
be upset FUT+M stand 3PL.S DUP persist AUX a bit
vi vi pron vi aux

nofara me , owati me mitahara me
na nofa -ra+F me , o- ati me mita -hara me
AUX recently NEG 3PL.S 1SG.POSS voice 3PL.S hear NEG+F 3PL.O
prt pron pn pron vt pron

onofara me , oka yama foya
ati o- na nofa -hara me , o- ka yama foya+F
say 1SG.S AUX recently IP.E+F 3PL.O 1SG.POSS POSS thing be inside
prt pron prt nf vi

amani
ama -ni
SEC BKG+F
sec

'He was standing out there, and he was going to be upset. "They are really bad. They never listen to me. My thing was in there."'

214 *Te karaboaho*
tee karaboha -ho
2PL.S shoot with blowgun IMP+M
pron vt

""Kill it with your blowguns.""

215 *Te karaboaho*
tee karaboha -ho
2PL.S shoot with blowgun IMP+M
pron vt

""Kill it with your blowguns.""

216 *Te karaboaho*
tee karaboha -ho
2PL.S shoot with blowgun IMP+M
pron vt

""Kill it with your blowguns.""

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

224 *Yawa ya awa ka nematamonaka*
 yawa ya awa kaa na -himata -mona -ka
 grief ADJU tree chop AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf prt nf vt aux

'He was upset as he cut down the trees.'

225 *Yawa ya awa ka ne , awa ka ne awa ka ne*
 yawa ya awa kaa na+M , awa kaa na+M awa kaa na.NOM+M
 grief ADJU tree chop AUX tree chop AUX tree chop AUX
 nf prt nf vt aux nf vt aux nf vt aux

ya , Yama kakasiro raba ra yama hiri
 ya , yama ka- kasiro na -raba na -ra+F yama hiri
 ADJU thing DUP persist AUX a bit AUX NEG thing do
 prt nf vi aux aux nf vt

narawaba
 na -rawa -haba
 AUX F.PL FUT+F
 aux

'He was upset as he cut down the trees. "They do bad things."'

226 *Kokori mete koro kokori kabi*
 kokori mete koro kokori kaba.NFIN
 3SG.POSS.father-in-law rear+M throw 3SG.POSS.father-in-law eat
 nm pn vt nm vt

hawa toe kokori mete koro
 hawa to- ha+M kokori mete koro
 palm sp CH AUX 3SG.POSS.father-in-law rear+M throw
 nf aux nm pn vt

nisematamonaka
 na -risa -himata -mona -ka
 AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'He finished eating one side of his uncle's rear end, and then he threw the other side down.'

227 *Abi abi fiio fiio*
 abi abi fiio fiio
 father father (call of harpy eagle) (call of harpy eagle)
 nm nm sound sound

fiio fiio
 fiio fiio
 (call of harpy eagle) (call of harpy eagle)
 sound sound

""Father, Father, fiio, fiio.""

228 *Titefone naro haro*
 ti- tefe -bone na -haaro haaro
 2SG.POSS food INT+F exist look+F that one+F
 pn vi dem

""Here is some food for you.""

229 *Okobareka*
 o- kaba -hare -ka
 1SG.S eat IP.E+M DECL+M
 vt

""I ate him.""

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

235 *Sare* , *sare* *horo* *nakematamonaka*
 sarehe sarehe horo na -kI -himata -mona -ka
 blowgun dart blowgun dart drag AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf nf vt aux

'He pulled out a dart.'

236 *Sare* *horo* *nake* , *sare* *rofi*
 sarehe horo na -kI sarehe rofi
 blowgun dart drag AUX coming blowgun dart twirl in mouth
 nf vt aux nf vt

kanematamonaka

ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

aux

'He pulled out a dart. He twirled the dart head in his mouth.'

237 *Sare* *rofi* *kane* , *biti*
 sarehe rofi ka- na+M , biti
 blowgun dart twirl in mouth COMIT AUX 3SG.POSS.son
 nf vt aux nm

karaboebana

karaboha -hibana , yawehibanoho
 shoot with blowgun FUT+M be upset FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vt vi

'He twirled the dart head in his mouth. Then he shot his son, and after that he grieved.'

238 *Yaweba* *biti* *karaboematamonaka*
 yawa -hiba biti karaboha -himata -mona -ka
 be upset FUT+M 3SG.POSS.son shoot with blowgun FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi nm vt

'He was going to grieve, and he shot his son.'

239 *Yama* , *te* *awaawa* *raba* *nofara* *te*
 yama tee awa- awa na -raba na nofa -ra+F tee
 thing 2PL.S DUP see AUX a bit AUX recently NEG 2PL.S
 nf pron vt aux prt pron

amake

ama -ke
 SEC DECL+F

sec

""You people never listen.""

240 *Faya* , *biti* *karaboe* , *faya* *bati*
 faya , biti karaboha+M , faya bati
 so 3SG.POSS.son shoot with blowgun so 3SG.POSS.father
 conj nm vt conj nm

hikaraboe

hi- karaboha+M tokowarekose
 OC shoot with blowgun away COMIT stand raised surface middle
 vt vi

kakamake

ka- ka -makI kobo *kanamakematamonaka*
 COMIT go/come following arrive COMIT AUX following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi aux

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

"Did you undo it because you thought it was yours?"

247 *Karaboa tiwa okana* , *karaboa tiwa okana*
karaboha tiwa o- ka- na+F , karaboha tiwa o- ka- na+F
blowgun carry 1SG.S COMIT AUX blowgun carry 1SG.S COMIT AUX
nf vt aux nf vt aux
okaha bani me weweye ohamone te
o- to- ka+F bani me we- weye o- to- ha -hamone tee
1SG.S away go/come animal 3PL.O DUP carry 1SG.S CH AUX REP+F 2PL.S
vi nm pron vt aux pron
aati toha te awineni
a- ati to- ha+F tee awine -ni
DUP say CH AUX 2PL.S seem+F BKG+F
vt aux pron sec

"I was carrying a blowgun when I went out and you thought I was carrying animals that I had hunted."

248 *Oka yama ihi okobi onofa*
o- ka yama ihi o- kaba o- nofa+F
1SG.POSS POSS thing victim of+F 1SG.S eat 1SG.S recently
prt nf pn nm prt
oko yama te yokoneke
o- ka yama tee , yoko -ne -ke
1SG.POSS POSS thing 2PL.S bring misfortune on CONT+F DECL+F
prt nf pron vt

"You caused misfortune to the one who killed animals for me to eat."

249 *Te kabaho*
tee kaba -ho
2PL.S eat IMP+M
pron vt

"You eat him."

250 *Te kabaho*
tee kaba -ho
2PL.S eat IMP+M
pron vt

"You eat him."

251 *Te kabaho*
tee kaba -ho
2PL.S eat IMP+M
pron vt

"You eat him."

252 *Okaraboahareka ha owa*
o- karaboha -hare -ka haa owa
1SG.S shoot with blowgun IP.E+M DECL+M DEM 1SG
vt dem pron

"I killed him with my blowgun."

253 *Me hikabebona hikahabane me kabi*
me hi- kaba -hibona hi- ka- habana+M me kaba.NFIN
3PL.S OC eat INT+M OC COMIT order 3PL.S eat
pron vt vt pron vt

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

hinofare , **Ene** **itino** **okaraboine**
 hi- nofa -ra+M , ehene iti -hino o- karaboha -ne
 OC want NEG victim of+M exist IP.N+M 1SG.S shoot with blowgun CONT+F
 vt pn vi vt

oke
 o- ke
 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt

'He told them to eat it, but they didn't want to eat it. "I killed him with a blowgun because he killed someone."

254 **Oka** **wabo** **nabowanomako**
 o- ka wabo na- aboha -no -mako
 1SG.POSS POSS brother-in-law CAUS die IP.N+M for this reason+M
 prt nm vt

okaraboa **oka**
 o- karaboha o- ka
 1SG.S shoot with blowgun 1SG.POSS DECL
 vt prt

"I killed him with a blowgun because he killed my brother-in-law."

255 **Sare** **sana** **okana**
 sarehe sana o- ka- na+F
 blowgun dart carry strapped on shoulder 1SG.S COMMIT AUX
 nf vt aux

oka **owa** **awi** **nofeno**
 o- to- ka+F owa awa nofa -hino
 1SG.S away go/come 1SG.O see recently IP.N+M
 vi pron vt prt

awanemako , **sare** **tabiyo** **yama** **se**
 awa -ne -mako sarehe tabiyo yama see
 seem+M BKG+M for this reason+M blowgun dart absence thing open
 sec nf pn nf vt

na **nanoho** , **ati** **nematamonaka**
 na.CONT+M na.NOM+M -no -ho ati na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX AUX IP.N+M DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux aux vt aux

'He thought he saw me carrying blowgun darts when I went out, so he opened the thing looking for darts,' he said.'

256 **Mati** **ohi** **nemetemoneke** **ahi**
 mati ohi na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3SG.POSS.mother cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf vi aux dem

'His mother cried.'

257 **Mati** **ohi** **nemetemoneni**
 mati ohi na -hemete -mone -ni
 3SG.POSS.mother cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 nf vi aux

'His mother cried.'

258 **Mati** **ohi** **na** , **faya** **mati** **ohi** **nama** ,
 mati ohi na+F , faya mati ohi na -ma+F ,
 3SG.POSS.mother cry AUX so 3SG.POSS.mother cry AUX back
 nf vi aux conj nf vi aux

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

kokosi kame kokosi , oof , faya me
 kokosi ka -ma+M kokosi , oof , faya me
 kinkajou go/come back kinkajou hoo so 3PL.S
 nm vi nm interj conj pron

tohiyemetemoneke fahi me one
 to- hiya -hemete -mone -ke fahi me one
 CH be different FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3PL other+F
 vi dem pron adj

'His mother cried. His mother cried again. The kinkajou came back. The others turned into animals.'

259 *Bite bite fanabone*
 bite bite fana -habone
 3SG.POSS.daughter 3SG.POSS.daughter be married INT+F
 nf nf vi

bite fanabone bite
 bite fana -habone bite
 3SG.POSS.daughter be married INT+F 3SG.POSS.daughter
 nf vi nf

totimakebona bite hikasawari
 to- iti -makI -hibona bite hi- ka- sawari+M
 away take out following INT+M 3SG.POSS.daughter OC COMMIT frustrate
 vt nf vt

bite kana ni tokarawa
 bite kana na.NFIN to- ka -rawa+F
 3SG.POSS.daughter run AUX away go/come F.PL
 nf vi aux vi

towakarawa me hinakamakirawa
 to- ka- ka -rawa+F me hi- to- na- ka -makI -rawa+F
 away COMMIT go/come F.PL 3PL.O OC away CAUS go/come following F.PL
 vi pron vt

me hiwasirawara me siba hirawa me
 me hi- wasi -rawa -ra+F me siba hi- na -rawa+F me
 3PL.O OC find F.PL NEG 3PL.O look for OC AUX F.PL 3PL.O
 pron vt pron vt aux pron

siba hirawemetemoneke
 siba hi- na -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 look for OC AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux

'He wanted to get his daughters so they could marry, but his daughters frustrated him. His daughters went running away. He went after them. He didn't find them when he looked for them. He looked for them.'

260 *Me siba hirawa , faya , yama sosoki*
 me siba hi- na -rawa+F , faya , yama so- soki
 3PL.O look for OC AUX F.PL so thing DUP be dark
 pron vt aux conj nf vi

ni ya me kakamakeni me , tasi
 na.NOM+F ya me ka- ka -makI -hani me , tasi
 AUX ADJU 3PL.S COMMIT go/come following IP.N+F 3PL.S emerge
 aux prt pron vi pron vi

kanamakemetemone
 ka- na -makI -hemete -mone
 COMMIT AUX following FP.N+F REP+F
 aux

'He looked for them. When it was starting to get dark, they came and appeared.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

261 *Faya* , *me* , *tohiyaminemetemoneke* *fahi*
 faya , me , to- hiya -mina -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 so 3PL.S CH be different morning FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 conj pron vi dem

'They turned into animals the next morning.'

262 *Me* *tohiyamina* *me* , *bia* *ha*
 me to- hiya -mina+F me , biha haa
 3PL.S CH be different morning 3PL.S plant sp ask for
 pron vi pron nm vt
nematamona *bia* *bite* *ni* *ya* *bite*
 na -himata -mona biha bite ni ya bite
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M plant sp 3SG.POSS.daughter to ADJU 3SG.POSS.daughter
 aux nm nf prt prt nf

fanabisaharo
 fana -bisa -haaro
 be married also IP.E+F
 vi

'They turned into animals in the morning. He called to his daughter for some *biha*, his other daughter who was married.'

263 *Ee* , *okoto* *oko* *bihaba* *ta*
 ee , okoto o- ka biha -ba taa
 (pause) my daughter 1SG.POSS POSS plant sp FUT give
 interj nf prt nm vt

timata *mata*
 ti- na -mata mata
 2SG.S AUX short time for now
 aux prt

'''Daughter, give me some *biha*.'''

264 *Biha* *ta* *timata* *mata*
 biha taa ti- na -mata mata
 plant sp give 2SG.S AUX short time for now
 nm vt aux prt

'''Give some *biha*.'''

265 *Tohiyinima* *oni*
 to- hiya -nima o- ni
 CH be different want 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi prt

'''I want to turn into an animal.'''

266 *Tohiyinima* *oni*
 to- hiya -nima o- ni
 CH be different want 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi prt

'''I want to turn into an animal.'''

267 *Hiba* , *te* *ati* *watarima* *nahi*
 hiba , tee ati wata -rima na -hi
 wait 2PL.POSS voice exist NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F
 interj pron pn vi aux

'Wait, you be quiet.'¹¹¹

¹¹¹ This sentence and the next were instructions to children who were present.

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

268 *Yama kamiti tiwitarehi*
 yama ka- mita.NFIN ti- ita -rI -hi
 thing COMMIT hear 2SG.S sit raised surface IMP+F
 nf vt vi

'Sit there listening.'

269 *Faya , yana tonematamonaka*
 faya , yana to- na -himata -mona -ka
 so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi aux

'He got ready.'

270 *Yana tone hinaka bihabona fare ati totoha*
 yana to- na+M hinaka biha -bona fare ati to- to- ha
 start CH AUX 3SG.POSS plant sp INT+M same+M voice DUP CH be
 vi aux pron nm dem pn vc

namako hinaka bihabona bite ta
 na -mako hinaka biha -bona bite taa
 AUX for this reason+M 3SG.POSS plant sp INT+M 3SG.POSS.daughter give
 aux pron nm nf vt

hine , me towakama , me abe
 hi- na+M , me to- ka- ka -ma+F , me abe
 OC AUX 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come back 3PL.POSS RECIP
 aux pron vi pron pn

afo nemetemoneke ahi , me
 afo na -hemete -mone -ke ahi , me
 blow snuff into AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3PL.S
 vt aux dem pron

tohiyabone mati
 to- hiya -habone mati
 CH be different INT+F 3PL.S
 vi pron

'He got ready. He wouldn't stop asking, so she gave him some *biha*. They went. They blew snuff into each other's noses, so they would turn into animals.'

271 *Me abe afo nemetemoneke*
 me abe afo na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.POSS RECIP blow snuff into AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pn vt aux

'They blew snuff into each other's noses.'

272 *Me abe afo na me , faya me*
 me abe afo na+F me , faya me
 3PL.POSS RECIP blow snuff into AUX 3PL.POSS so 3PL.POSS
 pron pn vt aux pron conj pron

abe afo ni ya me tohiyemetemone
 abe afo ni na.NOM+F ya me to- hiya -hemete -mone
 RECIP blow snuff into AUX ADJU 3PL.S CH be different FP.N+F REP+F
 pn vt aux prt pron vi

fahi
 fahi
 then
 dem

'They blew snuff into each other's noses. When they blew snuff into each other's noses, they turned into animals.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

273 *Faya biha me kaba me , biha me kaba*
 faya biha me kaba+F me , biha me kaba+F
 so plant sp 3PL.S eat 3PL.S plant sp 3PL.S eat
 conj nm pron vt pron nm pron vt
me , nafi ye nemetemoneke ahi
 me , nafi yee na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.POSS all yell AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron pn vi aux dem
 'They ate *biha*. They all yelled.'

274 *Me tokemetemone ooooooooooooo*
 me to- ka -hemete -mone ooooooooooooo
 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F (grunting of white-lipped peccary)
 pron vi sound
fara me , fara metebana
 fara me , fara me -tee -bana
 same+F 3PL same+F 3PL HAB FUT
 dem pron dem pron
 'They went into the forest. "Oooooo," they went, grunting as white-lipped peccaries do.'

275 *Fara meteba hine me itihemetemoneni*
 fara me -tee -ba hine me iti -hemete -mone -ni
 same+F 3PL HAB FUT 3.REFL 3PL.S begin FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 dem pron pron pron vt
 'They began grunting like peccaries.'

276 *Me ye ni toka me ati*
 me yee na.NFIN to- ka+F me ati
 3PL.S yell AUX away go/come 3PL.POSS voice
 pron vi aux vi pron pn
saihemetemoneke ahi
 sai -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 be heard FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem
 'They went into the forest yelling. Their voices could be heard.'

277 *Me ati saiha me tokomake*
 me ati sai+F me to- ka -makI
 3PL.POSS voice be heard 3PL.S away go/come following
 pron pn vi pron vi
tonamakehite hahi tokabise
 to- na -makI -hitI haahi to- ka -bisa+M
 away AUX following along the way this one+M away go/come also
 aux dem vi
tokabise nowati ya me tokomake faya
 to- ka -bisa+M nowati ya me to- ka -makI faya
 away go/come also behind ADJU 3PL.S away go/come following so
 vi pn prt pron vi conj
biti sawimatamona fahi
 biti sawi -himata -mona fahi
 3SG.POSS.son be present FP.N+M REP+M then
 nm vi dem
 'Their voices could be heard. They went after the one who had gone into the forest. His son was with them.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

278 *Faya biti sawi me hinasawinoho*
 faya biti sawi+M , me hi- na- sawi -hino -ho
 so 3SG.POSS.son be present 3PL.S OC CAUS be present IP.N+M DUP
 conj nm vi pron vt
sawino tokomake me
 sawi -hino , to- ka -makI me ,
 be present IP.N+M away go/come following 3PL.S
 vi vi pron

kamematamonane

ka -ma -himata -mona -ne
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi

'His son was with them. They had taken him along. They went after him. He came back.'¹¹²

279 *Kame kame me ihi*
 ka -ma+M , ka -ma+M me , ihi
 go/come back go/come back 3PL.POSS result of+F
 vi vi pron pn

wasimebanoho

wasi -ma -hiba -no -ho
 find back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vt

'As he came back, he came upon their trail.'

280 *Yama siraka tonikimemetemoneke yama*
 yama siraka to- na -kima -hemete -mone -ke yama ,
 forest be messed up CH AUX spread out FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F thing
 nf vi aux nf
fa tori ahi
 faha tori ahi
 stream bed+F then
 nf pn dem

'The underbrush was all messed up. The stream was all messed up, too.'

281 *Owati me mita me amake haro*
 o- ati me mita+F me ama -ke haaro
 1SG.POSS voice 3PL.S hear 3PL.S SEC DECL+F that one+F
 pn pron vt pron sec dem
 ""They heard what I said.""

282 *Oka biha ta ne awaka*
 o- ka biha taa na+M awa -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS plant sp give AUX seem+M DECL+M
 prt nm vt aux sec
 ""She gave out my biha.""

283 *Oka biha ta ne awaka*
 o- ka biha taa na+M awa -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS plant sp give AUX seem+M DECL+M
 prt nm vt aux sec
 ""She gave out my biha.""

284 *Makoni me tohiyinekeni ati*
 makoni me to- hiya -ne -ke -ni , ati
 for this reason 3PL.S CH be different CONT+F DECL+F IP.N+F say
 conj pron vi vt

112 Instead of *tokomake me*, Siko should have said *me tokomake (me)*.

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

nematamonaka

na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

"That's why they turned into animals," he said.'

285 *Faya* , *kamawe* *kame* *kame*
 faya , ka -ma -waha+M ka -ma+M ka -ma+M
 so go/come back change go/come back go/come back
 conj vi vi vi
kame *kame* *ya* , *kobo* *name* *ya*
 ka -ma+M ka -ma.NOM+M ya , kobo na -ma.NOM+M ya
 go/come back go/come back ADJU arrive AUX back ADJU
 vi vi prt vi aux prt prt
bani *me* *koro* *nisa* , *Oka* *bia* *ta*
 bani me koro na -risa.LIST , o- ka biha taa
 animal 3PL.O throw AUX down 1SG.POSS POSS plant sp give
 nm pron vt aux prt nm vt
tini ?
 ti- ni
 2SG.S BKG+F
 prt

'He came back. He arrived back, and threw down the animals. "Did you give away my *biha*?"'

286 *Biha* *noko* *okobi* *hinihe* ,
 biha noko o- ka abi hi- to- niha- ha+M ,
 plant sp attraction 1SG.POSS POSS father OC CH CAUS AUX
 nm pn nm vt
okobi *okobi* *hinhahi* *ta*
 o- ka abi o- ka abi hi- to- niha- ha+M taa
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father OC CH CAUS AUX give
 nm nm vt vt

onarene
 o- na -hare -ne
 1SG.S AUX IP.E+M BKG+M
 aux

"My father really wanted the *biha*, so I gave it."

287 *Owati* *timitariya* ?
 o- ati ti- mita -ra+F -ya
 1SG.POSS voice 2SG.S hear NEG now
 pn vt

"Didn't you hear what I said?"

288 *E* *nafi* *tohiyabone* *onara*
 ee nafi to- hiya -habone ati o- na -hara
 1IN.POSS all CH be different INT+F say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F
 pron pn vi vt

oke , *ati* *nematamonaka* *ati* *ne* , *ene*
 o- ke , ati na -himata -mona -ka ati na+M , ehene
 1SG.S DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M say AUX deed+M
 prt vt aux vt aux prt

hiyabisarebanoho
 hiya -bisa -ra -hiba -no -ho
 be bad also NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vi

"I wanted us all to turn into animals together," he said. He turned into an animal, too.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

289 *Hiwa* *wati* *kamako*
 hiwa wati ka- na -mako
 3SG.REFL.M plan against COMMIT AUX for this reason+M
 pron vt aux

atimatamonane *kobaya*
 ati -mata -mona -ne kobaya
 voice FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M collared peccary
 pn nm

'He wanted to change himself. He wanted to turn into a collared peccary.'

290 *Hinaka* *koma* *tohiye* , *hinaka* *koma*
 hinaka koma to- hiya+M , hinaka koma
 3SG.POSS son-in-law CH be different 3SG.POSS son-in-law
 pron nm vi pron nm

tohiye *hinaka* , *faya* *tokomake* *ya* ,
 to- hiya+M hinaka , faya to- ka -makI.NOM ya ,
 CH be different 3SG.POSS so away go/come following ADJU
 vi pron conj vi prt

sare *sana* *kamise*
 sarehe sana ka- na -misa+M
 blowgun dart carry strapped on shoulder COMMIT AUX up
 nf vt aux

tokomake *sare* *rofi* *ni*
 to- ka -makI sarehe rofi na.NFIN
 away go/come following blowgun dart twirl in mouth AUX
 vi nf vt aux

tokomake , *me* *bosiri* *fora*
 to- ka -makI , me bosiri fora
 away go/come following 3PL.POSS scent gland shoot with blowgun
 vi pron pn vt

nematamonaka
 na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'His son-in-law turned into an animal. When he went he carried blowgun darts slung on his shoulder. He went twirling the heads of darts in his mouth. He made their scent glands by shooting them with darts.'

291 *Mera* *towasimake* *me* *bosiri* *fora*
 mera to- wasi -makI me bosiri fora
 3PL.O away find following 3PL.POSS scent gland shoot with blowgun
 pron vt pron pn vt

ne , *faya* *biti* *totimake* *biti*
 na+M , faya biti to- iti -makI biti
 AUX so 3SG.POSS.son away take out following 3SG.POSS.son
 aux conj nm vt nm

kakame , *faya* *biti* *tonihawama* ,
 ka- ka -ma+M , faya biti to- niha- ha -waha -ma.LIST ,
 COMMIT go/come back so 3SG.POSS.son CH CAUS be change back
 vt conj nm vt

faya *biti* *tonihawame* , *biti*
 faya biti to- niha- ha -waha -ma+M , biti
 so 3SG.POSS.son CH CAUS be change back 3SG.POSS.son
 conj nm vt nm

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

biha ta tinani e nafi tohiya
 biha taa ti- na -hani , ee nafi to- hiya+F
 plant sp give 2SG.S AUX IP.N+F 1IN.POSS all CH be different
 nm vt aux pron pn vi
 "They ate. They slept. "You gave away my *biha*. We were all going to turn into animals."

300 **Owa foyakana owa owa**
 owa foya -ka -na owa , owa
 other+M be inside DECL+M IRR+M other+M other+M
 adj vi adj adj

foyakana owa ta oneba
 foya -ka -na owa taa o- na -hiba ,
 be inside DECL+M IRR+M other+M give 1SG.S AUX FUT+M
 vi adj vt aux

otiba awane
 o- iti -hiba awa -ne
 1SG.S take out FUT+M seem+M BKG+M
 vt sec

"There is one left in the basket, and I will take it out and give it to you."

301 **Faya biha owa itiha biha**
 faya biha owa , itih+ F biha ,
 so plant sp other+M take out plant sp
 conj nm adj vt nm

itihemetemoneke
 iti -hemete -mone -ke
 take out FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'She took out the piece of *biha*.'

302 **Hari**
 haari
 that one+M
 dem

"Here."

303 **Hiya owa tekawa**
 hiya owa ti- ka- kawa
 come on 1SG.O 2SG.S COMIT give something to
 interj pron vt

"Come on, give it to me."

304 **Sina sina kaitikabote sina sina hisi**
 sina , sina ka- iti -kabote sina , sina hisi
 snuff snuff COMIT take out quickly snuff snuff sniff
 nf nf vt nf nf vt

nematamonaka
 na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'He quickly got some snuff and took the snuff.'

305 **Sina hisi ne sina hisi nematamona**
 sina hisi na+M , sina hisi na -himata -mona
 snuff sniff AUX snuff sniff AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nf vt aux nf vt aux

'He took the snuff.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

306 *Sina hisi ne ya , Tiwati watarima na*
 sina hisi na.NOM+M ya , ti- ati wata -rima na
 snuff sniff AUX ADJU 2SG.POSS voice exist NEG.IMP+F AUX
 nf vt aux prt pn vi aux

'He took the snuff. Be quiet.'

307 *Sina hisi nematamonane*
 sina hisi na -himata -mona -ne
 snuff sniff AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 nf vt aux

'He took the snuff.'

308 *Sina hisi hina , kawa kane sina kawa kane*
 sina hisi hi- na+F , kawa ka- na+M sina kawa ka- na+M
 snuff sniff OC AUX thrust COMMIT AUX snuff thrust COMMIT AUX
 nf vt aux vt aux nf vt aux
 , *sina kawa kane ya , sina kawa kane na* ,
 sina kawa ka- na.NOM+M ya , sina kawa ka- na+M na
 snuff thrust COMMIT AUX ADJU snuff thrust COMMIT AUX AUX
 nf vt aux prt nf vt aux aux

faya hano , hiwa wati kanematamona
 faya hano+M , hiwa wati ka- na -himata -mona
 so be drunk 3SG.REFL.M plan against COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 conj vi pron vt aux

'He took the snuff. He cleaned the tube out with a feather. He was high. He wanted to change himself.'

309 *Hiwa wati kane , fati tai*
 hiwa wati ka- na+M , fati tai
 3SG.REFL.M plan against COMMIT AUX 3SG.POSS.wife be ahead
 pron vt aux nf vi

tonihebana
 to- niha- ha -hibana
 CH CAUS AUX FUT+M
 aux

'He wanted to change himself. He changed his wife first.'

310 *Fati tai tonihematamonaka*
 fati tai to- niha- ha -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS.wife be ahead CH CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf vi aux

'He changed his wife first.'

311 *Fati tai tonihe , fati*
 fati tai to- niha- ha+M , fati
 3SG.POSS.wife be ahead CH CAUS AUX 3SG.POSS.wife
 nf vi aux nf

fati watematamonaka
 fati wata -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS.wife catch FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf vt

'He changed his wife first. He grabbed his wife.'

312 *Fati wate , fati bonibone nawata*
 fati wata+M , fati boni -bone na- wata.LIST
 3SG.POSS.wife catch 3SG.POSS.wife snout+F INT+F CAUS be located
 nf vt nf pn vt

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

316 *Kobaya* *amare* *kobaya* *hiwa*
 kobaya ama -ra+M kobaya hiwa
 collared peccary be NEG collared peccary 3SG.REFL.M
 nm vc nm pron

tonihematamona , *ota* *kabinetini*
 to- niha- ha -himata -mona , otaa kaba -ne -tee.NOM -ni
 CH CAUS be FP.N+M REP+M 1EX.S eat CONT+F HAB IP.N+F
 vd pron vt

'He wasn't a peccary. Then he turned himself into a peccary. We eat them.'

317 *Faya* *kobaya* , *me* *towakama* , *me*
 faya kobaya , me to- ka- ka -ma+F me
 so collared peccary 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 conj nm pron vi pron

biti , *hahi* *hiyama* , *me* *ee*
 biti , haahi hiyama , me ee
 3SG.POSS.son this one+M white-lipped peccary 3PL yes
 nm dem nm pron interj

efematamona , *hari* ?
 efe -mata -mona , haari
 this+M FP.N+M REP+M that one+M
 dem dem

'The two of them went off. His son, the one who was with the white-lipped peccaries...Yes, is he the one?'

318 *Hiwa* *tonahiyabiseba* , *yana* *tobise*
 hiwa to- na- hiya -bisa -hiba yana to- na -bisa+M
 3SG.REFL.M CH CAUS be different also FUT+M start CH AUX also
 pron vt vi aux

faya *biti* , *famematamona* , *fahi*
 faya biti , fama -himata -mona fahi
 so 3SG.POSS.son be two FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj nm vi dem

'He was going to turn himself into an animal and he got ready. He was with his son.'

319 *Biti* *fame* , *biti* *famabise* , *me* *amo*
 biti fama+M , biti fama -bisa+M , me amo
 3SG.POSS.son be two 3SG.POSS.son be two also 3PL.S sleep
 nm vi nm vi pron vi

na *me* , *Me* *tohiyarake* , *me* *nafi*
 na+F me , me to- hiya -hara -ke me nafi
 AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S CH be different IP.E+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS all
 aux pron pron vi pron pn

'He was with his son. They slept. "They all turned into animals."'

320 *Me* *nafi* *tohiyarani*
 me nafi to- hiya -hara -ni
 3PL.POSS all CH be bad IP.E+F BKG+F
 pron pn vi

""They all turned into animals.""

321 *Me* *winamakere*
 me wina -ma -ke -re
 3PL.S live back DECL+F NEG+F
 pron vi

""They aren't living here anymore.""

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

322 *Me tohiyakimone hima , hima .*
 me to- hiya -ki -mone hima hima
 3PL.S CH be bad DECL+F REP+F let's go let's go
 pron vi interj interj

"They are said to have turned into animals. Come on."

323 *E taboroba e awibeya , ati nematamona*
 ee taboro -ba ee awa -be -ya , ati na -himata -mona
 1IN.POSS place FUT 1IN.S see IMMED+F now say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 pron pn pron vt vt aux

ama hari boroko , borokotebana .
 ama haari boroko boroko -tee -bana
 SEC that one+M pirarucu pirarucu HAB FUT
 sec dem nm nm

"Let's find a place to live," he said, the first pirarucu fish.'

324 *Boroko taborobona awebona , yana tonematamona*
 boroko taboro -bona awa -hibona , yana to- na -himata -mona
 pirarucu place+M INT+M see INT+M start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm pn vt vi aux

amaka .
 ama -ka
 SEC DECL+M
 sec

'The pirarucu started out to look for a place to live.'

325 *Yana tone , fati tai toa me*
 yana to- na+M , fati tai to- ha+F me
 start CH AUX 3SG.POSS.wife be ahead CH AUX 3PL.S
 vi aux nf vi aux pron

tokemetemone .
 to- ka -hemete -mone
 away go/come FP.N+F REP+F
 vi

'He started out. His wife went ahead. They all went.'

326 *Me toka , inamate e nemata awaka*
 me to- ka+F , inamate ee na -himata awa -ka
 3PL.S away go/come child be similar AUX FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M
 pron vi nm vi aux aux

ahi .
 ahi
 here
 dem

'They went. The boy was only this big.'

327 *Inamate , ya me taba me toka me ,*
 inamate , ya me taba+F me to- ka+F me
 child ADJU 3PL.S be together 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S
 nm prt pron vi pron vi pron

me toka me , kanawa kanawametemoneke .
 me to- ka+F me , kanawa kanawa -mete -mone -ke
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S canoe canoe FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi pron nf nf

'They went with the boy. They went...it was a canoe.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

328 *Kanawa ya ahi , me kafowemetemoneni*
 kanawa ya ahi , me ka- fowa -hemete -mone -ni
 canoe ADJU there 3PL.S COMIT be in water FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 nf prt dem pron vi

'They were in the boat.'

329 *Me kafowa me , me kafowa*
 me ka- fowa+F me , me ka- fowa+F
 3PL.S COMIT be in water 3PL.S 3PL.S COMIT be in water
 pron vi pron pron vi
biti , biti wati kanematamonaka
 biti , biti wati ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS.son 3SG.POSS.son plan against COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm nm vt aux

'They were in the boat. He wanted to change his son.'

330 *Biti wati kane , biti namiti baka*
 biti wati ka- na+M , biti namiti baka
 3SG.POSS.son plan against COMIT AUX 3SG.POSS.son neck break
 nm vt aux nm pn vt

nakose biti , mase mase witi nima biti
 na -kosa+M biti , mase mase witi nima biti
 AUX middle 3SG.POSS.son curassow curassow beak like 3SG.POSS.son
 aux nm nm nm pn prt nm

witi ne , biti nawe , iso , faya yana
 witi na+M , biti na- waa+M , iso , faya yana
 nose AUX 3SG.POSS.son CAUS stand leg+M so start
 pn aux nm aux pn conj vi

tonematamonaka ahi
 to- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'He wanted to change his son. He broke his son's neck. His son's nose was like a curassow's beak. He stood his son. He left.'

331 *Aa faya biti yana nimatamona ahi ,*
 aa faya biti yana niha- na -himata -mona ahi
 (pause) so 3SG.POSS.son start CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 interj conj nm vi vt dem

fofofofofofofofofofofoooo
 fofofofofofofofofofofofoooo
 (sound of bird taking off)
 sound

'He told his son to fly, "Fofofofo."'

332 *Kobo nematamonaka iro , iro ino ya*
 kobo na -himata -mona -ka iro , iro ino ya
 arrive AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M tree sp tree sp branch+M ADJU
 vi aux nm nm pn prt

'He landed on the branch of an iro tree.'

333 *Iro ino ya kobo nematamonaka*
 iro ino ya kobo na -himata -mona -ka
 tree sp branch+M ADJU arrive AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm pn prt vi aux

'He landed on the branch of an iro tree.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

sariwa sariwa squirrel monkey nm	mati mati 3PL pron	mayawari mayawari titi nm	metebana me -tee -bana 3PL HAB FUT pron	tamakori tamakori saki nm
metebana me -tee -bana 3PL HAB FUT pron	me me 3PL.POSS pron	nafi nafi all pn	kiso kiso white-fronted capuchin nf	.

'They turned into animals. The others, when they were going to turn into animals, yelled like white-lipped peccaries. They were brown capuchin monkeys, howler monkeys, squirrel monkeys, titis, sakis, and white-fronted capuchins.'

343	Faya faya so conj	me me 3PL.S pron		sisiwa si- siwa DUP play vi	toha to- ha+F CH AUX aux	me me 3PL.S pron	kakaro kakaro disk nm	me me 3PL pron	kakaro kakaro disk nm	me me 3PL.S pron
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titisa ti- tisa DUP shoot with arrow vt	tohemetemone to- ha -hemete -mone CH AUX FP.N+F aux	kakaro kakaro disk nm
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'They were always playing, shooting arrows at a disk that rolled on the ground.'

344	Kakaro kakaro disk nm	me me 3PL.S pron	tisa tisa shoot with arrow vt	na na+F AUX aux	me me 3PL.S pron		kakaro kakaro disk nm	me me 3PL.S pron
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titisa ti- tisa DUP shoot with arrow vt	toha to- ha+F CH AUX aux	me me 3PL.S pron	hine hine 3.REFL pron
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tonahiyaba to- na- hiya CH CAUS be different vt	kakaro -haba kakaro FUT+F disk nm	me me 3PL.S pron	tisa tisa shoot with arrow vt	na na+F AUX aux	me me 3PL.S pron
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me me 3PL.S pron	afi afi bathe vi	nabone na -habone AUX INT+F aux	me me 3PL.S pron	tokoma to- ka -ma+F away go/come back vi	me me 3PL.S pron	afi afi bathe vi
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tonama to- na -ma+F away AUX back aux	me me 3PL.S pron	kama ka -ma+F go/come back vi	me me 3PL.S pron	siwa siwa play vi	namatasa na -ma -tasa+F AUX back again aux
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me me 3PL.S pron	tokomatasa to- ka -ma -tasa+F away go/come back again vi	me me 3PL.S pron	afi afi bathe vi	tonamatasa to- na -ma -tasa+F away AUX back again aux	me me 3PL.S pron
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,	me me 3PL.S pron	siwa siwa play vi	na na+F AUX aux	me me 3PL.S pron	,	faya faya so conj	ati ati voice pn	yana yana start vi	tonemetemone to- na -hemete -mone CH AUX FP.N+F aux
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maketebana
makehe -tee -bana
anaconda HAB FUT
nf

'They were shooting arrows at the disk. They were shooting at the disk in order to turn themselves into animals. They went to bathe. They went and bathed and came back and played again. They went again and bathed again. They played. The one who became an anaconda spoke.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

345 *Maketeba* , *yiko* , *yiko* *itihabone*
 makehe -tee -ba , yiko , yiko iti -habone
 anaconda HAB FUT howler monkey howler monkey marry INT+F
 nf nm nm vt

yiko *kakako* *toha* , *yiko*
 yiko ka- kaako to- ha+F , yiko
 howler monkey DUP be angry with CH AUX howler monkey
 nm vt aux nm

kakako *tohemetemoneke*
 ka- kaako to- ha -hemete -mone -ke
 DUP be angry with CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux

'The howler monkey wanted to marry the anaconda, but the anaconda didn't like the howler.'

346 *Yiko* *kakako* *toha* , *yiko*
 yiko ka- kaako to- ha+F , yiko
 howler monkey DUP be angry with CH AUX howler monkey
 nm vt aux nm

kakako *toha* , *tohaha* *yiko* , *me* *siwa*
 ka- kaako to- ha+F , to- ha+F yiko , me siwa
 DUP be angry with CH AUX CH be howler monkey 3PL.S play
 vt aux vc nm pron vi

nemetemoneke
 na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'She didn't like the howler. They played.'

347 *Me* *siwa* *na* *me* , *yiko*
 me siwa na+F me , yiko
 3PL.S play AUX 3PL.S howler monkey
 pron vi aux pron nm

tokifiwamematamonaka
 to- ka -fI -waha -ma -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come water change back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'They played. The howler went to the water.'

348 *Tokifiwame* , *tokifiwame*
 to- ka -fI -waha -ma+M , to- ka -fI -waha -ma+M ,
 away go/come water change back away go/come water change back
 vi vi

noko *tamo* *nawahe* *noko* , *noko* *yene* , *aba* *aba*
 noko tamona -waha+M noko , noko yehene , aba aba
 face+M rub AUX change face+M face+M fat+M fish sp fish sp
 pn vt aux pn pn nm nm

tonihematamona *aba* , *aba* *amarari* , *fara*
 to- niha- ha -himata -mona aba , aba ama -ra -haari , fara
 CH CAUS be FP.N+M REP+M fish sp fish sp be NEG IP.E+M same+F
 vd nm nm vc dem

hinaka *yama*
 hinaka yama
 3SG.POSS thing
 pron nf

'He went to the water. He washed his face. He made an *aba* fish with the sweat from his face. It wasn't really a fish, it was a magic object.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

349 *Hinaka yamametemoneke*
 hinaka yama -mete -mone -ke
 3SG.POSS thing FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron nf

'It was his magic object.'

350 *Aba hiniha , tasi hinakosaha*
 aba hi- to- niha- ha+F , tasi hi- to- na -kosa+F
 fish sp OC CH CAUS be string OC CH AUX middle
 nm vd vt aux

hiwakamemetemone
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone
 OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
 vt

'He turned it into an *aba* fish. He strung it on a line, and took it away.'

351 *Faya hiwakama hinawinama*
 faya hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F hi- to- na- wina -ma+F ,
 so OC away COMIT go/come back OC away CAUS hang back
 conj vt vt

hinawinama make winaha ati yana
 hi- to- na- wina -ma+F makehe wina+F ati yana
 OC away CAUS hang back anaconda lie in hammock voice start
 vt nf vi pn vi

tonemetemone
 to- na -hemete -mone
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 aux

'He took it and hung it up. The anaconda was in her hammock and spoke.'

352 *Make , make iyawa siraha iyawa kaba*
 makehe makehe iyawa sira+F iyawa kaba+F
 anaconda anaconda manioc mash toast manioc mash eat
 nf nf nf vt nf vt

winaha Asima , asima
 wina+F asima asima
 lie in hammock younger sister younger sister
 vi nf nf

'The anaconda was toasting manioc mash. She was in her hammock eating manioc mash. "Sister, sister."'

353 *Haa ?*
 haa
 huh?
 interj

""Huh?""

354 *Asima , aba winahi titiwitemata*
 asima aba wina+M ti- to- iti -witI -mata
 younger sister fish sp hang 2SG.S away take out out short time
 nf nm vi vt

hari
 haari
 that one+M
 dem

""Sister, get the *aba* fish that is hanging there for me.""

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

355 *Aba okobibeya*
 aba o- kaba -be -ya
 fish sp 1SG.S eat IMMED+F now
 nm vt

"I want to eat the *aba* fish."

356 *Yiko ka aba hiwa wina na*
 yiko ka aba hiwa wina.NOM+M na
 howler monkey POSS fish sp only.M hang AUX
 nm prt nm pron vi aux

"Let the howler's *aba* fish hang there."

357 *Aba okobebona*
 aba o- kaba -hibona
 fish sp 1SG.S eat INT+M
 nm vt

"I want to eat the *aba* fish."

358 *Yiko owa kakoba ati*
 yiko owa kaako -ba ati
 howler monkey 1SG.O be angry with IMMED+M say
 nm pron vt vt

nemetemoneke hinakasima
 na -hemete -mone -ke hinaka asima
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3SG.POSS younger sister
 aux nf

"The howler will be mad at me," she said, her younger sister.'

359 *Tiwa kakoreba awane*
 tiwa kaako -ra -hiba awa -ne
 2SG.O be angry with NEG FUT+M seem+M BKG+M
 pron vt sec

"He won't be mad at you."

360 *Yama yana kabote tinahi*
 yama yana na -kabote ti- na -hi
 thing get up AUX quickly 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 nf vi aux aux

"Get up."

361 *Aba kabinima oni*
 aba kaba -nima o- ni
 fish sp eat want 1SG.S BKG+F
 nm vt prt

"I want to eat the *aba* fish."

362 *Faya toka hinakati kasiro hikamisa*
 faya to- ka+F hinaka ati kasiro hi- ka- na -misa+F
 so away go/come 3SG.POSS older sister persist OC COMMIT AUX up
 conj vi nf vi aux

toka aba sota tona aba
 to- ka+F aba sota to- na+F aba
 away go/come fish sp remove CH AUX fish sp
 vi nm vt aux nm

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

kakamemetemoneke

ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vt

'So she went. Her older sister was pestering her, so she went and removed the *aba* fish and brought the *aba* fish.'

363 **Yifo afo Kamisama aba ibanemetemoneke**
yifo afo ka- na -misa -ma+F aba ibana -hemete -mone -ke
fire light COMIT AUX up back fish sp roast FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
nf vt aux nm vt

ahi
ahi
then
dem

'She fanned the fire and roasted the *aba* fish on the coals.'

364 **Aba hirihiri Kawahematamona yehene**
aba hiri- hiri ka- na -waha -himata -mona yehene
fish sp DUP catch fire COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M fat+M
nm vi aux nm pn

ahi
ahi
then
dem

'The fish was sizzling, its fat.'

365 **Afafa tonakane ahi**
afa -fa to- na -kane ahi
be wet DUP CH AUX ?+M then
vi aux dem

'It was dripping with fat.'

366 **Yehe sobisobi hina nemetemoneke**
yehe sobi- sobi na -hina na -hemete -mone -ke
hand DUP lick AUX AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pn vt aux aux

'She licked her fingers.'

367 **Tiye sobi tina fahi**
ti- yehe sobi ti- na fahi
2SG.POSS hand lick 2SG.S AUX then
pn vt aux dem

'Lick your fingers.'

368 **Ye sobi nemetemoneke aba afafa**
yehe sobi na -hemete -mone -ke aba afa -fa
hand lick AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F fish sp be wet DUP
pn vt aux nm vi

kanikime yehene
na -kanikima+M yehene
AUX scattered fat+M
aux pn

'She licked her fingers. The *aba* fish was dripping with fat.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

369 *Ye sobi na , aba behe nawahemetemoneke*
 yehe sobi na+F , aba behe na -waha -hemete -mone -ke
 hand lick AUX fish sp turn over AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pn vt aux nm vt aux

'She licked her fingers. She turned the *aba* fish over.'

370 *Aba behe nawa , behe*
 aba behe na -waha+F , behe
 fish sp turn over AUX change turn over
 nm vt aux vt

hiwahematamonaka

hi- na -waha -himata -mona -ka
 OC AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'She turned the *aba* fish over.'

371 *Behe hiwe , iyawa , bibisi sobi*
 behe hi- na -waha+M , iyawa , bi- bisi sobi
 turn over OC AUX change manioc mash DUP scratch lick
 vt aux nf vt vt

hinehimatamonaka

hi- na -himata -mona -ka *ahi afafa kanikimahari*
 OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then be wet DUP COMMIT AUX two IP.E+M
 aux dem vi aux

'After she turned it over, she took a little manioc mash with her fingers. She was licking her other hand, it was greasy.'

372 *Iyawa tima nake iyawa yoko tona*
 iyawa tima na -kI iyawa yoko to- na
 manioc mash pick up AUX coming manioc mash push CH AUX
 nf vt aux nf vt aux

kanibote

ka- na -bote , *aba isi ni hinakasima*
 COMIT AUX quickly fish sp little bit 3SG.POSS younger sister
 aux nm pn nf

hiharebana

hi- iha -ra -hibana
 OC have NEG FUT+M
 vt

'She took the manioc mash and put it in her mouth. She didn't want her younger sister to have any of the *aba* fish.'

373 *Ee isi ni hinakasima hiareba*
 ee isi ni hinaka asima hi- iha -ra -hiba ,
 (pause) little bit 3SG.POSS younger sister OC have NEG FUT+M
 interj pn nf vt

aba kabemetemoneke

aba kaba -hemete -mone -ke , *abi*
 fish sp eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 2SG.POSS.father
 nm vt nm

'She didn't want her sister to have any of the *aba* fish. She ate the *aba* fish.'¹¹³

¹¹³ The word *abi* at the end of the sentence is something Siko said to someone present.

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

374 *Aba kabemetemoneke*
 aba kaba -hemete -mone -ke
 fish sp eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm vt
 'She ate the *aba* fish.'

375 *Aba kaba , aba kabaha iyawa fawa*
 aba kaba+F , aba kaba+F iyawa fawa
 fish sp eat fish sp eat manioc mash disappear
 nm vt nm vt nf vi
toniha aba , yehene aba yehene
 to- niha- na+F aba yehene aba yehene
 CH CAUS AUX fish sp fat+M fish sp fat+M
 aux nm pn nm pn

kabemetemoneke
 kaba -hemete -mone -ke
 eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt
 'She ate the *aba* fish. She finished the manioc mash. She ate the fat of the *aba* fish.'

376 *Aba kaba , aba kabi ya , faya fa bite ,*
 aba kaba+F , aba kaba.NOM+F ya , faya fa bite
 fish sp eat fish sp eat ADJU so water small+F
 nm vt nm vt prt conj nf adj
iisi kabote na fawa , ye soko nawaha , ye
 i- isi na -kabote na+F fawa+F , yehe soko na -waha+F , yehe
 DUP be small AUX quickly AUX drink hand wash AUX change hand
 vi aux aux vt pn vt aux pn

soko nawahemetemoneke
 soko na -waha -hemete -mone -ke
 wash AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux
 'She ate the *aba* fish. After she ate the *aba* fish, she drank a little water. She washed her hands.'

377 *Faya winemetemoneke*
 faya wina -hemete -mone -ke
 so lie in hammock FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj vi
 'Then she lay in her hammock.'

378 *Wini ya bakasi yana nemetemone amani*
 wina.NOM+F ya bakasi yana na -hemete -mone ama -ni
 lie in hammock ADJU thirst start AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
 vi prt nf vi aux sec

'As she lay in the hammock, she got thirsty.'

379 *Bakasi yana na , Asima , asima oko*
 bakasi yana na+F , asima asima o- ka
 thirst start AUX younger sister younger sister 1SG.POSS POSS
 nf vi aux nf nf prt

fabana
 faha -bana
 water FUT
 nf
 'She got thirsty. "Sister, I want some water."'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

380 *Fa tifamahi*
 faha ti- to- fawa -ma -hi
 water 2SG.S away drink back IMP+F
 nf vt

"Go drink some water."

381 *Fa tifarakene* , *fa* , *wiye*
 faha ti- fawa -hara -ke -ne faha , wiye
 water 2SG.S drink IP.E+F DECL+F IRR+F water container+F
 nf vt nf pn

itineke haro
 ita -ne -ke haaro
 sit CONT+F DECL+F that one+F
 vi dem

"You already drank all the water, and the empty water pot is there."

382 *Fa nafirarake*
 faha nafi -ra -hara -ke
 water be big NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
 nf vi

"There wasn't much water in it."

383 *Tokomakabote tinahi*
 to- ka -ma -kabote ti- na -hi
 away go/come back quickly 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux

"Go quickly."

384 *Faya* , *hinakasima* , *yoseha* , *hinakasima* , *fa*
 faya , hinaka asima yose+F hinaka asima faha
 so 3SG.POSS younger sister command 3SG.POSS younger sister water
 conj nf vt nf nf

tonakama tokoma , *kama* , *Haro*
 to- na- ka -ma+F to- ka -ma+F , ka -ma+F , haaro
 away CAUS go/come back away go/come back go/come back that one+F
 vt vi vi dem

mahika tinahi
 mahika ti- na -hi
 consume a lot 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vt aux

'She ordered her younger sister, and her sister went to get water. She went and came back. "Here, drink all of it."

385 *Mati mati itaha ati yana kane ati*
 mati mati ita+F ati yana ka- na+M ati
 3SG.POSS.mother 3SG.POSS.mother sit voice start COMIT AUX say
 nf nf vi pn vi aux vt

yana nemetemoneke ahi
 yana na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 start AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi aux dem

'Her mother was sitting there, and she spoke.'¹¹⁴

114 The phrase *ati yana kane* is a false start.

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

- 386 *Ateate* *raba* *nofe* *yiko* *aba*
 ate- ate na -raba nofa+M yiko aba
 DUP make noise AUX a bit recently howler monkey fish sp
 vi aux prt nm nm
- hekameno*
 hi- ka- ka -ma -hino kaba+M , *bakasi* *awe* *tiwa* *yose*
 OC COMIT go/come back IP.N+M eat thirst feel 2SG.0 command
 vt vt nf vt pron vt
- nati* *ne* , *yiko* *nofaterari*
 nahatI.LIST na+M , yiko nofa -tee -ra -haari
 daytime AUX howler monkey want HAB NEG IP.E+M
 prt aux nm vt
- "Why is she complaining all the time? She ate the *aba* fish that the howler brought, she got thirsty, she ordered you during the day, she doesn't like the howler."

- 387 *Faya* *fa* *komi* *nake* , *bakasi* *keteketebe*
 faya faha komi na -kI , bakasi kete- ketebeha
 so water suck AUX coming thirst DUP be fast
 conj nf vt aux nf vi
- nemetemoneni*
 na -hemete -mone -ni
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 aux
 'She sucked up the water. She was still thirsty.'

- 388 *Faya* , *hinakasima* *kasiro* *kana* *mati*
 faya , hinaka asima kasiro ka- na+F mati
 so 3SG.POSS younger sister persist COMIT AUX 3SG.POSS.mother
 conj nf vi aux nf
- hora* *hina* , *Afi* *tina*
 hora hi- na+F , afi ti- na
 scold OC AUX bathe 2SG.S AUX
 vt aux vi aux
- 'She pestered her sister, and her mother scolded her. "Take a bath."

- 389 *Fa* *mahika* *tibe*
 faha mahika ti- na -be
 water consume a lot 2SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 nf vt aux
- "Drink lots of water."

- 390 *Tikamahi*
 ti- to- ka -ma -hi
 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
 vi
 "Go."

- 391 *Me* *tinofa* *timakoni* , *yiko*
 me ti- nofa+F ti- makoni , yiko
 3PL.0 2SG.S want 2SG.S for this reason howler monkey
 pron vt conj nm
- tinofa* *timakoni* *yiko* *ka* *aba*
 ti- nofa+F ti- makoni yiko ka aba
 2SG.S want 2SG.S for this reason howler monkey POSS fish sp
 vt conj nm prt nm

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

tikaba , **bakasi** **tiwawaine** **tini** , **faya**
 ti- kaba+F , bakasi ti- awa -waha -ne ti- ni , faya
 2SG.S eat thirst 2SG.S feel change CONT+F 2SG.S BKG+F so
 vt nf vt prt conj

yana towahebanihi
 yana to- na -waha -haba -ni -hi
 start CH AUX change FUT+F IP.N+F DUP
 vi aux

"You don't like the howler, but you ate the howler's fish, so now you are thirsty." Then she left.'

392 **Yana tonani tokifiwama**
 yana to- na -hani to- ka -fI -waha -ma+F ,
 start CH AUX IP.N+F away go/come water change back
 vi aux vi

mati hora hina tokifiwama
 mati hora hi- na+F to- ka -fI -waha -ma+F ,
 3SG.POSS.mother scold OC AUX away go/come water change back
 nf vt aux vi

tokifiwamemetemoneke
 to- ka -fI -waha -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come water change back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'She left and went to the water. Her mother scolded her, so she went to the water.'

393 **Tokifiwama faya bokarisa fa**
 to- ka -fI -waha -ma+F faya boka -risa+F faha
 away go/come water change back so enter water down water
 vi conj vi nf

maika na faya hofaha , hofa ni ya me
 mahika na+F , faya hofa+F , hofa+F ni ya me ,
 consume a lot AUX so be in water be in water to ADJU 3PL
 vt aux conj vi vi prt prt pron

me siwa nabone me tokomaketemone me
 me siwa na -habone me to- ka -makI -hemete -mone me
 3PL.S play AUX INT+F 3PL.S away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron vi pron

afi nabone mati ahi
 afi na -habone mati ahi
 bathe AUX INT+F 3PL.S then
 vi aux pron dem

'She went to the water. She squatted in the water and drank lots of water. She floated. The others went there to bathe and play.'

394 **Me tokomake me bokehemetemoneke**
 me to- ka -makI me boka -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.S enter water FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi pron vi

oooo

oooo

(sound of water)

sound

'They went there and jumped in the water, "Oooo".'

395 **Tio tiotiotiotiotiotio sariwa boti**
 tio tiotiotiotiotiotio sariwa boti
 (swimming) (swimming) squirrel monkey way down
 sound sound nm nf

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

toke , **me one kama me afi na me** ,
to- ka+M , me one ka -ma+F me afi na+F me ,
away go/come 3PL other+F go/come back 3PL.S bathe AUX 3PL.S
vi pron adj vi pron vi aux pron

me afi nemetemoneke
me afi na -hemete -mone -ke
3PL.S bathe AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron vi aux

"Tiotiotio," the squirrel monkey dove down deep. Some of them came back. They were bathing.'

396 **Me afi na me , me afi nemetemoneni**
me afi na+F me , me afi na -hemete -mone -ni
3PL.S bathe AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S bathe AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
pron vi aux pron pron vi aux

'They were bathing.'

397 **Me afi na me , me afi nemetemoneke**
me afi na+F me , me afi na -hemete -mone -ke
3PL.S bathe AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S bathe AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron vi aux pron pron vi aux

me nafi ahi teo teo
me nafi ahi teo teo
3PL.POSS all then (sound of hitting) (sound of hitting)
pron pn dem sound sound

teo teo teo
teo teo teo
(sound of hitting) (sound of hitting) (sound of hitting)
sound sound sound

teo
teo
(sound of hitting)
sound

'They were bathing, all of them, "Teo teo teo."'

398 **Me kikiya kawahemetemoneke ahi me**
me ki- kiya ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ke ahi me
3PL.S DUP yell COMMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3PL.S
pron vi aux dem pron

tohiyaba mati
to- hiya -haba mati
CH be different FUT+F 3PL.S
vi pron

'They were crying out like monkeys, as they changed into animals.'

399 **Me , afi na me ni ya , sariwa , boti**
me , afi na+F me ni ya , sariwa , boti
3PL.S bathe AUX 3PL to ADJU squirrel monkey way down
pron vi aux pron prt prt nm nf

tokome noko awematamonaka
to- ka -ma+M , noko awa -himata -mona -ka
away go/come back eye+M see FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi pn vi

'As they were bathing, the squirrel monkey dove down deep, and he saw something.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

400 *Me sariwa noko aweno ati yana*
 me sariwa noko awa -hino ati yana
 3PL squirrel monkey eye+M see IP.N+M voice start
 pron nm pn vi pn vi

tonematamona tafihari seo
 to- na -himata -mona tafi -haari seo
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M buoy up IP.E+M (squirrel monkey alarm)
 aux vi sound

seo seo seo
 seo seo seo
 (squirrel monkey alarm) (squirrel monkey alarm) (squirrel monkey alarm)
 sound sound sound

seo seo seo
 seo seo seo
 (squirrel monkey alarm) (squirrel monkey alarm) (squirrel monkey alarm)
 sound sound sound

seo
 seo
 (squirrel monkey alarm)
 sound

"The squirrel monkey saw something, and when he came to the surface, he spoke, "Seo seo."

401 *Te noko awini ?*
 tee noko awa -ni
 2PL.POSS eye see BKG+F
 pron pn vi

"Did you see something?"

402 *Yama hofi ahi*
 yama hofa.NOM+F ahi
 thing be in water then
 nf vi dem

"There is a creature lying on the bottom."

403 *Yama hofi ahi e afi ni yokana ya*
 yama hofa.NOM+F ahi ee afi na.NOM+F yokana ya
 thing be in water there 1IN.S bathe AUX true ADJU
 nf vi dem pron vi aux adj prt

"There is a creature lying right where we are bathing."

404 *Yama hohona nofari*
 yama ho- hona na nofa -ra.NOM+F
 thing DUP have something AUX recently NEG
 nf vi prt

"There has never been anything here."

405 *Yama hofarake*
 yama hofa -hara -ke
 thing be in water IP.E+F DECL+F
 nf vi

"It is lying there."

406 *Nokokiarake ha ya ahi*
 noko -kI -hara -ke haa ya ahi
 point coming IP.E+F DECL+F DEM ADJU then
 vi dem prt dem

"It's looking this way, but not at me."

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

407 *Yama nokokiara ahi , make , make mera*
 yama noko -kI -hara ahi , makehe , makehe mera
 thing point coming IP.E+F then anaconda anaconda 3PL.O
 nf vi dem nf nf pron

wahiyaro

wahiya -haaro
 hide from IP.E+F
 vt

"It's looking that way." It was the anaconda, hiding from them.'

408 *Yowi noki nemetemone yowi*
 yowi noki na -hemete -mone yowi
 brown capuchin wait for AUX FP.N+F REP+F brown capuchin
 nm vt aux nm

'She was waiting for the brown capuchin.'

409 *Yowi , yowi noki na , me me*
 yowi yowi noki na+F , me me
 brown capuchin brown capuchin wait for AUX 3PL 3PL.S
 nm nm vt aux pron pron

bokamemetemoneke

boka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 enter water back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'She was waiting for the brown capuchin. They jumped in the water on the other bank.'

410 *Me bokama me tokoma me , me ,*
 me boka -ma+F me to- ka -ma+F me , me ,
 3PL.S enter water back 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi pron pron

hiwaha me , Te awini ?
 hi- awa+F me , tee awa -ni
 OC see 3PL 2PL.S see BKG+F
 vt pron pron vt

"They jumped in the water. They were wading. They saw her. "Did you see it?"

411 *Ee ota awarake*
 ee otaa awa -hara -ke
 yes 1EX.S see IP.E+F DECL+F
 interj pron vt

"Yes, we saw it."

412 *Yama homi ahi*
 yama homa.NOM+F ahi
 thing lie on ground there
 nf vi dem

"There is something lying there."

413 *Homarake ahi*
 homa -hara -ke ahi
 lie on ground IP.E+F DECL+F there
 vi dem

"It is lying there."

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

414 *Awa amarini* ?
 awa ama -ra -ni
 tree be NEG BKG+F
 nf vc

"Is it a log?"

415 *Awa amakere*
 awa ama -ke -re
 tree be DECL+F NEG+F
 nf vc

"It's not a log."

416 *Me nafi boka me Hiba e awibeya*
 me nafi boka+F me hiba ee awa -be -ya
 3PL.POSS all enter water 3PL.POSS wait 1IN.S see IMMED+F now
 pron pn vi pron interj pron vt

e nafi e nafi
 ee nafi ee nafi
 1IN.POSS all 1IN.POSS all
 pron pn pron pn

"They all went in the water. "Wait, let's look at it, all of us."

417 *Kofai kofai oooo me*
 kofai kofai oooo me
 (jumping in water) (jumping in water) (sound of water) 3PL.S
 sound sound sound pron

tokometemoneni

to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi

"Kofai, oooo," they went.'

418 *Me tokoma me me*
 me to- ka -ma+F me me
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron

tokometemoneke

to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'They went down.'

419 *Me tokoma me yowi*
 me to- ka -ma+F me yowi
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S brown capuchin
 pron vi pron nm

watemetemoneke

wata -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 catch FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt dem

'They went down. She grasped the brown capuchin.'

420 *Yowi wata yowi watemetemoneni*
 yowi wata+F yowi wata -hemete -mone -ni
 brown capuchin catch brown capuchin catch FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 nm vt nm vt

'She grasped the brown capuchin.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

bari ya
bari ya
back ADJU
pn prt

'The capuchin was sitting on her nose.'

428 *Yowi itarimatamona*
yowi ita -rI -himata -mona
brown capuchin sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M
nm vi

'The capuchin was sitting there.'

429 *Faya hofaha mati Yowi yowi*
faya hofa+F mati yowi yowi
so be in water 3SG.POSS.mother brown capuchin brown capuchin
conj vi nf nm nm

yama watarake me tokoma me ati
yama wata -hara -ke me to- ka -ma+F me ati
thing catch IP.E+F DECL+F 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S say
nf vt pron vi pron vt

nemetemone
na -hemete -mone
AUX FP.N+F REP+F
aux

'The anaconda was in the water. "Something caught the brown capuchin," they said, as they went back.'¹¹⁶

430 *Me tokoma me ati na Yowi yama*
me to- ka -ma+F me ati na+F yowi yama
3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S say AUX brown capuchin thing
pron vi pron vt aux nm nf

watarake
wata -hara -ke
catch IP.E+F DECL+F
vt

'"Something caught the brown capuchin."'

431 *Yowi ya ati fofore toemetemone*
yowi ya ati fo- forI to- ha -hemete -mone
brown capuchin ADJU voice DUP lie on top CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
nm prt pn vi aux

'She had decided to marry the brown capuchin.'

432 *Yowi watemetemoneke*
yowi wata -hemete -mone -ke
brown capuchin catch FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
nm vt

'She caught the brown capuchin.'

433 *Faya yowi wata yowi fofoya toe*
faya yowi wata+F yowi fo- foya to- ha+M
so brown capuchin catch brown capuchin DUP be inside CH AUX
conj nm vt nm vi aux

kakafowa hihe Afi omateya
ka- ka- fowa hi- to- ha+M afi o- na -mate -ya
DUP COMIT be in water OC CH AUX bathe 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F now
vt aux vi aux

¹¹⁶ The word *mati* is a false start.

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

440 **Faya tokifiwama**

faya to- ka -fI -waha -ma+F ,
 so away go/come water change back
 conj vi

tokifiwamemetemoneke

to- ka -fI -waha -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come water change back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'She went to the water.'

441 **Tokifiwama**

to- ka -fI -waha -ma+F ,
 away go/come water change back
 vi

homemetemoneke

homa -hemete -mone -ke
 lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'She went to the water. She was lying there.'

442 **Homamisini**

homa -misa.NOM -ni ka hinaka yowi
 lie on ground up IP.N+F LOC 3SG.POSS brown capuchin
 vi prt pron nm

itari

ita -rI+M ne witi botokori ya , kowa nari
 sit raised surface AUX nose bridge ADJU whistle AUX IP.E+M
 vi aux pn pn prt vi aux

'She was lying on the beach and her brown capuchin was sitting on the bridge of her nose, crying.'

443 **Yowi**

yowi kowa nematamonaka he witi
 brown capuchin whistle AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS nose
 nm vi aux pron pn

botokori

botokori ya itariari
 bridge ADJU sit raised surface IP.E+M
 pn prt vi

'The capuchin was crying, as he sat on the bridge of her nose.'

444 **Tifowawawitih**

ti- to- fowa -waha -witI -hi
 2SG.S away be in water change out IMP+F
 vi

""You get out of here.""

445 **He**

fito kanemetemoneke ahi
 hee fito ka- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3SG.O rush COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi aux dem

'She attacked her.'

446 **Owa**

fito tikanahi onimakoni
 owa fito ti- ka- na -hi ati o- na -makoni
 1SG.O rush 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMP+F say 1SG.S AUX for this reason+F
 pron vi aux vt

owa

fito tikine tini
 owa fito ti- ka- na -ne ti- ni
 1SG.O rush 2SG.S COMIT AUX CONT+F 2SG.S BKG+F
 pron vi aux prt

""Did I say, 'Attack me'? Is that why you are attacking me?""

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

447 *Faya yora towitia bite , Okomi*
 faya yora to- na -witI+F bite o- ka ami
 so jump away AUX out 3SG.POSS.daughter 1SG.POSS POSS mother
 conj vi aux nf nf

aware awane
 awa -ra+M awa -ne
 see NEG seem+M BKG+M
 vi sec

'She jumped away. Her daughter said, "Why are you after my mother?"'

448 *Yoari wataha nafihemetemoneke*
 yoha -ri wata+F nafi -hemete -mone -ke
 breast PN exist be big FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pn vi vi

'She had breasts, she was big.'

449 *Nafiha , yoari wataha nafihara*
 nafi+F , yoha -ri wata+F nafi -hara
 be big breast PN exist be big IP.E+F
 vi pn vi vi

'She had breasts, she was big.'

450 *Faya me , afi kanabone , Ami , ami*
 faya me , afi ka- na -habone , ami , ami
 so 3PL.S bathe COMMIT AUX INT+F mother mother
 conj pron vi aux nf nf

'The two of them were going to bathe. "Mother, Mother."'

451 *Hofemetemone*
 hofa -hemete -mone
 be in water FP.N+F REP+F
 vi

'She was in the water.'

452 *Tati tati ihamisemetemoneke ahi*
 tati tati iha -misa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 head head be located up FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pn pn vi dem

'Her head was on the beach.'

453 *Ami owiti yama ati sai nofa , baba*
 ami o- witi yama ati sai nofa+F , ba- baa
 mother 1SG.POSS nose thing voice be heard recently DUP hit
 nf pn nf pn vi prt vt

timatahi
 ti- na -mata -hi
 2SG.S AUX short time IMP+F
 aux

""Mother, there is a voice coming out of my nose, hit a little bit on it.""

454 *Faya hinaka , awabone hiwasia awa wasia , Hiya ,*
 faya hinaka , awa -bone hi- wasi+F awa wasi+F , hiya ,
 so 3SG.POSS wood INT+F OC find wood find come on
 conj pron nf vt nf vt interj

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

ahi owiti ba tire ahi
 ahi o- witi baa ti- na -rI ahi
 here 1SG.POSS nose hit 2SG.S AUX raised surface here
 dem pn vt aux dem
 'She found a stick for her. "Here, hit on my nose."'

455 *Owiti ba tire*
 o- witi baa ti- na -rI
 1SG.POSS nose hit 2SG.S AUX raised surface
 pn vt aux
 "'Hit on my nose.'"

456 *Fati one watotibisani hisiri hisiri*
 fati one wato -tee.NOM -bisa -ni hisiri hisiri
 3SG.POSS.wife other+F know HAB also IP.N+F basket basket
 nf adj vt nf nf

tonanokohemetemone ahi
 to- na- noko -hemete -mone ahi
 away CAUS point FP.N+F REP+F then
 vt dem
 'She knew her daughter was going to marry the capuchin. She tipped the basket.'

457 *Isiri bite tonanokoha witi baba*
 isiri bite to- na- noko+F witi baba
 basket small+F away CAUS point nose DUP hit
 nf adj vt pn vt

hinemetemoneke
 hi- na -hemete -mone -ke
 OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux
 'She tipped the basket, and hit lightly on her nose.'

458 *Mata ba nare tinahi*
 mata baa na -rI ti- na -hi
 more hit AUX raised surface 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 adv vt aux aux
 "'Hit harder.'"

459 *Witi ba hire yowi yowi*
 witi baa hi- na -rI yowi yowi
 nose hit OC AUX raised surface brown capuchin brown capuchin
 pn vt aux nm nm

yora towitimatamonaka isiri tori ya ahi
 yora to- na -witI -himata -mona -ka isiri tori ya ahi
 jump away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M basket inside+F ADJU there
 vi aux nf pn prt dem
 'She hit on her nose, and the capuchin jumped into the basket.'

460 *Noko borone wara hikane yowi tama*
 noko borone wara hi- to- ka- na+M yowi tama
 lid+M grab OC CH COMIT AUX brown capuchin hold onto
 pn vt aux nm vt

kanemetemoneke
 ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux
 'She held the mouth of the basket shut, shutting the capuchin inside.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

461 *Yowi* *tama* *kane* , *faya* *tama* *hikane*
 yowi tama ka- na+M , faya tama hi- ka- na+M
 brown capuchin hold onto COMIT AUX so hold onto OC COMIT AUX
 nm vt aux conj vt aux

noko *wete* *hikanematamonaka*
 noko wete hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 opening+M tie OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pn vt aux

'She held the capuchin in, and tied the mouth of the basket.'

462 *Noko* *wete* *hikane* , *faya* *mati* *hora*
 noko wete hi- ka- na+M , faya mati hora
 opening+M tie OC COMIT AUX so 3SG.POSS.mother scold
 pn vt aux conj nf vt

hina , *mati* *hora* *hinemetemoneke*
 hi- na+F , mati hora hi- na -hemete -mone -ke
 OC AUX 3SG.POSS.mother scold OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux nf vt aux

'She tied the mouth of the basket. Her mother scolded her.'

463 *Tikamahi*
 ti- to- ka -ma -hi
 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
 vi

""Go.""

464 *Tikamahi*
 ti- to- ka -ma -hi
 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
 vi

""Go.""

465 *Yama* *nafi* *nima* *titibeya*
 yama nafi nima ti- na -tee -be -ya
 thing all like 2SG.S AUX HAB IMMED+F now
 nf pn prt aux

""Go everywhere.""

466 *Mati* , *mati* *koro*
 mati , mati koro
 3SG.POSS.mother 3SG.POSS.mother throw
 nf nf vt

hifemetemoneke *ahi*
 hi- to- na -fI -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 OC away AUX water back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux dem

'Her mother threw her back into the water.'

467 *Mati* *koro* *hifema* ,
 mati koro hi- to- na -fI -ma+F ,
 3SG.POSS.mother throw OC away AUX water back
 nf vt aux

tokometemone
 to- ka -ma -hemete -mone
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
 vi

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

'Her mother threw her in the water, and she went down.'

468 *Fa nafi nima titiyahi*
 faha nafi nima ti- na -tee -yahi
 water all like 2SG.S AUX HAB DIST.IMP+F
 nf pn prt aux

""You will go to the waters everywhere.""

469 *Faya tokoma , tokomi ya*
 faya to- ka -ma+F , to- ka -ma.NOM+F ya ,
 so away go/come back away go/come back ADJU
 conj vi vi prt

yowi fatitebone tama hikane he
 yowi fati -tee -bone tama hi- ka- na+M , hee
 brown capuchin 3SG.POSS.wife HAB INT+F hold onto OC COMIT AUX 3SG
 nm nf vt aux pron

famawatebanoho

fama -waha -tee -hiba -no -ho
 be two change HAB FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vi

'So she went down. When she went down, the one who was going to be the wife of the brown capuchin was holding him. She stayed with him.'

470 *Faya me , afi kana me*
 faya me , afi ka- na+F me
 so 3PL.S bathe COMIT AUX 3PL.S
 conj pron vi vi pron

kakamemetemoneke

ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'The two of them bathed and came back.'

471 *Me kakama me , mati fama*
 me ka- ka -ma+F me , mati fama+F
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3SG.POSS.mother be two
 pron vi pron nf vi

kama yowi tama kani kama
 ka -ma+F yowi tama ka- na.NFIN ka -ma+F ,
 go/come back brown capuchin hold onto COMIT AUX go/come back
 vi nm vt aux vi

faya yowi nanayana toha , faya
 faya yowi na- na- yana to- ha+F , faya
 so brown capuchin DUP CAUS grow CH AUX so
 conj nm vt aux conj

kikimisama raba ne ya
 ki- ka -misa -ma na -raba na.NOM+M ya
 DUP go/come up back AUX a bit AUX ADJU
 vi aux aux prt

wamisamematamona

waa -misa -ma -himata -mona fahi
 stand up back FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi dem

'They came back. She came back with her mother. She came back holding onto the brown capuchin. Then she raised the capuchin. He got somewhat better, and then got up.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

472 *Wamisamematamonaka*

waa -misa -ma -himata -mona -ka
stand up back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi

'He got up.'

473 *Wamisame*

waa -misa -ma+M
stand up back
vi

wamisame

waa -misa -ma+M
stand up back
vi

Make

makehe
anaconda
nf

kora

kora
swallow whole
vt

hiniseno

hi- to- na -risa -hino
OC CH AUX down IP.N+M
aux

wamisamawahane

waa -misa -ma -waha.CONT+M -ne
stand up back change BKG+M
vi

'He got up. "The anaconda swallowed him whole, but finally he got up."'

474 *Make*

makehe
anaconda
nf

owa

owa
1SG.O
pron

watani

wata -hani
catch IP.N+F
vt

o

o-
1SG.O
prt

"The anaconda bit me."

475 *Owamisamawahine*

o- waa -misa -ma -waha -ne
1SG.S stand up back change CONT+F
vi

oni

o- ni
1SG.S BKG+F
prt

"I got up now."

476 *Faya*

faya si- siwa na -ma to- ha -himata -mona -ka
so DUP play AUX back CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
conj vi aux aux

sisiwa

nama

toematamonaka

fahi

fahi
then
dem

'He played once again.'

477 *Sisiwa*

si- siwa na -ma to- ha+M
DUP play AUX back CH AUX
vi

nama

tohe

faya

me

siwa

faya me siwa
so 3PL.S play
conj pron vi

namemetemone

na -ma -hemete -mone
AUX back FP.N+F REP+F
aux

fahi

fahi
then
dem

'He played once again. They played again.'

478 *Me*

me siwa na -ma+F me
3PL.S play AUX back 3PL.S
pron vi aux pron

siwa

nama

me

me

siwa

nemetemoneke

me siwa na -hemete -mone -ke
3PL.S play AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron vi aux

ahi

ahi
then
dem

'They played again. They played.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

479 **Kakaro me sa nemetemone ahi**
 kakaro me saa na -hemete -mone ahi
 disk 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 nm pron vt aux dem

'They shot arrows at the disk.'

480 **Kakaro me tisa nemetemone ahi**
 kakaro me tisa na -hemete -mone ahi
 disk 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 nm pron vt aux dem

'They shot arrows at the disk.'

481 **Kakaro me tisa na me , kakaro me me**
 kakaro me tisa na+F me , kakaro me me
 disk 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.S disk 3PL 3PL.POSS
 nm pron vt aux pron nm pron pron

abe tokatowiemetemoneni kakaro ya , kakaro ya
 abe to- katowi -hemete -mone -ni kakaro ya , kakaro ya
 RECIIP away fight FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F disk ADJU disk ADJU
 pn vt nm prt nm prt

'They shot arrows at the disk. They fought over the disk.'

482 **Kakaro owa itikabote kakaro , banakabote**
 kakaro owa iti -kabote kakaro , bana -kabote
 disk other+M take out quickly disk throw something at quickly
 nm adj vt nm vt

nematamonaka
 na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'One of them took the disk and threw it at someone.'

483 **Kakaro itematamonaka ahi**
 kakaro ita -himata -mona -ka ahi
 disk pierce FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm vt dem

'He put a hole in the disk.'

484 **Kakaro , wari nawa kanibote bana**
 kakaro , wari na -waha ka- na -bote bana
 disk turn AUX change COMIT AUX quickly throw at someone
 nm vt aux aux vt

kanibote nematamonaka
 ka- na -bote na -himata -mona -ka
 COMIT AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux aux

'He twisted the disk off and threw it.'

485 **Kakaro itatasematamonaka ahi owa**
 kakaro ita -tasa -himata -mona -ka ahi owa
 disk pierce again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then other+M
 nm vt dem adj

'Someone else hit the disk with an arrow.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

486 *Faya me* , *abe tokatowimetemone* *fahi*
 faya me , abe to- katowi -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3PL.POSS RECIp CH fight FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron pn vt dem

'They fought with each other.'

487 *Yowi fito tonamakematamonaka* *ahi*
 yowi fito to- na -makI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 brown capuchin rush away AUX following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm vi aux

yiko wati kanenoho
 yiko wati ka- na -hino -ho
 howler monkey plan against COMIT AUX IP.N+M DUP
 nm vt aux

'The brown capuchin ran, planning against the howler monkey.'

488 *Fito tonamake* , *kakaro wara tonematamonaka*
 fito to- na -makI kakaro wara to- na -himata -mona -ka
 rush away AUX following disk grab CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux nm vt aux

'He ran and grabbed the disk.'

489 *Kakaro wara tone* , *yiko namiti baka nakose*
 kakaro wara to- na+M , yiko namiti baka na -kosa+M
 disk grab away AUX howler monkey neck break AUX middle
 nm vt aux nm pn vt aux

yiko kakaro yoko tonematamonaka *ahi*
 yiko kakaro yoko to- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 howler monkey disk push CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm nm vt aux dem

'He grabbed the disk and broke the howler's neck, and shoved the disk on him.'

490 *Hinaka kakaromatamona* , *he namiti foyati*
 hinaka kakaro -mata -mona , hee namiti foya -tee.NOM
 3SG.POSS disk FP.N+M REP+M 3SG.POSS neck be inside HAB
 pron nm pron pn vi

'It was his disk, that stays in his throat.'

491 *Faya namiti yoko hine* , *faya iso baka*
 faya namiti yoko hi- to- na+M , faya iso baka
 so neck push OC CH AUX so leg+M break
 conj pn vt aux conj pn vt

hikasa teme teme baka hisa
 hi- ka- na -kosa.LIST , teme teme baka hi- na -kosa.LIST ,
 OC COMIT AUX middle foot+M foot+M break OC AUX middle
 aux pn pn vt aux

yehe baka hisa , *koro*
 yehe baka hi- na -kosa.LIST , koro
 hand break OC AUX middle throw
 pn vt aux vt

himisematamonaka *ahi*
 hi- to- na -misa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 OC away AUX up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'He shoved it on his throat. Then he broke his legs. He broke his feet and his hands, and threw him up high.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

492 *Kirikirikirikirikiri* *bofe* *ya* *tokematamonaka*
 kirikirikirikirikirikiri bofe ya to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 (voice of howler monkey) ground ADJU away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 sound nf prt vi

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He went along saying, "Kirikirikirikirikiri."¹¹⁷

493 *Te* *awa* *hari*
 tee awa haari
 2PL.S see that one+M
 pron vt dem

"Look at him."

494 *Mera* *tonahiyeba* *make* , *yome*
 mera to- na- hiya -hiba makehe , yome
 3PL.O CH CAUS be different FUT+M anaconda swallow
 pron vt nf vt

hiniseno *mera* *tonahiyematamonaka*
 hi- to- na -risa -hino mera to- na- hiya -himata -mona -ka
 OC CH AUX down IP.N+M 3PL.O CH CAUS be different FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux pron vt

yowi
 yowi
 brown capuchin
 nm

'So that he could turn them into animals, the anaconda swallowed him. He turned them into animals, the brown capuchin.'

495 *Sariwa* *kiya* *kanakane* *sariwa* *ahi*
 sariwa kiya ka- na -kane sariwa ahi
 squirrel monkey yell COMMIT AUX ?+M squirrel monkey then
 nm vi aux nm dem

'The squirrel monkey also cried out.'

496 *Sariwa* *wate* *sariwa* , *baka* *ne* *sariwa*
 sariwa wata+M sariwa , baka na+M sariwa
 squirrel monkey catch squirrel monkey break AUX squirrel monkey
 nm vt nm vt aux nm

koro *tomisematamonaka* *ahi*
 koro to- na -misa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 throw away AUX up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt aux dem

'He grabbed the squirrel monkey and broke him. He threw the squirrel monkey up high.'

497 *Sariwa* *seo* *nibote* *nematamonaka* *ahi*
 sariwa seo na -bote na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 squirrel monkey hiss AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm vi aux aux dem

'The squirrel monkey began hissing right away.'

117 I was not able to determine why Siko included the phrase *bofe ya* 'on the ground'.

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

498 *Yowi* *mati* *yowi* , *yowi* *me* *one* ,
 yowi mati yowi , yowi me one
 brown capuchin 3PL brown capuchin brown capuchin 3PL other+F
 nm pron nm nm pron adj

me *one* *tonahiyematamona*
 me one to- na- hiya -himata -mona
 3PL other+F CH CAUS be different FP.N+M REP+M
 pron adj vt

'He also turned the others into brown capuchins.'

499 *Tamakori* *fana* *kisorawaha* ,
 tamakori fana kiso -rawa -ha
 saki female white-fronted capuchin F.PL DUP
 nm nf nf

kiso *mera* *tonahiya* ,
 kiso mera to- na- hiya.LIST
 white-fronted capuchin 3PL.O CH CAUS be different
 nf pron vt

kiso *metebana*
 kiso me -tee -bana
 white-fronted capuchin 3PL HAB FUT
 nf pron

'He turned them into female saki monkeys, and white-fronted capuchins, too.'

500 *Faya* *mera* *tonahiyematamonaka* *fahi*
 faya mera to- na- hiya -himata -mona -ka fahi
 so 3PL.O CH CAUS be different FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj pron vt dem

'He turned them into animals.'

501 *Mera* *tonahiye* *nafi* , *me* *nafi*
 mera to- na- hiya+M nafi me nafi
 3PL.O CH CAUS be different all 3PL.POSS all
 pron vt pn pron pn

tokomisemetemoneke *ahi*
 to- ka -misa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 away go/come up FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

'He turned them into animals. They all went up into the trees.'

502 *Yama* *yama* *me* *ati* *sasai* *ka* *yama*
 yama yama me ati sa- sai ka yama
 thing thing 3PL.POSS voice DUP be heard which thing
 nf nf pron pn vi prt nf

fawafawa , *nemetemoneke*
 fawa- fawa na -hemete -mone -ke
 DUP disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux

'There had been lots of voices before, but now there was silence.'

503 *Hahi* , *bane* *mebisa* , *fati* *famabise*
 haahi banehe me -bisa , fati fama -bisa+M
 this one+M giant anteater 3PL also 3SG.POSS.wife be two also
 dem nf pron nf vi

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

, *tabakitebana*
 tabaki -tee -bana
 tambaqui HAB FUT
 nf

'The giant anteater was with his wife, the tamabaqui fish.'

504 *Bane* *yama* , *Himata* *nima* *e* *naba* *e*
 banehe yama , himata nima ee na -haba ee
 giant anteater thing what? like 1IN.S AUX FUT+F 1IN.S
 nf nf interrog prt pron aux pron

amari ?

ama -ri
 SEC CQ+F
 sec

""What shall we do?""

505 *Yama* *nanawaha* *raba* *ra* *me* *hiri* *na*
 yama na- nawaha na -raba na -ra+F me hiri na+F
 thing CAUS take a long time AUX a bit AUX NEG 3PL.S do AUX
 nf vi aux aux aux pron vt aux

me *tiwa*
 me ti- awa
 3PL.O 2SG.S see
 pron vt

""Look at the difficult thing they are doing.""

506 *E* *goro* *nabisahi*
 ee goro na -bisa -hi
 1IN.S stay AUX also IMP+F
 pron vi aux

""We will stay here.""

507 *E* *goro* *nabisa* *bisa*
 ee goro na -bisa+F bisa
 1IN.S stay AUX also also
 pron vi aux prt

""We will stay here.""

508 *Yama* *nawahake*
 yama nawaha -ke
 thing take a long time DECL+F
 nf vi

""It's hard.""

509 *E* *goro* *nahi*
 ee goro na -hi
 1IN.S stay AUX IMP+F
 pron vi aux

""Let's stay.""

510 *E* *goro* *nene* *na*
 ee goro na -hene na
 1IN.S stay AUX IRR+F AUX
 pron vi aux aux

""No, let's not stay.""

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

511 *Yamata kababa watakerene*
 yamata kaba -haba wata -ke -re -ne
 food eat FUT+F exist DECL+F NEG+F IRR+F
 nf result vi

"There is no food to eat."

512 *Awa boni ota kabateraba ota awineni*
 awa boni otaa kaba -tee -ra -haba otaa awine -ni
 tree fruit+F 1EX.S eat HAB NEG FUT+F 1EX.S seem+F BKG+F
 nf pn pron vt pron sec

"We will eat fruits."¹¹⁸

513 *Awa boni ota kabakitibe ati*
 awa boni otaa kaba -ki -tee.NOM -be , ati
 tree fruit+F 1EX.S eat DECL+F HAB IMMED+F say
 nf pn pron vt vt

nematamonaka

na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

"We will eat fruits," he said."¹¹⁹

514 *Ati ne , faya , faya me , yana tokanabone*
 ati na+M , faya , faya me , yana to- ka- na -habone
 say AUX so conj so 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX INT+F
 vt aux conj conj pron vi aux

me , abe hima na me ,
 me , abe hima na+F me ,
 3PL.POSS RECIP call to go AUX 3PL.S
 pron pn vt aux pron

towakabasawawitia me , Bane
 to- ka- ka -basa -waha -witI+F me , banehe
 away COMIT go/come edge change out 3PL.S giant anteater
 vi pron nf

bane tiwatyahi
 banehe ti- waa -tee -yahi
 giant anteater 2SG.S stand HAB DIST.IMP+F
 nf vi

"They got ready and called each other to go. They went around the edge of the lake. "Anteater, you stay here."

515 *Okomakibana ama oni*
 o- to- ka -makI -bana ama o- ni
 1SG.S away go/come following FUT be 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi vc prt

"I'm going."

516 *Himata ebe tinabana ?*
 himata ebe ti- na -habana
 what? purpose 2SG.S AUX FUT+F
 interrog vt aux

"What are you going to do?"

118 I wasn't able to determine why the exclusive *ota* is used here rather than the inclusive *e*.

119 The noun *banehe* 'giant anteater' has feminine gender, but this is overridden because the character in the story is a man.

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

517 *Okomakibana* *ama oni*
 o- to- ka -makI -bana ama o- ni
 1SG.S away go/come following FUT be 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi vc prt

"I'm going."

518 *Faha ya owatibana* *ama oni*
 faha ya o- waa -tee -bana ama o- ni
 water ADJU 1SG.S stay HAB FUT be 1SG.S BKG+F
 nf prt vi vc prt

"I'm going to stay in the water."

519 *Owa tinafimiteiyahi*
 owa ti- na- fimi -tee -ra -yahi
 1SG.O 2SG.S CAUS be hungry HAB NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron vt

"I don't want you to cause me to starve."

520 *Owa tinafimiteiyahi*
 owa ti- na- fimi -tee -ra -yahi
 1SG.O 2SG.S CAUS be hungry HAB NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron v

"I don't want you to cause me to starve."

521 *Okomakibana* *ama oni* *faha ya*
 o- to- ka -makI -bana ama o- ni faha ya
 1SG.S away go/come following FUT be 1SG.S BKG+F water ADJU
 vi vc prt nf prt

"I'm going to the water."

522 *Faya faha ya tokomakebone* *hine wati*
 faya faha ya to- ka -makI -habone hine wati
 so water ADJU away go/come following INT+F 3.REFL think about
 conj nf prt vi pron vt

kana , *Owahariha* *owinaba* *owa awine oni*
 ka- na+F o- ohari+F o- wina -haba owa awine o- ni
 COMMIT AUX 1SG.S be one 1SG.S live FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 aux vi vi pron sec prt

ati nematamona bane
 ati na -himata -mona banehe
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M giant anteater
 vt aux nm

'She was going to go into the water. "I guess I will live alone," he said, the anteater.'

523 *Faya , yana tone yana tonematamonane*
 faya , yana to- na+M yana to- na -himata -mona -ne
 so start CH AUX start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 conj vi aux vi aux

'He left.'¹²⁰

524 *Yana tonemetemone* *fara*
 yana to- na -hemete -mone fara
 start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F same+F
 vi aux dem

'She is the one that left.'

120 The agreement should be feminine, and Siko corrects it in the next sentence.

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

525 *Yana tona* , *tokifiwamakia* *yo*
 yana to- na+F , to- ka -fI -waha -makI+F yoo
 start CH AUX away go/come water change following wade
 vi aux vi vi

tonamakemetemoneke

to- na -makI -hemete -mone -ke
 away AUX following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'She left. She went to the water and waded in.'

526 *Yo tonamake* , *Yama amosa awineni*
 yoo to- na -makI , yama amosa+F awine -ni
 wade away AUX following thing be good seem+F BKG+F
 vi aux nf vi sec

'She waded in. "It's nice."'

527 *Yama totowamake* *omatibeya*
 yama to- to- awa -makI o- na -mata -be -ya
 thing DUP away see following 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F now
 nf vt aux

""I'm going to take a look.""

528 *Bane wawa karama tinahi*
 banehe wa- waa na -karahama ti- na -hi
 giant anteater DUP stand AUX only do 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 nf vi aux aux

""Anteater, you stay there.""

529 *Tikamakeriyahi*
 ti- to- ka -makI -ra -yahi
 2SG.S away go/come following NEG DIST.IMP+F
 vi

""Don't go there.""

530 *Tikamakeriyahi*
 ti- to- ka -makI -ra -yahi
 2SG.S away go/come following NEG DIST.IMP+F
 vi

""Don't go there.""

531 *Hibareya yama amosi aawa onabone oni*
 hibareya yama amosa.NFIN a- awa o- na -habone o- ni
 wait thing be good DUP see 1SG.S AUX INT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 interj nf vi vt aux prt

""Wait, I want to take a look at the nice place.""

532 *Tebo fawi fa weye*
 tebo fawi faha weye
 (something hitting water) (disappearing) water carry
 sound sound nf vt

tonamakemetemone

to- na -makI -hemete -mone
 away AUX following FP.N+F REP+F
 aux

""Tebo." She disappeared. She made a wave.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

533 *Fa weye tonamake tokomake*
 faha weye to- na -makI to- ka -makI
 water carry away AUX following away go/come following
 nf vt aux vi

tokomakeni e tonamakeni moni
 to- ka -makI -hani ee to- na -makI -hani
 away go/come following IP.N+F turn back away AUX following IP.N+F
 vi vi aux sound
 pn

yana tonemetemoneke ahi tooo
 yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi tooo
 start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then (fish coming to surface)
 vi aux dem sound

'She made a wave as she went. She went and turned back. She made a noise, "Too."'

534 *Kamemetemoneni*
 ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni
 go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi

'She came back.'

535 *Kama kamemetemoneke ahi*
 ka -ma+F ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 go/come back go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi vi dem

'She came back.'

536 *Yama kamahani tasi namemetemoneke*
 yama ka -ma -hani tasi na -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 thing go/come back IP.N+F emerge AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi vi aux

'She came back and came to the surface.'

537 *Bane ohi ne ite bane ohi*
 banehe ohi na+M ita+M banehe ohi
 giant anteater cry AUX sit giant anteater cry
 nf vi aux vi nf vi

nematamonaka
 na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'The anteater sat there crying.'

538 *Faya hima hiname he ati*
 faya hima hi- to- na -ma+M hee ati
 so call to go OC away AUX back 3SG.POSS voice
 conj vt aux pron pn

kasawaribanoho
 ka- sawari -hiba -no -ho
 COMMIT frustrate FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vt

'She called him to go, but he didn't listen to her.'

539 *He ati kasawarimatamona fahi*
 hee ati ka- sawari -himata -mona fahi
 3SG.POSS voice COMMIT frustrate FP.N+M REP+M then
 pron pn vt dem

'He didn't listen to her.'

THEY TURNED INTO ANIMALS

tohiyamakitasahaba *mati*
 to- hiya -makI -tasa -haba mati
 CH be different following again FUT+F 3PL.S
 vi pron
 'They turned into animals. Others turned into animals later.'

562 *Afa* *memetemone* *wafa* *me* *amake*
 afa me -mete -mone wafa me ama -ke
 this+F 3PL FP.N+F REP+F woolly monkey 3PL.S be DECL+F
 dem pron nm pron vc
 'They became the woolly monkeys.'

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

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, "Iiiiiii," 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

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

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, fofofofofof. It arrived, wakii.

"Whew, hey, hey. Here, here, Father-in-law, here. Father-in-law, come slowly." He went slowly, fofofofofof, 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, fofofofofof.

"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

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

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."

Their 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 ate 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

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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 *yimo*."

"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."

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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 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.¹²² 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 gnawing 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. 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.

¹²² He changed him into a saki monkey.

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"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. They 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

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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, 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?"

123 The guan had fallen asleep after blowing snuff into the deer. The talking of the drugged deer woke up the guan.

124 That is, Boniwa thought the story was funny, when it was told a long time ago.

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"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	<i>Ee</i>	<i>wafa</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>wafa</i>	<i>me</i>
	ee	wafa	me		wafa	me
	yes	woolly monkey	3PL		woolly monkey	3PL.S
	interj	nm	pron		nm	pron

125 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.

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kishehemetemoneke

ka -risa -hemete -mone -ke
 go/come down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'The woolly monkeys were coming downstream.'

2 **Me** **kisahaba** **fa** **me** , **fa** **me** **yaro** **kanaha**
 me ka -risa -haba faha me , faha me yaro ka- na+F
 3PL.S go/come down FUT+F water 3PL water 3PL.S start COMIT AUX
 pron vi nf pron nf pron vt aux

me **kishehemetemone**

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.'

3 **Me** , **me** **kisaha** **me** , **aba** **me** **aba** **me** **kakaba**
 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 pron vi pron nm pron nm pron vt

toi **ya** **fa** **kori** **toimetemone** **ama** **ke**
 to- ha.NOM+F ya faha kori to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke
 CH AUX ADJU water naked+F CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F
 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.'

5 **Fa** **itarimetemone** **ama** **ke** **Foro** **haro**
 faha ita -ra.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke Foro haaro
 water be located NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F Purus that one+F
 nf vi sec npropf dem

'There wasn't water in the Purus River.'

6 **Faya** , **fa** **me** **yaro** **kana** **me** **nowati** **ya** **me**
 faya , faha me yaro ka- na+F me nowati ya me
 so water 3PL.S start COMIT AUX 3PL.POSS after ADJU 3PL
 conj nf pron vt aux pron pn prt pron
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 pron vi

'The first woolly monkeys came downstream after the ones who made the water start.'

7 **Kisamake** **me** , **fa** **kisemetemone**
 ka -risa -makI me , faha ka -risa -hemete -mone
 go/come down following 3PL.S water go/come down FP.N+F REP+F
 vi pron nf vi

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'They came downstream. The water came downstream.'

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		nm	
	kerewe			kerewe		fati	
	kerewe			kerewe		fati	
	three-toed sloth			three-toed sloth		3SG.POSS.wife	
	nm			nm		nf	
						famabise	,
						fama	-bisa+M
						be with	also
						vi	
	kerewe	fati		famabise		sirika	
	kerewe	fati		fama	-bisa+M	sirika	
	be slow	3SG.POSS.wife		be with	also	rubber tree sp	
	vi	nf		vi		nm	
						bono	,
						bono	
						fruit+M	
	sirika			yama		nematamonaka	
	sirika			yama		na -himata -mona -ka	
	rubber tree sp			climb after		AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	
	nm			pn	vt	aux	
	fati	ati		ihi			.
	fati	ati		ihi			
	3SG.POSS.wife	voice		because of+F			
	nf	pn		post			

'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	

.'"Sloth, go up after *sirika* fruits.'" .

10	Yama	yama	ona		fa	kisa	haro	
	yama	yama	o- 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	

.'"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	

.'"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	

.'"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	
	conj	nm		vi	

'So the sloth went up the tree.'

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14 *Tokomise* , *tokomisawite* ,
to- ka -misa+M , to- ka -misa -witI ,
away go/come up away go/come up out
vi vi
tokomisawite *sirika* *bono* , *baka* *ne*
to- ka -misa -witI sirika bono , baka na+M
away go/come up out rubber tree sp fruit+M break AUX
vi nm pn vt aux
sirika *bono* *koro* *kanise* *Aawa* .
sirika bono koro ka- na -risa+M a- awa
rubber tree sp fruit+M throw COMIT AUX down DUP see
nm pn vt aux vt
'He went up. He went up high. He broke off *sirika* fruits, and threw them down. "Take a look."

15 *Aawa* *tinaho* .
a- awa ti- na -ho
DUP see 2SG.S AUX IMP+M
vt aux
'"Look at them."

16 *Noko* *wahi* *ya* *noko* *wahi* *tinahi* .
noko 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
pn vi prt pn vi vt
'"If the fruits are ripe, say they are ripe."

17 *Faya* *noko* , *kefe* *hikane* , *noko* *kefe* .
faya noko , kefe hi- ka- na+M , noko kefe
so seed+M open OC COMIT AUX seed+M open
conj pn vt aux pn vt
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* , *ee* , *Faira* ?
noko kefe hi- ka- na+M , ee , fahi -ra
seed+M open OC COMIT AUX (pause) that NPQ
pn vt aux interj dem
'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* .
noko fi- firi , ati na -hemete -mone
seed+M DUP be very green say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
pn vi vt aux
'"The fruit is still green," she said.'

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<i>tokomisame</i>	<i>Tokomihina</i>	<i>okere</i>
to- ka -misa -ma+M	to- ka -ma -hina	o- na ke -re
away go/come up back	away go/come back can	1SG.S AUX DECL+F NEG+F
vi	vi	prt

'So the sloth went back up in the tree. "I can't go back.'"

28 <i>Tokomihina</i>	<i>orini</i>
to- ka -ma -hina	o- na -ra -ni
away go/come back can	1SG.S AUX NEG BKG+F
vi	aux

"I can't go back."

29 <i>Yama abe</i>	<i>tamarake</i>	<i>haro</i>	<i>oma</i>	<i>mati</i>
yama abe	tama -hara -ke	haaro	oma	mati
creature	be many IP.E+F DECL+F	that one+F	piranha	3PL
nf	vi	dem	nm	pron

"There are many creatures there, piranhas."

30 <i>Oma</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>tamarake</i>
oma	me	tama -hara -ke
piranha	3PL.S	be many IP.E+F DECL+F
nm	pron	vi

"There are many piranhas."

31 <i>Oma</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>oma</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>nakome</i>	<i>tokomisame</i>
oma	me	oma	me	na- komeha	to- ka -misa -ma+M
piranha	3PL	piranha	3PL.O	CAUS be fearsome	away go/come up back
nm	pron	nm	pron	vt	vi

tokomisamematamonaka

to- ka -misa -ma -himata -mona -ka
away go/come up back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi

'He went back up in the tree, because he was afraid of the piranhas.'

32 <i>Faya</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>kisini</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ahi</i>
faya	me	ka -risa.NOM+F -ni	ya	ahi
so	3PL.S	go/come down IP.N+F	ADJU	then
conj	pron	vi	prt	dem

<i>hohori</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>kisemetemoneke</i>	<i>ahi</i>
ho- hori	ati	ka -risa -hemete -mone -ke	ahi
DUP play by blowing	voice	go/come down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	then
nf	pn	vi	dem

'As they were coming downstream, the sound of the noisemaker was coming downstream.'

33 <i>Iiiii</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hohori</i>	<i>ati</i>
iiiiii	me	ka	ho- hori	ati
(sound of noisemaker)	3PL	POSS	DUP play by blowing	say
sound	pron	prt	nf	vt

<i>nemetemoneke</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>kisahani</i>	<i>mati</i>
na -hemete -mone -ke	me	ka -risa -hani	mati
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	3PL.S	go/come down IP.N+F	3PL.S
aux	pron	vi	pron

<i>wafa</i>	<i>mati</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>yoro</i>	<i>tokana</i>	<i>mati</i>	<i>ahi</i>
wafa	mati	me	yoro	to- ka- na+F	mati	ahi
woolly monkey	3PL	3PL.S	be together	CH COMIT AUX	3PL.S	then
nm	pron	pron	vi	aux	pron	dem

'Their noisemaker went, "Iiiii," as the woolly monkeys came downstream. There were also many other

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monkeys with them.'

34	Me	ati	kisa		me	,	kerewe		fa
	me	ati	ka	-risa+F	me		kerewe		faha
	3PL.POSS	voice	go/come	down	3PL.POSS		three-toed	sloth	water
	pron	pn	vi		pron		nm		nf
	nakome		ware			,	Hoo	,	oka
	na-	komeha	waa	-rI			hoo		o- ka
	CAUS	be fearsome	stand	raised	surface		whew		1SG.POSS POSS
	vt		vi				interj		prt
	okaki		haha		tina		boko		
	o-	ka aki	ha- haa	ti-	na		boko		
	1SG.S	POSS grandmother	DUP call	2SG.S	AUX		vulture		
	nf		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	
	o-	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	
	o-	ka aki	o-	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	
	o-	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		aki	
	grandmother		grandmother	
	nf		nf	

"Grandmother, Grandmother."

39	Heee	
	heee	
	(cry of vulture)	
	interj	

"Heee."

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	

'He called her. "Grandmother, come here a minute."

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41 *Aki* *tikematahi*
 aki ti- ka -kI -mata -hi
 grandmother 2SG.S go/come coming short time IMP+F
 nf v

"Grandmother, come here a minute."

42 *Yama* *owa* *ti* *karawini*
 yama owa tii ka- na -rawa -ni
 thing 1SG.O cut through COMIT AUX F.PL BKG+F
 nf pron vt aux

"The creatures are cutting me down."

43 *Moni* *bakara* *nemetemoneke* *oma* *me* *ihi*
 moni bakara na -hemete -mone -ke oma me ihi
 sound crack AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F piranha 3PL.POSS because of+F
 pn vi aux nm pron post

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

'The tree was making a cracking sound, because of the piranhas.'

44 *Sirika* *mete* *me* *tirokosemetemone*
 sirika mete me tiro -kosa -hemete -mone
 rubber tree sp base+M 3PL.S cut a section off middle FP.N+F REP+F
 nm pn pron vt

me *amake*
 me ama -ke
 3PL.S SEC DECL+F
 pron 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
 rubber tree sp base+M 3PL.S cut a section off middle 3PL.S
 nm pn pron vi pron

boko *kakemetemone* *amake*
 boko ka -kI -hemete -mone ama -ke
 vulture go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 nf vi sec

'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
 vi nf vi dem

'She came. The vulture came.'

47 *Aki* *kakake* *raba* *kakake* *raba*
 aki ka- ka -kI na -raba ka- ka -kI na -raba
 grandmother DUP go/come coming AUX a bit DUP go/come coming AUX a bit
 nf vi aux vi aux

tinahi
 ti- na -hi
 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 aux

"Grandma, come slowly."

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48 *Kokobo* *raba* *kabote* *tinahi*
 ko- kobo na -raba na -kabote ti- na -hi
 DUP arrive AUX a bit AUX quickly 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux aux aux

"Land softly."

49 *Kokobo* *raba* *nemetemoneke*
 ko- kobo na -raba na -hemete -mone -ke
 DUP arrive AUX a bit AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux aux

'She landed softly.'

50 *Kokobo* *raba* *ni* *ya* *Aki* *tikita* *ama*
 ko- kobo na -raba na.NOM+F ya aki ti- kita+F ama
 DUP arrive AUX a bit AUX ADJU grandmother 2SG.S be strong SEC
 vi aux aux prt nf vi sec

ti ?

ti-
2SG.S

prt

'She landed softly. "Grandma, are you strong?"'

51 *Okita* *owa* *awine* *oni*
 o- kita+F owa awine o- ni
 1SG.S be strong 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi pron sec prt

"I guess I am strong."

52 *E* *awarini*
 ee awa -ra -ni
 1IN.S see NEG BKG+F
 pron vt

"I don't know."

53 *Owayori* *yoyoko* *kana* *tinahi*
 o- iyori yo- yoko ka- na ti- na -hi
 1SG.POSS shoulder DUP push COMIT AUX 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 pn vt aux aux

"Push a little on my shoulders."

54 *Iyori* *iyori* *yoko* *hikanemetemone* *ahi*
 iyori iyori yoko hi- ka- na -hemete -mone ahi
 shoulder shoulder push OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 pn pn vt aux dem

'He pushed on her shoulders.'

55 *Aki* *tikita* *tikere*
 aki ti- kita ti- na -ke -re
 grandmother 2SG.S be strong 2SG.S AUX DECL+F NEG+F
 nf vi aux

"Grandma, you're not strong."

56 *Okakoko* *ta* *titima*
 o- ka koko taa ti- to- iti -ma
 1SG.POSS go/come father-in-law contrast 2SG.S away take out back
 nm prt vt

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hiwasimaki , **kake** **kakemetemone**
 hi- to- wasi -makI+M , ka -kI ka -kI -hemete -mone
 OC away find following go/come coming go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F
 vt vi vi
 'She came on his father-in-law when he was bathing. She came.'

65 **Kake** **kobo** **nemetemoneke** **ahi**
 ka -kI kobo na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 go/come coming arrive AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi vi aux dem
 'She came, and landed.'

66 **Tika** **noti** **tiwa** **ati** **nare** **tini**
 ti- ka noti tiwa ati na -hare ti- ni
 2SG.POSS POSS son-in-law 2SG.O call for AUX IP.E+M 2SG.O BKG+F
 prt nm pron vt aux prt
 "'Your son-in-law called for you.'"

67 **Tika** **noti** **me** **ti** **hikane**
 ti- ka noti me tii hi- ka- na+M
 2SG.POSS POSS son-in-law 3PL.S cut through OC COMIT AUX
 prt nm pron vt aux

wari **ahi**
 waa -rI.NOM ahi
 stand raised surface there
 vi dem

"'Your son-in-law, who they are cutting down, is there in the tree.'"

68 **Hibakari** ?
 hibakari
 who+M
 interrog
 "'Who?'"

69 **Kerewe** **kerewe** **amane**
 kerewe kerewe ama -ne
 three-toed sloth three-toed sloth be BKG+M
 nm nm vc
 "'It's the three-toed sloth.'"

70 **Oka** **noti** **amane**
 o- ka noti ama -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS son-in-law be BKG+M
 prt nm vc
 "'He's my son-in-law.'"

71 **Koka** **yana** **tonematamona** **amaka** **ahi**
 koka yana to- na -himata -mona ama -ka ahi
 woodpecker sp start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M then
 nm vi aux sec dem
 'The woodpecker took off.'

72 **Koka** **yana** **tone** , **koka**
 koka yana to- na+M , koka
 woodpecker sp start CH AUX woodpecker sp
 nm vi aux nm

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<p>tokomematamonaka to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vi</p>	<p>ahi fofofofofofo ahi fofofofofofo then (sound of bird flying) dem sound</p>	
<p>fofofofofofo fofofofofofo (sound of bird flying) sound</p>	<p>fofofofofofo fofofofofofo (sound of bird flying) sound</p>	<p>fofofofofofo fofofofofofo (sound of bird flying) sound</p>
<p>fofofofofofo fofofofofofo (sound of bird flying) sound</p>	<p>fofofofofofo fofofofofofo (sound of bird flying) sound</p>	<p>wakii wakii (sound of bird landing) sound</p>

'The woodpecker left. It flew, fofofofofofo. It arrived, wakii.'

73 Hoo	oof	heei	heei
hoo	oof	heei	heei
whew	hoo	yoofoo	yoofoo
interj	interj	interj	interj

'''Whew, hey, hey.'''

74 Ahi	ahi	ahi	koko	ahi	koko	ahi
ahi	ahi	ahi	koko	ahi	koko	ahi
here	here	here	father-in-law	here	father-in-law	here
dem	dem	dem	nm	dem	nm	dem

'''Here, here, Father-in-law, here.'''

75 Koko	kakake	raba	tina
koko	ka- ka -kI	na -raba	ti- na
father-in-law	DUP go/come coming	AUX a bit	2SG.S AUX
nm	vi	aux	aux

'''Father-in-law, come slowly.'''

76 Koko	kakake	raba	tinahi
koko	ka- ka -kI	na -raba	ti- na -hi
father-in-law	DUP go/come coming	AUX a bit	2SG.S AUX IMP+F
nm	vi	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
vi	aux	aux

fofofofofofo	fooo	fofofofofofo
fofofofofofo	fooo	fofofofofofo
(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, fofofofofofo, fooo.'

78 Koko	kokobo	raba	tinahi
koko	ko- kobo	na -raba	ti- na -hi
father-in-law	DUP arrive	AUX a bit	2SG.S AUX IMP+F
nm	vi	aux	aux

'''Father-in-law, land softly.'''

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79 *Kokobo* *raba* *tinahi* , *kerewe* *ati*
 ko- kobo na -raba ti- na -hi , kerewe ati
 DUP arrive AUX a bit 2SG.S AUX IMP+F three-toed sloth say
 vi aux aux nm vt

nematamonaka *ahi* .
 na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

"Land softly," the sloth said.'

80 *Awa* *moni* *komeha* *okowarine*
 awa moni komeha+F o- ka- waa -rI -ne
 tree sound be fearsome 1SG.S COMIT stand raised surface CONT+F
 nf pn vi vt

oke , *kokobo* *raba* *ne* *ya* .
 o- ke , ko- kobo na -raba na.NOM+M ya
 1SG.S DECL+F DUP arrive AUX a bit AUX ADJU
 prt vi aux aux prt

"I am here in the tree that is cracking," he said, as the woodpecker landed softly.'

81 *Wanakabote* *tinahi* .
 wana -kabote ti- na -hi
 be attached quickly 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux

"Grab on quickly."

82 *Wanakabote* *tinahi* .
 wana -kabote ti- na -hi
 be attached quickly 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux

"Grab on quickly."

83 *Koko* *tikita* *ama* *ti* ?
 koko ti- kita+F ama ti-
 father-in-law 2SG.S be strong SEC 2SG.S
 nm vi sec prt

"Father-in-law, are you strong?"

84 *Okita* *owa* *aware* *awane* .
 o- kita+F owa awa -ra+M awa -ne
 1SG.S be strong 1SG.O see NEG seem+M BKG+M
 vi pron vt sec

"Yes, I am strong."

85 *Yana* *tonematamonaka* *ahi* .
 yana to- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi aux dem

'He was ready.'

86 *Yana* *tone* *hinaka* *noti* *weye* *namise* ,
 yana to- na+M hinaka noti weye na -misa+M
 start CH AUX 3SG.POSS son-in-law carry AUX up
 vi aux pron nm vt aux

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kitaremona	he	towakamematamonaka
kita -ra -himona	hee to- ka- ka	-ma -himata -mona -ka
be strong NEG REP+M	3SG.O away COMIT go/come back	FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi	pron vt	

ahi fofofofofof	fofofofofof	fofofofofof
ahi fofofofofof	fofofofofof	fofofofofof
then (sound of bird flying)	(sound of bird flying)	(sound of bird flying)
dem sound	sound	sound

fofofofofof	fofofofofof
fofofofofof	fofofofofof
(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, fofofofofof.'

87 Koko	totokomiro	tinahi
koko to- to- ka -ma -ro		ti- na -hi
father-in-law DUP away go/come back without stopping		2SG.S AUX IMP+F
nm vi		aux

"Father-in-law, go without stopping."

88 Totokomiro	tinahi
to- to- ka -ma -ro	ti- na -hi
DUP away go/come back without stopping	2SG.S AUX IMP+F
vi	aux

"Go without stopping."

89 Kobo	tiriyahi	
kobo ti- na -ra -yahi		
arrive 2SG.S AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F		
vi aux		

"Don't land."

90 He	towakame	mama	ihi
hee to- ka- ka -ma+M	ma- maa		ihi
3SG.O away COMIT go/come back	DUP be tired		victim of+F
pron vt	nf		pn

toehibanoho	ahi
to- ha -hiba -no -ho	ahi
CH be FUT+M IP.N+M DUP	then
vc	dem

'He took him. Then he became exhausted.'

91 Fa	witi	yokana	kerewe
faha witi yokana			kerewe
water edge true			three-toed sloth
nf pn adj			nm

kabokematamonaka	ahi , taawaa
ka- boka -himata -mona -ka	ahi , taawaa
COMIT enter water FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	then (sound of falling in water)
vt	dem sound

'He fell with the sloth into the water almost at the edge, taawaa.'

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92 *Yotohoti* *me* , *oma* *me* *yai* *hinematamona*
 yotohoti me , oma me yai hi- na -himata -mona
 rear part 3PL piranha 3PL.S bite off OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 pn pron nm pron vt aux

yotohoti *kokote* *nati*
 yotohoti ko- kote na.CONT+M -tee.NOM
 rear part DUP piece AUX HAB
 pn vi aux

'The piranhas cut off his rear end, that's why his rear end is short.'

93 *Yotohoti* *oma* *me* *yai* *hinematamona* *faya*
 yotohoti oma me yai hi- na -himata -mona faya
 rear part piranha 3PL.S bite off OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M so
 pn nm pron vt aux conj

yotohoti *kokote* *te* *amaka*
 yotohoti ko- kote na -tee ama -ka
 rear part DUP piece AUX HAB SEC DECL+M
 pn vi aux sec

'Because the piranhas cut off his rear end, his rear end is short.'

94 *Faya* , *Hoo* , *oof* .
 faya hoo oof
 so whew hoo
 conj interj interj

""Whew, oof.""

95 *Faya* *horo* *himise* *ya* *koro*
 faya horo hi- na -misa.NOM+M ya koro
 so drag OC AUX up ADJU throw
 conj vt aux prt vt

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* *yotohoti* *oma* *me* *yai* *ke* *haro*
 o- ka yotohoti oma me yai na -ke haaro
 1SG.POSS POSS rear part piranha 3PL.S bite off AUX DECL+F that one+F
 prt pn nm pron vt prt dem

""The piranhas have cut off my rear end.""

97 *Faha* *e* *na* *ya* *e* *bokaboka* *rama*
 faha ee na+F ya ee boka- boka na -rama
 water be similar AUX ADJU 1IN.S DUP enter water AUX unusual
 nf vi aux prt pron vi aux

rimetemone
 na -ra.NOM+F -mete -mone
 AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 aux

""People shouldn't go into water like that.""

98 *Me* , *yana* *tokana* , *hekimisame*
 me yana to- ka- na+F , hi- to- ka- ka -misa -ma+M ,
 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX OC away COMIT go/come up back
 pron vi aux vt

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Koko **ofimi** **oke**
 koko o- fimi o- ke
 father-in-law 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F
 nm vi prt

"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 **Oka** **noti** **ka** **iyawaba** **tisirahi**
 o- ka noti ka iyawa -ba ti- sira -hi
 1SG.POSS POSS son-in-law POSS manioc mash FUT 2SG.S toast IMP+F
 prt nm prt nf vt

"Toast some manioc mash for my son-in-law."

101 **Fimi** **ihi** **toheno** **kaweno** , **wafa**
 fimi ihi to- ha -hino ka- waa -hino , wafa
 hunger victim of+F CH be IP.N+M COMMIT stand IP.N+M woolly monkey
 nf pn vc vi nm

me **kisa** **me** , **kerewe** **fati** **he**
 me ka -risa+F me , kerewe fati hee
 3PL.S go/come down 3PL.S three-toed sloth 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.O
 pron vi pron nm nf pron

noki **na** **me** **wasiaba** **mati** **ahi**
 noki na+F me wasi -haba mati ahi
 wait for AUX 3PL.S find FUT+F 3PL.S then
 vt aux pron vt pron dem

'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** **he** **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
 aux

'The sloth's wife was waiting for him.'

103 **He** **noki** **na** , **fara** **fara** **iti** **ya** **wafa**
 hee noki na+F , fara fara ita.NOM+F ya wafa
 3SG.O wait for AUX same+F same+F sit ADJU woolly monkey
 pron vt aux dem dem vi 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** **ahi**
 me ka- ka -risa.NOM+F -mete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S COMMIT go/come down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi dem

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<p>bowi bowi (noise of leaves shaking) sound</p> <p>bowi bowi (noise of leaves shaking) sound</p> <p>bowi bowi (noise of leaves shaking) sound</p> <p>bowi bowi (noise of leaves shaking) sound</p> <p>bowi bowi (noise of leaves shaking) sound</p>	<p>bowi bowi (noise of leaves shaking) sound</p> <p>bowi bowi (noise of leaves shaking) sound</p> <p>bowi bowi (noise of leaves shaking) sound</p> <p>bowi bowi (noise of leaves shaking) sound</p> <p>bowi bowi (noise of leaves shaking) sound</p>
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bowi
(noise of leaves shaking)
sound

"Two of them were coming downstream, bowi, bowi."

105	Aa	hinamati	itaro	haro
	aa	hinamati	ita -haaro	haaro
	(pause)	someone	sit look+F	that one+F
	interj	nf	vi	dem

"Look, there is someone sitting there."

106	Owitime	oni
	o- ita -ne	o- ni
	1SG.S sit CONT+F	1SG.S BKG+F
	vi	prt

"I'm sitting here."

107 **Haa**
haa
oh
interj

"Oh."

108	Kisakimatamonaka	ahi
	ka -risa -kI -himata -mona -ka	ahi
	go/come down coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	then
	vi	dem

'He came down to the ground.'

109	Kisaki	heto	hinehemetemoneke
	ka -risa -kI+M	heto	hi- na -hemete -mone -ke
	go/come down coming	stroke vagina	OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
	vi	vt	aux

ahi
ahi
then
dem

'He came down to the ground, and grabbed her vagina.'

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

110 *Heto* *hinaha* *tini* *yor*
 heto hi- na+F ati ti- na -ni yori
 stroke vagina OC AUX say 2SG.S AUX BKG+F have sex with
 vt aux vt 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* *me* *yor* *hinemetemone*
 faya me yori hi- na -hemete -mone
 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* *yor* *hinaharo*
 kiya na -hemete -mone -ke me yori hi- na -haaro
 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
 then
 dem

'She was crying out as they were having sex with her.'

114 *Me* *yor* *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.'

115 *Me* *yor* *hina* , *me*
 me yori hi- na+F , me
 3PL.S have sex with OC AUX 3PL.S
 pron vt aux pron

totowanamakietemoneke *ahi*
 to- to- wana -makI -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 DUP away be attached following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

'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.O 2PL.S DUP call 1SG.O
 pron vi aux prt pron pron vt pron

te *ha* *nahi*
 tee haa na -hi
 2PL.S call AUX IMP+F
 pron vt aux

"When you are finished, call me."

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

117 *Faya me yori hinemetemone*
 faya me yori hi- na -hemete -mone
 so 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*
 me hi- ka- na- tama -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S OC COMIT CAUS be many FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vt dem

'They were gang raping her.'

119 *Me hikanatama Hoo oko yibote*
 me hi- ka- na- tama+F , hoo , o- ka yibote
 3PL.S OC COMIT CAUS be many whew 1SG.POSS POSS wife
 pron vt interj prt nf

owara ni ya me ati kisineke
 o- awa -ra+F ni ya me ati ka -risa -ne -ke
 1SG.S see NEG to ADJU 3PL.POSS voice go/come down CONT+F DECL+F
 vt 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 ati sai -hemete -mone -ke
 DUP play by blowing voice be heard FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf pn vi

'The sound of the noisemaker could be heard.'

121 *Hohori ati kisamake , me*
 ho- hori ati ka -risa -makI me
 DUP play by blowing voice go/come down following 3PL.S
 nf pn vi pron

kisamakemetemone
 ka -risa -makI -mete -mone
 go/come down following FP.N+F REP+F
 vi

'The sound of the noisemaker could be heard as they were coming downstream.'

122 *Me kisamake me , me one*
 me ka -risa -makI me me one
 3PL.S go/come down following 3PL.S 3PL.S other+F
 pron vi pron pron adj

kerewe mahika nemetemone
 kerewe mahika na -hemete -mone
 three-toed sloth consume a lot AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nf vt aux

'Others were coming downstream. Others were gang raping the female sloth.'

123 *Faya me kisamake me ,*
 faya me ka -risa -makI me
 so 3PL.S go/come down following 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron

fotomaketemoneke ahi
 foto -makI -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 appear following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

'Others were coming downstream, and they appeared.'

124 *Me fotomake yama yehehemetemone amani*
 me foto -makI yama yehe -hemete -mone ama -ni
 3PL.S appear following thing be a problem FP.N+F REP+F SEC 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 nm vt 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 COMMIT let go DECL+F NEG+F
 interj nf pron vt

""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 yori na me*
 kerewe me yori na+F me
 three-toed sloth 3PL.S have sex with AUX 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux pron

kisamakewa me Hibaka hibaka yama ya
 ka -risa -makI -waha+F me hibaka hibaka yama ya
 go/come down following change 3PL.S where where time ADJU
 vi pron interrog interrog nf prt

tiwati foreba ama tiri
 ti- ati forI -haba ama ti- ri
 2SG.POSS voice give a sure word FUT+F SEC 2SG.POSS CQ+F
 pn vi sec prt

tikama tiwa ?
 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*
 o- ati forI -haba owa awine o- ke
 1SG.POSS voice give a sure word FUT+F 1SG.POSS seem+F 1SG.POSS DECL+F
 pn vi pron sec prt

""Here is when I will come back.""

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

130 *Fa* , *fa* *sai* *haha* *fa* *okisaki*
 faha , faha sai.LIST haaha faha o- ka -risa -kI.NOM
 water water be empty this+F water 1SG.S go/come down coming
 nf nf vi dem nf vi

ka *fa* *saiha* *ahabateba* *ama* *ha* .
 ka faha sai+F ahaba -tee -haba ama haa .
 which water be empty end HAB FUT+F SEC DEM
 prt nf vi vi sec dem

"When this flooding that I have come downstream on goes down and is gone."

131 *Haha* *fa* *fowamakeha* *ai* *fa* *fowamakeha* *ahi*
 haaha faha fowa -makI+F ahi faha fowa -makI+F ahi
 this+F water swell following then water swell following then
 dem nf vi dem nf vi dem

sai *ya* *okomabana* *oke* .
 sai.NOM ya o- ka -ma -habana o- ke
 be empty ADJU 1SG.S go/come back FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt vi prt

"After the water floods again and goes down again, I will come back."

132 *Ee* , *tikamiya*
 ee ti- ka -ma -yahi
 yes 2SG.S go/come back DIST.IMP+F
 interj vi

"Right, you come back."

133 *Faya* *me* , *yama noko* *yama* *yori* *narawemetemone*
 faya me , yama noko yama yori na -rawa -hemete -mone
 so 3PL vagina thing have sex with AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F
 conj pron nm nf vt aux

amani *ihi* *yawarawabana* .
 ama -ni ihi yawa -rawa -habana
 SEC BKG+F result of+F be upset F.PL FUT+F
 sec pn vi

"They were having sex with her, and then the others got mad."

134 *Me* *yawemetemoneke* *ahi* *me* *one* , *me*
 me yawa -hemete -mone -ke ahi me one , me
 3PL.S be upset FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then 3PL other+F 3PL.S
 pron vi dem pron adj pron

yori *kanikima* *me* *yori* *kanikima* *na*
 yori na -kanikima me yori na -kanikima na+F
 have sex with AUX scattered 3PL.S have sex with AUX scattered AUX
 vt aux pron vt aux aux

mati *ahi* .
 mati ahi
 3PL.S then
 pron dem

"They were upset, the ones who were having sex with her."

135 *Me* *me* *yori* *hina* *me* , *me* *me*
 me me yori hi- na+F me , me me
 3PL.O 3PL.S have sex with OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron pron vt aux pron pron pron

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hekisemetemoneke

hi- to- ka- ka -risa -hemete -mone -ke me me
 OC away COMIT go/come down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.O 3PL.S
 vt pron pron

ai **hina** **mati**
 ahi hi- na+F mati
 have sex with OC AUX 3PL.O
 vt aux pron

'They were having sex with them. They took them downstream, the ones they were having sex with.'

136 **Me** **me** **hekisa** **me** **me**
 me me hi- to- ka- ka -risa+F me me
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come down 3PL.O 3PL.POSS
 pron pron vt pron pron

ihi **yawa** **me** **Me** **kakasi** **raba** **ra**
 ihi yawa+F me me ka- kasi na -raba na -ra+F
 result of+F be upset 3PL.POSS 3PL.S DUP be naughty AUX a bit AUX NEG
 pn vi pron pron vi aux aux

me **tokisine** **me** **me** **tahiba** **hawa**
 me to- ka -risa -ne me tahi -ba hawa
 3PL.S away go/come down CONT+F 3PL.POSS killer FUT be finished
 pron vi pron pn vi

tohibanarake

to- ha+F -bana -hara -ke
 CH AUX FUT IP.E+F DECL+F
 aux

'They took them downstream. They were upset because of them. "Those naughty ones are going downstream. The darts to kill them will be ready."

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 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** **ahabibanarake**
 me ahaba+F -bana -hara -ke
 3PL.S die FUT IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'''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 wati plan against OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron vt aux pron pron

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tokisa
to- ka -risa+F me fawa na me , awi , awi
away go/come down 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.S tapir tapir
vi pron vi aux pron nm nm

yana tobise awiteba , awiteba ati yana
yana to- na -bisa+M awi -tee -ba , awi -tee -ba ati yana
start CH AUX also tapir HAB FUT tapir HAB FUT voice start
vi aux nm nm pn vi

tonematamona
to- na -himata -mona
CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
aux

'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 ya ?**
o- sawi -bana wafa me ni ya ?
1SG.S be present FUT woolly monkey 3PL to ADJU
vi nm 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.""

145 **Awa , hiba awa totomi omateya**
awa hiba awa to- tomi o- na -mate -ya
tree wait tree DUP try 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F now
nf interj 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

""I will try the tree.""

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

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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 towitia awa baka tokane** ,
 awa bawi to- na -witI+F awa baka to- ka- na+M
 tree be bent over away AUX out tree break CH COMIT AUX
 nf vi aux nf vt aux
- bao nise wamisame tokomisamatase**
 bao na -risa+M , waa -misa -ma+M to- ka -misa -ma -tasa+M
 come down AUX down stand up back away go/come up back again
 vi aux vi vi
- , **hikehike tokomisaba ne rama tasa waha**
 hike- hike to- ka -misa -baa na+M rama tasa waha
 DUP far away go/come up at a distance AUX unusual again now
 nf vi aux prt 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 tonematamona**
 faya yifori baka to- na -himata -mona
 so tail break CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 conj pn vt aux

'Then his tail broke off.'

- 151 **Yifori nafi amaka bisa**
 yifori , nafi -tee -ra+M ama -ka bisa
 tail be big HAB NEG SEC DECL+M also
 pn vi sec prt

'His tail isn't large.'

- 152 **Faya awi tokomisi watore yama yama ne**
 faya awi to- ka -misa.NFIN wato -ra+M yama yama na+M
 so tapir away go/come up know NEG thing climb AUX
 conj nm vi vt nf vt aux

- fare sosona ne yifori baka tone kakame** ,
 fare so- sona na+M yifori baka to- na+M ka- ka -ma+M
 same+M DUP fall AUX tail break CH AUX COMIT go/come back
 dem vi aux pn vt aux vt

- wame tokomisi watore wawawa**
 waa -ma+M to- ka -misa.NFIN wato -ra+M , wa- waa -waha
 stand back away go/come up know NEG DUP stand change
 vi vi vt vi

toematamona
 to- ha -himata -mona
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 aux

'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

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me , *me* *one* *karaboa* *kini* , *Oko* *karaboaba*
 me me one karaboha kini.LIST , o- ka karaboha -ba
 3PL.S 3PL.S other+F blowgun wrap 1SG.POSS POSS blowgun FUT
 pron pron adj nf vt prt nf
kinikini *okowamate*
 kini- kini o- ka- na -waha -mate
 DUP wrap 1SG.S COMIT AUX change short time.IMP+F
 vt aux

"They went downstream and disappeared. The others made blowguns. "I'm going to make a blowgun for myself."

154 *Me* *e* *fora* *nibe*
 me ee fora na -be
 3PL.O 1IN.S shoot with blowgun AUX IMMED+F
 pron pron vt aux

"Let's kill them with blowguns."

155 *Oko* *yibote* *me* *towakisa* *me* *ama*
 o- ka yibote me to- ka- ka -risa+F me ama
 1SG.POSS POSS wife 3PL.S away COMIT go/come down 3PL.S SEC
 prt nf pron vt pron sec

"They took my wife downstream."

156 *Fa fowe* , *fowa* *saiha* *saihemetemone*
 faha fowe , fowa+F sai+F sai -hemete -mone
 flood swell be empty be heard FP.N+F REP+F
 nf vi vi vi

'The high water came, and the water level went down.'

157 *Fa* *sai* , *fa* *fowamake* , *Haha* *me* *ati*
 faha sai.LIST , faha fowa -makI.LIST , haaha me ati
 water be empty water swell following this+F 3PL.POSS voice
 nf vi nf vi dem pron pn

fori *ka* *fa* *ama* *haro*
 forI.NOM ka faha ama haaro
 give a sure word which water be that one+F
 vi prt nf vc dem

"The water level went down, and then the flooding came again. "This is the flood that they were talking about."

158 *Me* *ati* *fori* *ka* *fa* *ama* *ha*
 me ati forI.NOM ka faha ama haa
 3PL.POSS voice give a sure word which water be DEM
 pron pn vi prt nf vc dem

"This is the flood they were talking about."

159 *Sare* *me* *were* *nemetemoneke* *ahi*
 sarehe me were na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 blowgun dart 3PL.S coat AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf pron vt aux dem

'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

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, *sare* *ini* *me* *were* *na* , *sare* *ini* *me*
 sarehe ini me were na+F sarehe ini me
 blowgun dart point+F 3PL.S coat AUX blowgun dart point+F 3PL.S
 nf pn pron vt aux nf pn pron

were *nemetemone*
 were na -hemete -mone
 coat AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vt aux

'They put poison on the points of their darts.'

161 *Sare* *ini* *imama*
 sarehe ini ima -ma
 blowgun dart point+F be thick DUP
 nf pn vi

'The poison on the darts was thick.'

162 *Sare* *ini* *ime* *fofota* *nama* *nahi*
 sarehe ini ime fo- fota na -nama na -hi
 blowgun dart point+F material DUP be big AUX SUPER AUX IMP+F
 nf pn pn vi aux aux

""The poison on the darts should be thick.""

163 *Sare* *ini* *kori* *me* *karimariyahi*
 sarehe ini kori me karima -ra -yahi
 blowgun dart point+F naked+F 3PL.S suffer from NEG DIST.IMP+F
 nf pn pn pron vt

""It won't be good if they are hit with darts that don't have much poison.""

164 *Faya* *sare* *imama* *nemetemone* *me*
 faya sarehe ima -ma na -hemete -mone me
 so blowgun dart be thick DUP AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS
 conj nf vi aux

ihi
 ihi
 because of+F
 post

'Then they put a lot of poison on the darts.'

165 *Sare* , *were* *ni* *ahabe* , *Hima*
 sarehe , were na.NFIN ahaba+M , hima
 blowgun dart coat AUX end let's go
 nf result aux vi interj

'The coating of the darts was finished. "Let's go."'

166 *Hiba* , *abariko* *towitamaki* *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 CH sit following IP.E+M DECL+M
 interj nm vi

""Yes, there was a new moon.""

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168 *Ee* , *me* *fotomaba* *me* *amani* , *me*
 ee me foto -ma -haba me ama -ni me
 yes 3PL.S appear back FUT+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F 3PL.S
 interj pron vi pron sec pron
fotoma *yama* *me* *kamitabone* *mati*
 foto -ma+F yama me ka- mita -habone mati
 appear back thing 3PL.S COMIT hear INT+F 3PL.S
 vi nf pron vt pron

"Yes, they will appear. They will hear them when they appear."

169 *Me* *ati* *katimemetemoneni* *e* *tamabote*
 me ati ka -tima -hemete -mone -ni ee tama -bote
 3PL.POSS voice go/come upstream FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 1IN be many very
 pron pn vi pron adj

'The voices could be heard as they came upstream. There were many people.'

170 *E* *tamabote* *ati* *katimemetemone* *amake*
 ee tama -bote ati ka -tima -hemete -mone ama -ke
 1IN be many very voice go/come upstream FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 pron adj pn vi sec

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'The voices of many people could be heard as they came upstream.'

171 *Me* *katimama* *me* , *me*
 me ka -tima -ma+F me me
 3PL.S go/come upstream back 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron

katimamemetemone
 ka -tima -ma -hemete -mone
 go/come upstream back FP.N+F REP+F
 vi

'They were coming back upstream.'

172 *Afa* *me* *ati* *ama* ?
 afa me ati ama
 this+F 3PL.POSS voice be
 dem pron pn vc

"Are those their voices?"

173 *Yama* *me* *wasa* *nemetemoneke* *ahi*
 yama me wasa na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 thing 3PL.S stick in ground AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf pron vt aux dem

'They stuck leaves in the ground.'

174 *Yama* *me* *wasa* *na* *hine* *me* *wasa*
 yama me wasa na+F hine me wasa
 thing 3PL.S stick in ground AUX 3.REFL 3PL.S enclose
 nf pron vt aux pron pron vt

kanemetemoneke *ahi*
 ka- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux dem

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'They stuck palm leaves in the ground, and enclosed themselves.'

175 *Me me hikarayawa me kawemetemoneke*
 me me hi- karayawaha+F me ka- waa -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC wait for 3PL.S COMIT stand FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pron vt pron vi

ahi .

ahi
 then
 dem

'They were in the trees as they were waiting for them.'

176 *Awa boni awa boni me kayawemetemone 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 *Katimarawemetemone 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 nemetemone 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 vi pron pron vi

ahi .
 ahi
 then
 dem

'They came back.'

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

182 *Me* *kama* *me* *kobo* *namemetemoneke* *ai*
 me ka -ma+F me kobo na -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi pron vi aux dem

siya *siya* *siya*
 siya siya siya
 (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey)
 sound sound sound

siya *siya* *siya*
 siya siya siya
 (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey)
 sound sound sound

siya *siya*
 siya siya
 (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey)
 sound sound

"They came back. They arrived. "Siya, siya."

183 *Me* *kobo* *nemetemone* *ahi* *awa* *boni* *kawa* *ya*
 me kobo na -hemete -mone ahi awa boni ka- waa+F ya
 3PL.S arrive AUX FP.N+F REP+F then tree fruit+F COMMIT stand ADJU
 pron vi aux dem nf pn vi prt

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'They arrived at the tree full of fruits.'

184 *Awa* *bawi* *towitiemetemoneke* *ahi*
 awa bawi to- na -witI -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 tree be bent over away AUX out FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf vi aux dem

'The tree was bent over.'

185 *Siya* *siya* *siya*
 siya siya siya
 (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey)
 sound sound sound

siya *siya* *siya*
 siya siya siya
 (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey)
 sound sound sound

"Siya, siya."

186 *Fai saki*
 fai saki
 (sound of blowgun arrow)
 sound

'Fai saki.'

187 *Kiya* *kanematamona*
 kiya ka- na -himata -mona
 yell COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi aux

'He cried out.'

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

188 *Fai saki*
 fai saki
 (sound of blowgun arrow)
 sound
 'Fai saki.'

189 *Me me fora hinemetemoneke ahi*
 me me fora hi- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron pron vt aux dem
 'They shot them with blowguns.'

190 *Me me fora hina me kiyari na*
 me me fora hi- na+F me kiya -ri na+F
 3PL.O 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 wisi me
 3PL.S thing 3PL.S look at AUX 3PL.S tamarin 3PL.O
 pron nf pron vt aux pron nm pron

hikasometemone wisi wisi sawihari
 hi- ka- soma -hemete -mone wisi wisi sawi -haari
 OC COMIT help FP.N+F REP+F tamarin tamarin be present IP.E+M
 vt nm nm vi

'They were shooting them with their blowguns, and they were crying out. They were looking around. The tamarin was with them, helping them.'

191 *Wisi sawibise wafa me ni ya*
 wisi sawi -bisa+M wafa me ni ya
 tamarin be present also woolly monkey 3PL to ADJU
 nm vi nm pron prt prt

sawibise me hekatimame noko
 sawi -bisa+M me hi- ka- ka -tima -ma+M noko
 be present also 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come upstream back eye+M
 vi pron vt pn

awematamonaka kamakiari ahi
 awa -himata -mona -ka ka -makI -haari ahi
 see FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M go/come following IP.E+M then
 vi vi dem

'The tamarin was with them. They had brought him. He saw something when he came.'

192 *Sibariri sibiriri sibiriri ati*
 sibiriri sibiriri sibiriri 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, sibiriri," he said.'

193 *Wafa me tisawehemetemoneke ahi*
 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

'The woolly monkeys left right away.'

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

194 *Me tokometemoneke*
 me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They went away.'

195 *Ateate raba re*
 ate- ate na -raba na -ra+M
 DUP make noise AUX a bit AUX NEG
 vi aux aux

''He is making a lot of noise.''

196 *Tikaraboaramako amane*
 ti- karaboha -ra -mako ama -ne
 2SG.S shoot with blowgun NEG for this reason+M SEC BKG+M
 vt sec

''Why don't you shoot him?''

197 *Fai saki*
 fai saki
 (sound of blowgun arrow)
 sound

'Fai saki.'

198 *Kiii 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*
 faya me hi- karaboha -himata -mona fahi mera
 so 3PL.S OC shoot with blowgun FP.N+M REP+M then 3PL.O
 conj pron vt dem pron

kasomari
 ka- soma -haari
 COMMIT let go IP.E+M
 vt

'They killed the one who was helping them with their blowguns.'

201 *Faya me me fora hina me*
 faya me me fora hi- na+F me
 so 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 dem

'They shot them with their blowguns, and they died.'

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

202 *Me me hikabemetemoneke*
 me me hi- kaba -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pron vt

'They ate them.'

203 *Me , me tokomimete ka me towinama*
 me , me to- ka -ma.NOM+F -mete 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 prt pron vi

yama te awehene me winine Bao Bonito ka
 yama tee awa -hene me wina -ne Bao Bonito ka
 place 2PL.S see IRR+F 3PL.S live CONT+F (name of place) LOC
 nf pron vt pron vi npropf prt

'They live in the place where they went. You have never seen the place, Bao Bonito.'

204 *Faya me tokoma me fawa tonakosama*
 faya me to- ka -ma+F me fawa to- na -kosa -ma+F
 so 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S disappear CH AUX middle back
 conj pron vi pron vi aux

me , kerewe me kerewe me yori
 me , kerewe me kerewe me yori
 3PL.S three-toed sloth 3PL.S three-toed sloth 3PL.S have sex with
 pron nf pron nf pron vt

hina , kerewe me totikosamemetemone
 hi- na+F , kerewe me to- iti -kosa -ma -hemete -mone
 OC AUX three-toed sloth 3PL.S away take out middle back FP.N+F REP+F
 aux nf pron vt

'They went away. They disappeared. They took away the female sloth that they had had sex with.'

205 *Kerewe sawiwaineni*
 kerewe sawi -waha -ne -ni
 three-toed sloth be present change CONT+F BKG+F
 nf vi

'The sloth is there.'

206 *Kerewe me totikosama me*
 kerewe me to- iti -kosa -ma+F me
 three-toed sloth 3PL.S away take out middle back 3PL.S
 nf pron vt pron

tokometemoneke
 to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'They took the sloth away and went away.'

207 *Faya , kerewe amare me , kerewe amare*
 faya , kerewe amare -ra+M me , kerewe amare -ra+M
 so three-toed sloth be NEG 3PL three-toed sloth be NEG
 conj nm vc pron nm vc

mera fora namatamona ai ?
 mera fora namatamona -mata -mona ahi ?
 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 pron vt aux dem

'Wasn't it the male sloth who blowgunned them?'

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

208 *Me* , *me* *fora* *hina* , *wisi* *me*
 me me fora hi- na+F , wisi me
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun OC AUX tamarin 3PL.O
 pron pron vt aux nm pron

hikasometemone

hi- ka- soma -hemete -mone
 OC COMIT help FP.N+F REP+F
 vt

'They blowgunned them. The tamarin was helping them.'

209 *Hinaka* *yama* *fora* *ni* *hahata*
 hinaka yama fora na.NFIN ha- hata
 3SG.POSS thing shoot with blowgun AUX DUP be fast
 pron nf result aux vi

nemetemone

kerewe
 na -hemete -mone kerewe
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F three-toed sloth
 aux nm

'His blowgunning was fast, the sloth.'

210 *Sare* *noki* *fotine* *ramaha* *me*
 sarehe noki fota.NOM+F -ne rama -ha me
 blowgun dart pack+F be big IRR+F unusual DUP 3PL.S
 nf pn vi prt pron

abarenehe

ahaba -ra -hene -he
 die NEG IRR+F DUP
 vi

'They had lots of darts, and almost all of them died.'

211 *Wisi* *karaboa* *weo* *nawahi* *awehimatamonaka*
 wisi karaboha weho na -waha.NFIN awa -himata -mona -ka
 tamarin blowgun wave AUX change see FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm nf vi aux vt

'The tamarin saw the blowgun waving.'

212 *Wawasa* *bari* *ka* *yama* *siwarara* *kawi*
 wa- wasa bari ka yama siwarara ka- na -waha.NOM+F
 DUP enclose outer surface LOC thing not opaque COMIT AUX change
 nm pn prt nf vi aux

ka *wisi* *kamaki* *noko* *awematamonaka*
 ka wisi ka -makI+M noko awa -himata -mona -ka
 because tamarin go/come following eye+M see FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 prt nm vi pn vi

'Because the top of the blind was not opaque, the tamarin saw something.'

213 *Faya* *noko* *awe* *Me* , *tokotokoma* *raba*
 faya noko awa+M me toko- to- ka -ma na -raba
 so eye+M see 3PL.S DUP away go/come back AUX a bit
 conj pn vi pron vi aux

ri *me* *abene* *mati*
 na -ra.NOM+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."'

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221 *Fara me abe amake*
 fara me abe ama -ke
 same+F 3PL.POSS creature+F be DECL+F
 dem pron pn vc

"He is one of them."

222 *E awehimata*
 ee awa -himata
 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 vi

"He went downstream and came back upstream."

224 *Faya me fawa tonakosama me me fawa*
 faya me fawa to- na -kosa -ma+F me me fawa
 so 3PL.S disappear CH AUX middle back 3PL.S 3PL.S disappear
 conj pron vi aux pron pron vi

tonakosama yama yama fawafawa
 to- na -kosa -ma+F yama yama fawa- fawa
 CH AUX middle back thing thing DUP disappear
 aux nf nf vi

nemetemoneke
 na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'They disappeared, and then there was silence.'

225 *Me me hikabemetemoneke ahi*
 me me hi- kaba -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron pron vt dem

"Then they ate them."

226 *Me watakake*
 me wataka -ke
 3PL.S be fatty DECL+F
 pron vi

"They are fat."

227 *Me watakake haro*
 me wataka -ke haaro
 3PL.S be fatty DECL+F that one+F
 pron vi dem

"They are fat."

228 *Yaha me kabehemetemoneke me me tabasi*
 yaha me kaba -hemete -mone -ke me me tabasi
 fat 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill
 nf pron vt pron pron vt

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me ati na , owa me wai nibe
 me ati na+F , owa me wai na -be
 3PL.S say AUX 1SG.O 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 thing be dark down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf 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*
 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."

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*."

241 *Ee , yimo e kabehiba yimo sa*
 ee yimo ee kaba -hiba yimo saa
 yes tinamou sp 1IN.S eat FUT+M tinamou sp shoot with arrow
 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.'

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243 *Wati tama kani toke toke*
 wati tama ka- na.NFIN to- ka+M , to- ka+M
 arrow hold onto COMMIT AUX away go/come away go/come
 nm vt aux vi vi

yimo ho nematamonaka
 yimo hoo na -himata -mona -ka ,
 tinamou sp call of yimo tinamou AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vi aux

Hoo hoo
 hoo hoo
 (call of yimo tinamou) (call of yimo tinamou)
 sound 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
 thing look at AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf vt aux

'He looked.'

245 *Yama ki ne Yimo hike yari yimo*
 yama kii na+M , yimo hike yari yimo
 thing look at AUX tinamou sp far not far tinamou sp
 nf vt aux nm nf prt nm

hoho re ?
 ho- hoo na -ra+M
 DUP call of yimo tinamou AUX NEG
 vi aux

'He looked. "Isn't that a *yimo* calling nearby?'"

246 *Yimo hike yari hoho re ?*
 yimo hike yari ho- hoo na -ra+M
 tinamou sp far not far DUP call of yimo tinamou AUX NEG
 nm nf prt vi aux

"Isn't that a *yimo* calling nearby?'"

247 *Yama ki ne Hibaka yimo ati kake ?*
 yama kii na+M , hibaka yimo ati ka -kI
 thing look at AUX where tinamou sp voice go/come coming
 nf vt aux interrog nm pn vi

'He looked. "Where is the *yimo*'s voice coming from?'"

248 *Yimo ho nareka ahi*
 yimo hoo na -hare -ka ahi
 tinamou sp call of yimo tinamou AUX IP.E+M DECL+M there
 nm vi aux dem

"There is a *yimo* calling there."

249 *Yimo ho nareka ahi*
 yimo hoo na -hare -ka ahi
 tinamou sp call of yimo tinamou AUX IP.E+M DECL+M there
 nm vi aux dem

"There is a *yimo* calling there."

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250 *Yama ki ne ya yimo wawata*
 yama kii na.NOM+M ya yimo wa- wata
 thing look at AUX ADJU tinamou sp DUP exist
 nf vt aux prt nm vi

rematamonaka ahi
 na -ra -himata -mona -ka ahi
 AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'When he looked, there was no *yimo*.'

251 *Yimo watare yimo watarematamona amaka*
 yimo wata -ra+M yimo wata -ra -himata -mona ama -ka
 tinamou sp exist NEG tinamou sp exist NEG FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M
 nm vi nm vi sec

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'There was no *yimo*.'

252 *Ati yana tonamatase , Yimo ayata*
 ati yana to- na -ma -tasa+M yimo ayata
 voice start CH AUX back again tinamou sp near
 pn vi aux nm nf

hoho raba re yimo ayata
 ho- hoo na -raba na -ra+M yimo ayata
 DUP call of yimo tinamou AUX a bit AUX NEG tinamou sp near
 vi aux aux nm nf

hoho raba re
 ho- hoo na -raba na -ra+M
 DUP call of yimo tinamou AUX a bit AUX NEG
 vi 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 dem pn

""There its voice is.""

254 *Faya , yimo hinahiyebano*
 faya yimo hi- to- na- hiya -hiba -no
 so tinamou sp OC CH CAUS be different FUT+M IP.N+M
 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
 nm 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.'

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257 *Tokome* , *Yimo* , *hoho*
to- ka -ma+M , yimo , ho- hoo
away go/come back tinamou sp DUP call of yimo tinamou
vi nm vi

nemona e ati nibe
na -himona ee ati na -be
AUX REP+M 1IN.S say AUX IMMED+F
aux 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
nm vi dem
""There is a *yimo* coming.""

259 *Hiya e tohiybeya*
hiya ee to- hiya -be -ya
come on 1IN.S CH be different IMMED+F now
interj pron vi
""Come on, let's turn into something else.""

260 *E tohiybeya*
ee to- hiya -be -ya
1IN.S CH be different IMMED+F now
pron vi
""Let's turn into animals.""

261 *Himata tiharibe ha tiwa ?*
himata ti- to- ha -ri -be haa tiwa ?
what? 2SG.S CH be CQ+F IMMED+F DEM 2SG
interrog vc dem pron
""What are you going to be?""

262 *Ha owa yimo ama oke yimo*
haa owa yimo ama o- ke yimo
DEM 1SG tinamou sp be 1SG.S DECL+F tinamou sp
dem pron nm vc prt nm
""I am a *yimo*.""

263 *Yimo ama oni*
yimo ama o- ni
tinamou sp be 1SG.S BKG+F
nm vc prt
""I am a *yimo*.""

264 *Wayaraba ama tini wayara*
wayara -ba ama ti- ni wayara
tinamou sp FUT be 2SG.S BKG+F tinamou sp
nm vc prt nm
""You are going to be a *wayara* tinamou.""

265 *Wayara tiha hehi ota owa*
wayara ti- to- ha+F , hehi , ota owa
tinamou sp 2SG.S CH be that one+M 1SG.POSS.affinal relative
nm vc dem dem nm

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yowaki *toebanaka* *yowaki*
yowaki to- ha -hibana -ka yowaki
squirrel sp CH be FUT+M DECL+M squirrel sp
nm vc nm

"You are a *wayara*, and my companion will be a *yowaki* squirrel."

266 *Yowakiba* *ama hari* *ota owa*
yowaki -ba ama haari ota owa
squirrel sp FUT be that one+M 1SG.POSS.affinal relative
nm vc dem nm

"My companion will be a *yowaki*."

267 *Ee yowakiba* *ama oke* *yama noko*
ee yowaki -ba ama o- ke yama noko
yes squirrel sp FUT be 1SG.S DECL+F vagina
interj nm vc prt nm

onofateba *owa*
o- nofa -tee -haba owa
1SG.S like HAB FUT+F 1SG.S
vt pron

"Right, I will be a *yowaki*, I will like vagina."

268 *Faya me yana tona me kamakia* *me* *me* *me*
faya me yana to- na+F me ka -makI+F me me
so 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S 3PL.S
conj pron vi aux pron vi pron pron

kamakietemoneke
ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke
go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vi

'They were ready. They came.'

269 *Me kamakia* *me kobo* *namakia* *me* *Oof*
me ka -makI+F me kobo na -makI+F me oof
3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S arrive AUX following 3PL.S hoo
pron vi pron vi aux pron interj

himata ama tiri ?
himata ama ti- ri
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."

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272 **Yowaki** **ama** **nanoho**
 yowaki ama na.NOM+M -no -ho
 squirrel sp be AUX IP.N+M DUP
 nm vc aux

"He is a *yowaki*."

273 **Owa** ?
 owa
 other+M
 adj

"And the other one?"

274 **Yimo** **ama** **oni**
 yimo ama o- ni
 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
 nm vc aux

"He is a *yimo*."

276 **Owara** ?
 owa -ra
 other+M NPQ
 adj

"What about the other one?"

277 **Fara** **me** **te** **ama** ?
 fara me tee 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
 nm vc prt

"I am a *wayara*."

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

kerewe **winematamona** **ama**
kerewe wina -himata -mona ama
three-toed sloth live FP.N+M REP+M SEC
nm vi sec
'He turned into a woodpecker. The sloth lived in their village.'

293 **Owinabana** **oke**
o- wina -habana o- ke
1SG.S live FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
vi prt

'I'm going to live here.'

294 **Owinabana** **oke** **fara** **e** **taboro** **ya**
o- wina -habana o- ke fara ee taboro ya
1SG.S live FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F same+F 1IN.POSS place ADJU
vi prt dem pron pn prt

'I'm going to live here in our village.'

295 **Owinahaba** **fara** **okowinahaba** **boni**
o- wina -haba fara o- ka- wina -haba boni
1SG.S live FUT+F same+F 1SG.S COMIT live FUT+F fruit+F
vi dem vt pn

kawine **haro**
ka- waa -ne haaro
COMIT stand CONT+F that one+F
vi dem

'The tree with fruit is there for me to live near it.'

296 **Awa** **boni** **okowinabana** **oke**
awa boni o- ka- wina -habana o- ke
tree fruit+F 1SG.S COMIT live FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
nf pn vt prt

'I'm going to live near the fruits.'

297 **Faya** , **koka** **ta** , **koka** **ta** **yana**
faya koka taa koka taa yana
so woodpecker sp contrast woodpecker sp contrast start
conj nm prt nm prt vi

tone , **tokehimatamonaka** **ahi**
to- na+M to- ka -himata -mona -ka ahi
CH AUX away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
aux vi dem

'Only the woodpecker was ready to leave, and he left.'

298 **Toke** , **awa** **awa** **aweno** **ya** **awa** **teo**
to- ka+M awa awa awa -hino ya awa teo
away go/come tree tree see IP.N+M ADJU tree hit
vi nf nf vt prt nf vt

nematamonaka **teo** , **teo**
na -himata -mona -ka teo teo
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (sound of hitting) (sound of hitting)
aux sound sound

'He went. He saw a good tree, and he pecked at the tree.'

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

299 *Awa moni amosimakoni kame* ,
 awa moni amosa -makoni ka -ma+M
 tree sound be good for this reason+F go/come back
 nf pn vi vi

kame ya fati itime fati
 ka -ma.NOM+M ya fati iti -ma+M fati
 go/come back ADJU 3SG.POSS.wife pick up back 3SG.POSS.wife
 vi prt nf vt nf

towakamematamonaka
 to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 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 *Fati towakame me ka yibote me*
 fati to- ka- ka -ma+M me ka yibote me
 3SG.POSS.wife away COMIT go/come back 3PL POSS wife 3PL.O
 nf vt pron prt nf pron

me totowakamemetemone ahi
 me to- to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi
 3PL.S DUP away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron vt dem

'He took his wife there. They took their wives there.'

301 *Me me tohiya me me*
 me me to- hiya+F me me
 3PL 3PL.S CH be different 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron pron vi pron pron

tohiyemetemone me nafi sinama sinamatebana ,
 to- hiya -hemete -mone me nafi sinama sinama -tee -bana
 CH be different FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS all agouti agouti HAB FUT
 vi pron pn nm nm

bani me nafi me wisi mati mayawari metebana
 bani me nafi me wisi mati mayawari me -tee -bana
 animal 3PL.POSS all 3PL tamarin 3PL titi 3PL HAB FUT
 nm pron pn pron nm pron nm pron

ahi kiso kiso mati ha
 ahi kiso kiso mati ha
 then white-fronted capuchin white-fronted capuchin 3PL DEM
 dem nf nf pron dem

yowi hibati me tohiyemetemone me ama
 yowi hibati me to- hiya -hemete -mone me ama
 brown capuchin right away 3PL.S CH be different FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S be
 nm nf pron vi pron 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.'

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

303 *Tamakoriteba* , *katoma* *hiri* *ne* , *tamakoriteba*
 tamakori -tee -ba , katoma hiri na+M , tamakori -tee -ba
 saki HAB FUT violent act make AUX saki HAB FUT
 nm nf vt aux nm

katoma *hiri* *nematamona* *Ho* *ho*
 katoma hiri na -himata -mona ho ho
 violent act make AUX FP.N+M REP+M (sound of saki) (sound of saki)
 nf vt aux sound sound

ho *ho* *ho* *ho*
 ho ho ho ho
 (sound of saki) (sound of saki) (sound of saki) (sound of saki)
 sound sound sound sound

ho
 ho
 (sound of saki)
 sound

"The saki was jumping around, "Ho ho ho ho ho ho ho."

304 *Iso* *korokoro* *kana* *nematamona* *ahi*
 iso koro- koro ka- na na -himata -mona ahi
 leg+M DUP throw COMIT AUX AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 pn vt aux aux dem

'He was jumping up and down.'

305 *Iso* *korokoro* *kana* *nematamonaka* *ahi*
 iso koro- koro ka- na na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 leg+M DUP throw COMIT AUX AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 pn vt aux aux dem

'He was jumping up and down.'

306 *Hiya* , *e owa* , *tiwa*
 hiya e owa tiwa
 come on brother-in-law 2SG.O
 interj voc pron

onahiyibeya
 o- to- na- hiya -be -ya
 1SG.S CH CAUS be different IMMED+F now
 vt

"Come on, brother-in-law, I will turn you into an animal."

307 *Tiwa* *onahiyibeya*
 tiwa o- to- na- hiya -be -ya
 2SG.O 1SG.S CH CAUS be different IMMED+F now
 pron vt

"I'm going to turn you into an animal."

308 *Faya* *wabori* *wate* *wabori* *wate*
 faya wabori wata+M wabori wata+M
 so 3SG.POSS brother-in-law catch 3SG.POSS brother-in-law catch
 conj nm vt nm vt

wabori , *wabori* *teme* *tai*
 wabori wabori teme tai
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law 3SG.POSS brother-in-law foot+M step on
 nm nm pn vt

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

kanematamonaka

ka- na -himata -mona -ka
COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux

'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	ka- na+M	hoka
	3SG.POSS brother-in-law		foot+M	step on	COMIT AUX	yank
	nm		pn	vt	aux	vt

hirematamonaka

hi-	na	-rI	-himata	-mona	-ka	Oooooooo
OC	AUX	raised surface	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	(expression of pain)
	aux					interj

oo		oo	
oo		oo	
(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
	nm		nm		vt

tomisematamonaka

to-	na	-misa	-himata	-mona	-ka	ahi
away	AUX	up	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	then
	aux					dem

'He threw his brother-in-law upwards.'

311	Wabori		koro	tomise		wabori
	wabori		koro	to- na -misa+M		wabori
	3SG.POSS brother-in-law		throw	away AUX up		3SG.POSS brother-in-law
	nm		vt	aux		nm

tokematamona

to-	ka	-himata	-mona
away	go/come	FP.N+M	REP+M
	vi		

'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		pick up quickly		3SG.POSS.wife	throw
	nf		vt		nf	vt

himisamakia

hi-	to-	na	-misa	-makI+F		Te	kahiwatiya
OC	away	AUX	up	following		2PL.S	COMIT have children
	aux					pron	vi

'He grabbed his wife and also threw his wife upwards. "You have children."'

313	Faya	me		were	tomise		mera	were
	faya	me		were	to- na -misa+M		mera	were
	so	3PL.O		throw	away AUX up		3PL.O	throw
	conj	pron		vt	aux		pron	vt

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

tomisematamonaka **fahi**
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 me me tohiya me , nafi**
bani me me to- hiya+F me , nafi
animal 3PL 3PL.S CH be different 3PL.S all
nm pron pron vi pron pn

tohiyemetemoneke **ahi , yowaki noko**
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

nokotebana **ahi**
noko -tee -bana ahi
squirrel sp HAB FUT then
nm dem

'They turned into animals. All of them turned into animals. The *yowaki* squirrel, the *noko* squirrel, the first *noko*.'

315 **Nokotebamatamonaka** **ahi , mayawari mati**
noko -tee -ba -mata -mona -ka ahi , mayawari mati
squirrel sp HAB FUT FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then titi 3PL
nm dem nm pron

'It was the first *noko*. Also the *titis*.'

316 **Mayawari memetemone me amake**
mayawari me -mete -mone me ama -ke
titi 3PL FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S be DECL+F
nm pron pron vc

'They were the *titis*.'

317 **Me tohiya me toka me , sinama sinama**
me to- hiya+F me to- ka+F me , sinama sinama
3PL.S CH be different 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S agouti agouti
pron vi pron vi pron nm nm

fowa bore kaneno kame , fowa hahawi
fowa bore ka- na -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

tosu **nematamonaka**
to- na -sii na -himata -mona -ka
CH AUX slowly along the way AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux aux

'They turned into animals, and they went away. The agouti had dug up a manioc tuber, and he came back gnawing on the manioc.'

318 **Fowa hahawi tosi ne , Fowa kabe**
fowa ha- hawi to- na -sii na+M , fowa kabe
manioc DUP gnaw CH AUX slowly along the way AUX sweet manioc
nm vt aux aux nm

ama ?

ama
be
vc

'He came back gnawing the manioc. "Is that sweet manioc?"'

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

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 yanahari ahi*
 fowa kabe wata+M ahi yana -haari ahi
 sweet manioc stand there grow IP.E+M there
 nm vi dem vi dem

"There is sweet manioc growing there."

321 *Habo oti habo okobine oni*
 habo o- iti+M habo o- kaba -ne o- ni
 root+M 1SG.S take out root+M 1SG.S eat CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 pn 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 ra owehene*
 me , me wata- wata -ma na -ra+F o- ehene
 3PL 3PL.S DUP exist back AUX NEG 1SG.POSS because of
 pron pron vi aux pn

"There is no one here anymore, because of me."

327 *Sina me hisisi oniha me , toki ahi*
 sina me hisi -si o- niha- na+F me , to- ka.NOM+F ahi
 snuff 3PL.O sniff DUP 1SG.S CAUS AUX 3PL.S away go/come there
 nf pron vt aux pron vi dem

"I gave them snuff, and they went away."

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

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 toki ahi neme ya ahi*
 me to- ka.NOM+F ahi neme ya ahi
 3PL.S away go/come there up ADJU there
 pron vi dem nf prt dem

"They went away up high."

330 *Bofe ya tiwabana tike ha tiwa*
 bofe ya ti- waa -habana ti- ke 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.'

334 *Makoni fowa kabi hawa toe ya*
 makoni fowa kaba.NFIN hawa to- ha.NOM+M ya
 for this reason manioc eat be finished CH AUX ADJU
 conj nm vt vi aux prt

Hoo fowa okobatibana owa aawa tira
 hoo fowa o- kaba -tee -bana owa a- awa ti- na -ra+F
 whew manioc 1SG.S eat HAB FUT 1SG.O DUP see 2SG.S AUX NEG
 interj nm vt pron vt aux

'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
 vi vt aux

"He won't let me live here."

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

337 *Faya me , sinama afo nematamonaka ahi*
 faya me , sinama afo na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 so 3PL agouti blow snuff into AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj pron nm vt aux dem

'He blew snuff into the agouti.'

338 *Sinama afo tonisematamonaka*
 sinama afo to- na -risa -himata -mona -ka
 agouti blow snuff into away AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vt aux

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 sound

fiya fiya fiya
 fiya fiya fiya
 (sound of blowing) (sound of blowing) (sound of blowing)
 sound sound sound

'He blew snuff into the agouti, hard, fiya, fiya, fiya.'

339 *Itikabote iso tani hikanakematamona*
 iti -kabote iso tani hi- ka- na -kI -himata -mona
 pick up quickly leg+M slide OC COMIT AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M
 antip pn vt aux

'He grabbed him, and slid his hand on his front legs, doubling them over.'

340 *Iso tani hikanake mano tani*
 iso tani hi- ka- na -kI mano tani
 leg+M slide OC COMIT AUX coming arm+M slide
 pn vt aux pn vt

hikawite , noko noko tamo
 hi- to- ka- na -witI , noko noko tamo
 OC away COMIT AUX out face+M face+M rub
 aux pn pn vt

hiwawiti ya , kosi hikanare
 hi- to- na -waha -witI.NOM ya , kosi hi- ka- na -rI
 OC away AUX change out ADJU flail OC COMIT AUX raised surface
 aux prt vt aux

e kani tokebana ahi , hee
 ee ka- na.NFIN to- ka -hibana ahi , hee
 yell COMIT AUX away go/come FUT+M then (yell of agouti)
 vi aux vi dem sound

hee hee hee hee
 hee hee hee hee
 (yell of agouti) (yell of agouti) (yell of agouti) (yell of agouti)
 sound sound sound sound

hee hee hee
 hee hee hee
 (yell of agouti) (yell of agouti) (yell of agouti)
 sound sound 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."'

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

341 *Te awa hari*
 tee awa haari
 2PL.S see that one+M
 pron vt dem

'Look at him.'

342 *Yama me watowato raba na toaremetemone*
 yama me wato- wato na -raba na to- ha -ra -hemete -mone
 thing 3PL.S DUP know AUX a bit AUX CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 nf pron vt aux aux aux

me amani , me tohiya mati
 me ama -ni me to- hiya+F mati
 3PL.S SEC BKG+F 3PL.S CH be different 3PL.S
 pron sec pron vi pron

'They knew a lot, the ones who turned into animals.'

343 *Me toiya me toiya , Hine me*
 me to- hiya+F me to- hiya+F , hine me
 3PL.S CH be different 3PL.S CH be different only 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi pron pron

toki
 to- ka.NOM+F
 away go/come
 vi

'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 ?*
 ka -ma+M , himata bani -ba ama o- ri
 go/come back what? animal FUT be 1SG.S CQ+F
 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 nini -ni , ati
 our relatives 1SG.O 3PL.S call to go AUX BKG+F say
 nf pron pron vt aux vt

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

nematamona

na -himata -mona
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 aux

"My relatives are calling me to go with them."

349 *Aa ota one owa me hima ke*
 aa otaa one owa me hima na -ke
 (pause) our relatives 1SG.O 3PL.S call to go AUX DECL+F
 interj nf pron pron vt 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 toneba , yana toneba ati yana*
 faya yana to- na -hiba , yana to- na -hiba ati yana
 so start CH AUX FUT+M start CH AUX FUT+M voice start
 conj vi aux vi aux pn vi

tonematamonaka

to- na -himata -mona -ka
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'He was getting ready to go, and he spoke.'

352 *Ati yana tone , Oof hibaka okahaba ?*
 ati yana to- na+M , oof hibaka o- to- ka -haba ?
 voice start CH AUX hoo where 1SG.S away go/come FUT+F
 pn vi aux interj interrog vi

'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 , bii , bii
 (sound of curassow) (sound of curassow) (sound of curassow)
 sound sound sound

bii

bii
 (sound of curassow)
 sound

"Bii, bii, bii, bii."

355 *Maseteba ama oke mase*
 mase -tee -ba ama o- ke mase
 curassow HAB FUT be 1SG.S DECL+F curassow
 nm vc prt nm

"I'm the first curassow."

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

356 *Yama kokora oteba ama oke*
 yama ko- kora o- na -tee -haba ama o- ke
 thing DUP swallow whole 1SG.S AUX HAB FUT+F SEC 1SG.S DECL+F
 nf vt aux sec prt

"I will swallow fruits."

357 *Faya tokobasawame tokobasawame*
 faya to- ka -basa -waha -ma+M to- ka -basa -waha -ma+M
 so away go/come edge change back away go/come edge change back
 conj vi vi

tokobasawame , *faya fati*
 to- ka -basa -waha -ma+M , faya fati
 away go/come edge change back so 3SG.POSS.wife
 vi conj nf

fatiteba , *wasi* , *mase tohiyematamona*
 fati -tee -ba wasi+M , mase to- hiya -himata -mona
 3SG.POSS.wife HAB FUT find curassow CH be different FP.N+M REP+M
 nf vt nm vi

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He went along the bank of a stream. Then he found his wife. He turned into a curassow.'

358 *Me ohari tohiyemetemone me* ,
 me ohari.NFIN to- hiya -hemete -mone me
 3PL.S be one CH be different FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S
 pron vi vi pron

tohiya , *me* , *me tohiya* , *me me*
 to- hiya+F me , me to- hiya+F me me
 CH be different 3PL.S 3PL.S CH be different 3PL.S 3PL.S
 vi pron 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
 vi pron interrog interrog interrog interrog pron

ebe na me , *me* , *abe tonahiyineri* ?
 ebe na+F me , me abe to- na- hiya -ne -ri
 purpose AUX 3PL 3PL.POSS RECIP CH CAUS be different CONT+F CQ+F
 vt 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*
 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 vt pron

abe tonahiyineke
 abe to- na- hiya -ne -ke
 RECIP CH CAUS be different CONT+F DECL+F
 pn vt

"There isn't going to be anyone left."

360 *Me abe tonahiyinima nofa me*
 me abe to- na- hiya -nima na nofa+F me
 3PL.POSS RECIP CH CAUS be different about to AUX recently 3PL.POSS
 pron pn vt prt pron

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

amake , *me* *abe* *kakoa* *mati*
 ama -ke me abe kaako+F mati
 SEC DECL+F 3PL.POSS RECIP be angry with 3SG.POSS.mother
 sec pron pn vt nf

"They wanted to turn each other into animals, because they were mad at each other."

361 *Me* *abe* *kakoamone* *ati* *ne* , *Bani* *me*
 me abe kaako -hamone ati na+M bani me
 3PL.POSS RECIP be angry with REP+F say AUX animal 3PL.COMPL
 pron pn vt vt aux nm pron

me *toabone* *me* *ati* *nofamone* *hine* *me*
 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
 to- na- hiya -ne -ke
 CH CAUS be different CONT+F DECL+F
 vt

'He said they were mad at each other. "They said they wanted to turn into animals. Let them turn into animals."

362 *Awa* *boni* *kabi* *nawaha* , *awa* *boni* *kabi*
 awa boni kaba.NFIN nawaha+F awa boni kaba.NFIN
 tree fruit+F eat take a long time tree fruit+F eat
 nf pn result vi nf pn result

nawaha *me* *kaba* *me* , *awa* *boni* *kabi*
 nawaha+F me kaba+F me awa boni kaba.NFIN
 take a long time 3PL.S eat 3PL.S tree fruit+F eat
 vi pron vt pron nf pn result

ihi *me* *tohiyabone* *me* *ati* *nofamone*
 ihi me to- hiya -habone me ati nofa -hamone
 because of+F 3PL.S CH be different INT+F 3PL.S say recently REP+F
 post pron vi pron vt prt

, *me* *amake*
 me ama -ke
 3PL.S SEC DECL+F
 pron sec

"They ate wild fruits, even though it was difficult. Because they were eating wild fruits, they wanted to turn into animals."

363 *Himata* *baniteba* *ama* *ori* *ha* *owa* ?
 himata bani -tee -ba ama o- 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?"

364 *E* *awakere*
 ee awa -ke -re
 1IN.S see DECL+F NEG+F
 pron vt

"I don't know."

365 *Aa* *hiba* , *onamiti* *mawa*
 aa hiba o- namiti mawa
 (pause) wait 1SG.POSS throat paint red
 interj interj pn vt

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

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 mawa ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 neck paint red COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pn vt aux

tafotebana ahi
 tafo -tee -bana ahi
 Spix's guan HAB FUT then
 nm dem

'He painted his throat red, to become the first guan.'

367 **Namiti mawa kane iso mawa kana**
 namiti mawa ka- na+M iso mawa kana
 neck paint red COMIT AUX leg+M paint red COMIT AUX
 pn vt aux pn vt aux na.LIST

'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**
 iso mawa ka- na.LIST hine mawa.LIST
 leg+M paint red COMIT AUX 3.REFL paint red
 pn vt aux pn 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 okiti witi moto onebona**
 hiba o- ka iti witi moto o- na -hibona
 wait 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather nose pierce 1SG.S AUX INT+M
 interj nm pn vt aux

e ra ?
 ee na -ra
 (question) AUX CQ+M
 vi aux

"Wait, where is my grandfather, whose nose I was going to pierce?"

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

373 *Iti* *me* *tohiyamoneke*
 iti me to- hiya -hamone -ke
 2SG.POSS grandfather 3PL.S CH be different REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron vi

"Your grandfather and the others turned into animals."

374 *Moto obe* *ha owa*
 moto o- na -be haa owa
 pierce 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F DEM 1SG
 result aux dem pron

"I myself will be pierced."

375 *Moto obeya* *ha owa*
 moto o- na -be -ya haa owa
 pierce 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now DEM 1SG
 result aux dem pron

"I myself will be pierced."

376 *Witi hotone* , *Owiti* *hoti* *nake* *ahi* , *aya*
 witi hotone , o- witi hoti na -kI ahi , aya
 nose hole+M 1SG.POSS nose hole+F exist coming here this
 pn pn pn vi dem dem

tita ahi
 ti- ita ahi
 2SG.S pierce here
 vt dem

"There is a hole in my nose here. You pierce it here."

377 *Sare sare* *wanani* *soba* *nake*
 sarehe sarehe wana -hani soba na -kI
 blowgun dart blowgun dart be attached IP.N+F pull out AUX coming
 nf nf vi vt aux

Hiya , *moto obe*
 hiya , moto o- na -be
 come on pierce 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 interj vt aux

"He pulled out a blowgun dart that was stuck in the roof. "Here, I will pierce it."

378 *E towakamakibeya*
 ee to- ka- ka -makI -be -ya
 1IN.S away COMIT go/come following IMMED+F now
 pron vi

"Let's go."

379 *Me tohiyakeni*
 me to- hiya -ke -ni
 3PL.S CH be different DECL+F BKG+F
 pron vi

"They turned into animals."

380 *Faya me* , *toiya* *me yana tokana* *me*
 faya me , to- hiya+F me yana to- ka- na+F me
 so 3PL.S CH be different 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron vi aux pron

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owa witi moto ne , Hima , komini ?
 owa witi moto na+M , hima , koma -ni
 other+M nose pierce AUX let's go hurt BKG+F
 adj pn vt aux interj vi

"They turned into animals. The were ready. The other one pierced his nose. "There, did it hurt?"

381 *Komakere*
 koma -ke -re
 hurt DECL+F NEG+F
 vi

"It didn't hurt."

382 *Komarini*
 koma -ra -ni
 hurt NEG BKG+F
 vi

"It didn't hurt."

383 *Komene amake*
 koma -hene ama -ke
 hurt IRR+F SEC DECL+F
 vi sec

"It didn't hurt."

384 *Tiwiti bayirimakoni amake*
 ti- witi bayi -ra -makoni ama -ke
 2SG.POSS nose be thick NEG for this reason+F SEC DECL+F
 pn vi sec

"It's because your nose isn't thick."

385 *Tiwiti bayihemenehe*
 ti- witi bayi -hemenehe
 2SG.POSS nose be thick HYPOTH+F
 pn vi

"Your nose isn't thick."

386 *Tiwiti bayirimakoni moto ni*
 ti- witi bayi -ra -makoni moto na.NFIN
 2SG.POSS nose be thick NEG for this reason+F pierce AUX
 pn vi result aux

komarineke ati ne , Hima , hima me
 koma -ra -ne -ke ati na+M , hima , hima me
 hurt NEG CONT+F DECL+F say AUX let's go let's go 3PL.POSS
 vi vt aux interj interj pron

tabori e awi ya e , e
 tabori ee awa.NOM+F ya ee , ee
 place+F 1IN.S see ADJU 1IN.S 1IN.S
 pn pron vt prt pron pron

towakimisaba ereni e yoro
 to- ka- ka -misa -haba ere -ni ee yoro
 away COMMIT go/come up FUT+F 1IN.S BKG+F 1IN.S stay
 vi pron pron vi

nareba neme ya
 na -rI -haba neme ya
 AUX raised surface FUT+F up ADJU
 aux nf prt

"Your nose isn't thick," he said. "Let's go. When we see their village, we will go up and stay there."

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387 *Faya yama e siba ni ya e ka yiboteba*
 faya yama ee siba na.NOM+F ya ee ka yibote -ba
 so thing 1IN.S look for AUX ADJU 1IN POSS wife FUT
 conj nf pron vt aux prt pron prt nf

e wasiaba ere
 ee wasi -haba ere
 1IN.S find FUT+F 1IN.S
 pron vt pron

"We will look for and find wives for ourselves."

388 *Me kamakia me kamakirineke*
 me ka -makI+F me ka -makI -ra -ne -ke
 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 tohiya me awineke bisa*
 me to- hiya+F me awine -ke bisa
 3PL.S CH be different 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F also
 pron vi pron sec prt

"They turned into animals."

390 *Owa kobo tomisematamona foree*
 owa kobo to- na -misa -himata -mona foree
 one+M arrive away AUX up FP.N+M REP+M (call of guan)
 adj vi aux sound

foree foree foree foree
 foree foree foree foree
 (call of guan) (call of guan) (call of guan) (call of guan)
 sound sound sound sound

'One of them went to another branch.'

391 *Owa te awahi*
 owa tee awa -hi
 1SG.O 2PL.S see IMP+F
 pron pron vt

"Look at me."

392 *Faya wabori ati yana kabote*
 faya wabori ati yana na -kabote
 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 naaki
 (call of trumpeter) (call of trumpeter) (call of trumpeter)
 sound sound sound

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

naaki naaki (call of trumpeter) sound	naaki naaki (call of trumpeter) sound	naaki naaki (call of trumpeter) sound
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naaki
naaki
(call of trumpeter)
sound

"Then his brother-in-law started to talk, "Naaki, naaki, naaki."

393 **Ota te awa**
otaa tee awa
1EX.S 2PL.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 **Faya me tohiya me me**
faya me to- hiya+F me me
so 3PL.S CH be different 3PL.S 3PL.S
conj pron vi pron pron

totohiyihina raba na toemete
to- to- hiya -hina na -raba na to- ha -hemete
CH CH be different can AUX a bit AUX CH AUX FP.N+F
vi aux aux aux

'They turned into animals. They liked turning into animals.'

396 **Faya me tohiya me towakamakia me**
faya me to- hiya+F me to- ka- ka -makI+F me
so 3PL.S CH be different 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S
conj pron vi pron vi pron

fawa tokasamakia me wahaba
fawa to- ka- na -kosa -makI+F me wahaba -haba
disappear CH COMIT AUX middle following 3PL.S stand FUT+F
vi aux pron vi

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**
me tabori kamo- kamoni
3PL.POSS place+F DUP feel sad
pron pn vi

'Their village was empty.'

398 **Me tabori kamokamoni na me faya me**
me tabori kamo- kamoni na+F me faya me
3PL.POSS place+F DUP feel sad AUX 3PL.S so 3PL.POSS
pron pn vi aux pron conj pron

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tabori , **me** **siba** **remetemoneni**
 tabori me siba na -ra -hemete -mone -ni
 place+F 3PL.S look for AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pn pron vt aux

'Their village was empty. They didn't look in the houses.'

399 **Me** **tabori** **me** **awamara** **me** , **hikehike** **ya**
 me tabori me awa -ma -ra+F me hike- hike ya
 3PL.POSS place+F 3PL.S see back NEG 3PL.S DUP far ADJU
 pron pn pron vt pron nf prt

me **one** **me** **hiwasia** **me** , **me** **one** **me**
 me one me hi- wasi+F me me one me
 3PL.O other+F 3PL.S OC find 3PL.O 3PL.O other+F 3PL.S
 pron adj pron vt pron pron adj pron

hiwasietemoneke **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** **me** **me** , **Fa** **mera** ?
 me one me hi- wasi+F me me faa me -ra
 3PL.O other+F 3PL.S OC find 3PL.O 3PL that 3PL.S NPQ
 pron adj pron vt pron pron dem pron

'They found other people. "Where are they?"'

401 **Me** **nafi** **tohiyarake**
 me nafi to- hiya -hara -ke
 3PL.POSS all CH be different IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron pn vi

""They all turned into animals.""

402 **Hibake** **ama** **tiri** **ha** **tiwa** ?
 hibake ama ti- ri haa tiwa
 who+M be 2SG.S CQ+F DEM 2SG
 interrog vc prt dem pron

""Who are you?""

403 **Tafo** **ama** **oni**
 tafo ama o- ni
 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 nm nm

toha , **tiwa** **ni** **ya** **ota** **amo** **karaba** **ota**
 to- ha.LIST tiwa ni ya otaa amo ka- na -raba otaa
 CH be 2SG to ADJU 1EX.S sleep COMMIT AUX a bit 1EX.S
 vc pron prt prt pron vi aux pron

amani

ama -ni
 SEC BKG+F
 sec

""I who am the guan and my brother-in-law the trumpeter are not going to sleep at your house.""

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

405 **Ota ka iyawaba tisira iyawa ota kabi**
 otaa ka iyawa -ba ti- sira+F iyawa otaa kaba.NOM+F
 1EX POSS manioc mash FUT 2SG.S toast manioc mash 1EX.S eat
 pron prt nf vt nf pron vt

ya , ota towakimisaba otani
 ya , otaa to- ka- ka -misa -haba 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**
 faya to- hiya -ra -himata -mona faari
 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 pn vi aux interrog nm

ama oriya ?
 ama o- -ri -ya
 be 1SG.S CQ+F now
 vc prt

'He didn't turn into an animal. He spoke. "What animal should I turn into?"'

408 **E awakere**
 ee awa -ke -re
 1IN.S see DECL+F NEG+F
 pron vt

"I don't know."

409 **Bani ino tiwato ya , bani aate**
 bani ino ti- wato.NOM ya , bani a- ate
 animal name+M 2SG.S know ADJU animal DUP ask
 nm pn vt prt nm vt

obeya
 o- na -be -ya
 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 aux

"When you know the name of the animal, I will call you that animal."

410 **Sosoki oke**
 so- soki o- na -ke
 DUP be dark 1SG.S AUX DECL+F
 vi aux

"I am black."

411 **Sosoki oke**
 so- soki o- na -ke
 DUP be dark 1SG.S AUX DECL+F
 vi aux

"I am black."

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426 *Yama kakiti* *Oko* *yama tiwa*
 yama ka- iti+M o- ka yama ti- awa
 thing COMIT take out 1SG.POSS POSS thing 2SG.S see
 nf vt prt nf vt

'He sucked it out. "Look at my shaman's stone."

427 *Tiwa tonahiyaba* *ama haro*
 tiwa to- na- hiya -haba ama haaro
 2SG.O CH CAUS be different FUT+F SEC that one+F
 pron vt 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*
 owa to- na- hiya -be
 1SG.O CH CAUS be different IMMED+F
 pron vt

"May it turn me into an animal."

430 *Yama tafo* *yoko tokane* , *Hiya* , *tiwiti*
 yama tafo yoko to- ka- na+M , hiya , ti- witi
 thing Spix's guan push CH COMIT AUX come on 2SG.POSS nose
 nf 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
 so blow snuff into OC AUX blow snuff into
 conj vt aux vt

hinisematamonaka *ahi*
 hi- to- na -risa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 OC away AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'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 nf

owa ni etoke
 owa ni eheto -ke
 1SG to be good DECL+F
 pron prt vi

'He blew snuff into him. "Haa, the snuff is good."

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

biyoteba , *me* *tohiyateba* *mati*
 biyo -tee -ba , me to- hiya -tee -haba mati
 spider monkey HAB FUT 3PL.S CH be different HAB FUT+F 3PL.S
 nf pron vi pron

"Heh, heh, heh, heheh, heheh," he said, the spider monkey. They were turning into animals.'

439 *Me* *ati* , *me* *kamarikosara* *me*
 me ati , me ka -ma -ri -kosa -ra+F me
 3PL.POSS voice 3PL.S go/come back DISTR middle NEG 3PL.S
 pron pn pron vi pron

toka *me* *kamarini*
 to- ka+F me ka -ma -ra -ni
 away go/come 3PL.S go/come back NEG BKG+F
 vi pron vi

"Most of them came back from various directions. But some of them went and didn't come back."¹²⁶

440 *Afa* *wao* *me* *tonakara* *me*
 afa wao me to- na- ka -ra+F me
 this+F tree sp 3PL.S away CAUS go/come NEG 3PL.S
 dem nf pron vt pron

kamine *ha*
 ka -ma -ne haa
 go/come back CONT+F DEM
 vi dem

"They went after *waho* fruits and came back."

441 *Me* *nowati* *ya* *me* *hinarabikibe*
 me nowati ya me hi- na- rabika -be
 3PL.POSS behind ADJU 3PL.O OC CAUS be crazy IMMED+F
 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 CH 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."

126 The tense of this sentence, along with the following two, indicate that they are quotes, but it is unclear who the speaker is.

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446 *Faya* *hibarimise* , *fore* ,
 faya hi- to- iba -rI -misa+M forI
 so OC away set down raised surface up lie on top
 conj vt vi

forehimatamonaka
 forI -himata -mona -ka
 lie on top FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He set him on top of the log, and he lay there.'

447 *Fore* , *ati* *yana* *kanebana* .
 forI ati yana ka- na -hibana
 lie on top voice start COMIT AUX FUT+M
 vi pn vi aux

'He lay there. He started talking.'

448 *Fati* *kamarawa* , *me*
 fati ka -ma -rawa+F me
 3SG.POSS.wife go/come back F.PL 3PL.S
 nf vi pron

kamarawemetemoneke
 ka -ma -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 go/come back F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'His wives come back.'

449 *Ai* *bato* , *bato* , *bato* *yama* *hife* *wasino* *yama* *hife*
 ahi bato , bato , bato yama hife wasi -hino yama hife
 then deer deer deer thing egg+F find IP.N+M thing egg+F
 dem nm nm nm nf pn vt nf pn

kakame , *Aki* , *aki* .
 ka- ka -ma+M aki aki
 COMIT go/come back grandmother grandmother
 vt nf nf

'The deer found an egg, and he brought the egg back. "Grandma."'

450 *Haa* ?
 haa
 huh?
 interj
 "'Huh?'"

451 *Aki* *oko* *yama* *hife* *ahi* , *aki*
 aki o- ka yama hife ahi aki
 grandmother 1SG.POSS POSS thing egg+F here grandmother
 nf prt nf pn dem nf

tibanahi *ahi* .
 ti- ibana -hi ahi
 2SG.S roast IMP+F then
 vt dem

'"Grandma, my egg here, you roast it."'

452 *Yama* *hife* *tibanahi* .
 yama hife ti- ibana -hi
 thing egg+F 2SG.S roast IMP+F
 nf pn vt

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"Roast the egg."

453 *Yama hife yama hife obanaba* , *yama hife*
 yama hife yama hife o- ibana -haba yama hife
 thing egg+F thing egg+F 1SG.S roast FUT+F thing egg+F
 nf pn nf pn vt nf pn

obanaba haha aki tokarawa
 o- ibana -haba haaha aki to- ka -rawa+F
 1SG.S roast FUT+F this+F your grandmother away go/come F.PL
 vt dem nf vi

kamarawamatahi
 ka -ma -rawa -mata -hi
 go/come back F.PL short time IMP+F
 vi

"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 nabone*
 me to- ka -hara -ni yoha me yome na -habone
 3PL.S away go/come IP.E+F BKG+F tree sp 3PL.S swallow AUX INT+F
 pron vi pron vt aux

mati
 mati
 3PL.S
 pron

"They went into the forest, to eat *yoha* fruits."

456 *Yoa me yome nabone me tokarani*
 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

"They went out to eat *yoha* fruits."

457 *Faya yama* , *me hikayawe wine*
 faya yama me hi- ka- yawa+M wina+M
 so thing 3PL.S OC COMMIT be upset lie in hammock
 conj nf pron vt vi

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* , *faya* , *faya wine* , *Aki*
 wina+M faya faya wina+M aki
 lie in hammock so so lie in hammock grandmother
 vi conj conj vi nf

"He lay in the hammock. "Grandma."

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

459 *Biyo* *biyoterawaba*
 biyo biyo -tee -rawa -ba
 spider monkey spider monkey HAB F.PL FUT
 nf nf

kamarawemetemoneke *ahi*
 ka -ma -rawa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 go/come back F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

Ooo

ooo

(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*
 ka -ma+F , yoha yome na -rawa -haaro
 go/come back tree sp swallow AUX F.PL IP.E+F
 vi nf vt aux

okobi *aati* *toemarika*
 o- ka abi a- ati to- ha -himari -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M
 nm vt aux

'They came back eating *yoha* fruits, my father used to say.'

462 *Okobi* *kakamina* *hiamaro* *amake*
 o- ka abi ka- kamina hi- to- ha -hamaro ama -ke
 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP tell OC CH AUX FP.E+F SEC DECL+F
 nm 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* *ya* *amo* *narawara* *amo*
 ka -ma -rawa+F , bofe ya amo na -rawa+F -ra+F amo
 go/come back F.PL ground ADJU sleep AUX F.PL NEG sleep
 vi nf prt vi aux vi

narawemetemone *neme* *ya*
 na -rawa -hemete -mone neme ya
 AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F up ADJU
 aux nf prt

'They came back. They didn't sleep on the ground. They slept up high.'

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

465 *Amo narawa hahi me hinahiye*
 amo na -rawa+F haahi me hi- to- na- hiya+M
 sleep AUX F.PL this one+M 3PL.S OC CH CAUS be different
 vi aux dem pron vt
fore tafo afo hine fore , ati
 forI tafo afo hi- na+M forI , ati
 lie on top Spix's guan blow snuff into OC AUX lie on top voice
 vi nm vt aux vi pn
ati katafibanoho
 ati ka- tafi -hiba -no -ho
 voice COMMIT 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*
 o- ka abi , o- ka abi haha haa ti- na -hi
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP call 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 nm nm vt aux

'Call my father.'

467 *Okobi haha tinahi ati*
 o- ka abi ha- haa ti- na -hi ati
 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP call 2SG.S AUX IMP+F say
 nm vt aux vt
nemetemoneke fahi
 na -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux dem

'Call my father,' she said.'

468 *Iti , iti*
 iti iti
 grandfather grandfather
 nm nm

'Grandpa, Grandpa.'

469 *Bato , hee*
 bato hee
 deer hey
 nm interj

'Deer, yes?'

470 *Iti oko yama hife tibanamatahi*
 iti o- ka yama hife ti- ibana -mata -hi
 grandfather 1SG.POSS POSS thing egg+F 2SG.S roast short time IMP+F
 nm prt nf pn vt

'Grandpa, roast my egg.'

471 *Hiya , owa tekawa*
 hiya owa ti- ka- kawa
 come on 1SG.O 2SG.S COMMIT give something to
 interj pron vt

'Here, give it to me.'

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

472 *Yama hife ibanebona hinaka noti*
 yama hife ibana -hibona hinaka noti
 thing egg+F roast INT+M 3SG.POSS grandson
 nf pn vt pron nm

hekawe , *faya Biyo biyo*
 hi- ka- kawa+M faya biyo biyo
 OC COMIT give something to so spider monkey spider monkey
 vt conj nf nf

kamarawini ?
 ka -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 *Biyo kamarawa amo narawa* ,
 biyo ka -ma -rawa+F amo na -rawa+F
 spider monkey go/come back F.PL sleep AUX F.PL
 nf vi vi aux

kawarawine haro
 ka- waa -rawa -ne haaro
 COMIT stand F.PL CONT+F that one+F
 vi dem

"The spider monkeys are coming back. They are sleeping in the trees."

474 *Yama hife yama hife obanibe*
 yama hife yama hife o- ibana -be
 thing egg+F thing egg+F 1SG.S roast IMMED+F
 nf pn pn vt

"I will roast the egg."

475 *Tokomakematamonaka*
 to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He went there.'

476 *Tokomake tokomake yama hife*
 to- ka -makI to- ka -makI yama hife
 away go/come following away go/come following thing egg+F
 vi vi nf pn

yifobone afo kane , *yama hife*
 yifo -bone afo ka- na+M yama hife
 firewood INT+F light COMIT AUX thing egg+F
 nf vt aux nf pn

ibanematamonaka
 ibana -himata -mona -ka
 roast FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'He went there. He lit a fire, and roasted the egg.'

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.'

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

486 *Mi narawemetemoneke ahi 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*
 to- ka -ma -rawa -hemete awine -ke ahi fara yoha
 away go/come back F.PL FP.N+F seem+F DECL+F there same+F tree sp
 vi sec dem dem nf

yome narawi ya
 yome na -rawa.NOM+F ya
 swallow AUX F.PL ADJU
 vt aux prt

'They went back to where they had eaten *yoha* fruits.'

489 *Hima hine me tokomake*
 hima hine me to- ka -ma -ke
 let's go only 3PL.S away go/come back DECL+F
 interj pron pron vi

'Come on, let them go.'

490 *Hahi me afo hine fore yana*
 haahi me afo hi- na+M forI yana
 this one+M 3PL.S blow snuff into OC AUX lie on top start
 dem pron vt aux vi vi

tonematamonaka ahi
 to- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'The one who they had blown snuff into and who was lying there was ready to leave.'

491 *Tafo tafo afo hine kana ni*
 tafo tafo afo hi- na+M kana ni
 Spix's guan Spix's guan blow snuff into OC AUX run na.NFIN
 nm nm vt aux vi aux aux

kisamatamonaka
 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 ni kisame tafo fata*
 kana na.NFIN ka -risa -ma+M tafo fata
 run AUX go/come down back Spix's guan push
 vi aux vi nm vt

towitamatamonaka
 to- na -witI -himata -mona -ka
 away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

'He came down from the log fast, and pushed the guan away.'

493 *Tafo* *fata* *towiti* *kana* *ni*
 tafo fata to- na -witI+M kana na.NFIN
 Spix's guan push away AUX out run AUX
 nm vt aux vi aux

tokematamona *bofe* *ka* *ya* *ahi* .
 to- ka -himata -mona bofe ka ya ahi
 away go/come FP.N+M REP+M ground LOC ADJU then
 vi nf prt prt dem
 'He pushed the guan away, and went running into the forest, on the ground.'

494 *Kana* *ni* *tokomisamake* *fara* *fati*
 kana na.NFIN to- ka -misa -makI fara fati
 run AUX away go/come up following same+F 3SG.POSS.wife
 vi aux vi dem nf

tokomarawi *ya* *tokomake* , *Oof* ,
 to- ka -ma -rawa.NOM+F ya to- ka -makI , oof
 away go/come back F.PL ADJU away go/come following hoo
 vi prt vi interj

afo *one* *owa* *fata* *towiti* *ne* .
 afo o- na+M owa fata to- na -witI.LIST na+M
 blow snuff into 1SG.S AUX 1SG.O push away AUX out AUX
 vt aux pron vt 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.O push away AUX out away go/come following DECL+M
 pron vt aux vi

""He pushed me away and went to the others.""

496 *Faya* , *Himata* *nima* , *himata* *nima* *me* *naba* *me*
 faya , himata nima , himata nima me na -haba me
 so what? like what? like 3PL.S AUX FUT+F 3PL.S
 conj interrog prt interrog prt pron aux pron

amari ?
 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 will eat them.""

498 *Me* *e* *kabatebanani* .
 me ee kaba -tee -habana -ni
 3PL.O 1IN.S eat HAB FUT+F BKG+F
 pron pron vt

""We will eat them.""

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

499 *Me e kabatebanake bisa* .
 me ee kaba -tee -habana -ke bisa
 3PL.O 1IN.S eat HAB FUT+F DECL+F also
 pron pron vt prt

"We will eat them."

500 *Faya ati bato ati yana tone , owati*
 faya ati bato ati yana to- na+M o- ati
 so voice deer voice start CH AUX 1SG.POSS voice
 conj pn nm pn vi aux pn

owati fiya tone ninihi
 o- ati fiya to- na -ne na.NOM+F -ni -hi
 1SG.POSS voice be wrong CH AUX CONT+F AUX IP.N+F DUP
 pn vi aux aux

okobi aati towemarine
 o- ka abi a- ati to- ha -himari -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M
 nm vt aux

'The deer spoke, my father used to say. I was wrong.'

501 *Aki aki* .
 aki aki
 grandmother grandmother
 nf nf

"Grandma, Grandma."

502 *Haa ?*
 haa
 huh?
 interj

"Huh?"

503 *Yama hife tibanahi* .
 yama hife ti- ibana -hi
 thing egg+F 2SG.S roast IMP+F
 nf pn vt

"Roast the egg."

504 *Iti haha tinahi iti*
 iti ha- haa ti- na -hi iti
 2SG.POSS grandfather DUP call 2SG.S AUX IMP+F 2SG.POSS grandfather
 nm vt aux nm

yokana bato .
 yokana bato
 true deer
 adj nm

"Call your grandfather, not me, deer."

505 *Iti iti* .
 iti iti
 grandfather grandfather
 nm nm

"Grandpa, Grandpa."

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

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 -rawa+F haaro
 sleep AUX F.PL COMIT stand F.PL that one+F
 vi aux vi dem

"They are sleeping in the trees."

515 *Amo narawa kawarawa haro ati*
 amo na -rawa+F ka- waa -rawa+F haaro ati
 sleep AUX F.PL COMIT stand F.PL that one+F say
 vi aux vi dem vt

nematamona

na -himata -mona
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 aux

"They are sleeping in the trees," he said.'

516 *Ayaka hiri ne ayaki kawine ayaka hiri ne*
 ayaka hiri na+M ayaka.NFIN ka- wina+M ayaka hiri na+M
 song say AUX sing COMIT lie in hammock song say AUX
 nf vt aux vi vi nf vt aux

ayaki kawinematamonaka ahi
 ayaka.NFIN ka- wina -himata -mona -ka ahi
 sing COMIT lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi vi dem

'He was singing a song as he was in the hammock.'

517 *Aki oko yama hife oko yama hife*
 aki o- ka yama hife o- ka 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 -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."

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

521 *Amo narawini*
 amo na -rawa -ni
 sleep AUX F.PL BKG+F
 vi aux

"They are sleeping."

522 *Amo narawini*
 amo na -rawa -ni
 sleep AUX F.PL BKG+F
 vi aux

"They are sleeping."

523 *Biyoterawaba amo narawini*
 biyo -tee -rawa -ba amo na -rawa -ni
 spider monkey HAB F.PL FUT sleep AUX F.PL BKG+F
 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
 nf vi aux

"The ones who are becoming spider monkeys are sleeping."

525 *Amo narawini*
 amo na -rawa -ni
 sleep AUX F.PL BKG+F
 vi aux

"They are sleeping."

526 *Amo narawini*
 amo na -rawa -ni
 sleep AUX F.PL BKG+F
 vi aux

"They are sleeping."

527 *Faya ayaka hiri ne wine , Iti , iti*
 faya ayaka hiri na+M wina+M , iti , iti
 so song say AUX lie in hammock grandfather grandfather
 conj nf vt aux vi nm nm

oko yama hife tibanahi
 o- ka yama hife ti- ibana -hi
 1SG.POSS POSS thing egg+F 2SG.S roast IMP+F
 prt nf pn vt

'He was singing the song as he lay in the hammock. "Grandpa, roast my egg."

528 *Hom , oko yama hifeba*
 hom o- ka yama hife -ba
 (expression of discomfort) 1SG.POSS POSS thing egg+F FUT
 interj prt nf pn

tibanahi one oke
 ti- ibana -hi ati o- na -ne o- ke
 2SG.S roast IMP+F say 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vt vt prt

"Hom, I'm asking you to roast my egg."

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

529 *Aki aki* *aki aki* *te aki*
 aki aki tee aki
 your grandmother your grandmother 2PL your grandmother
 nf nf pron nf

kamarawatahi *biyo*
 ka -ma -rawa -mata -hi biyo
 go/come back F.PL short time IMP+F spider monkey
 vi nf

biyoterawabana
 biyo -tee -rawa -bana
 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*
 haahaa na.NFIN ka -ma -rawa -ni
 laugh AUX go/come back F.PL BKG+F
 vi aux vi

"They are coming back laughing."

532 *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."

533 *Haha ni kamarawini*
 haahaa na.NFIN ka -ma -rawa -ni
 laugh AUX go/come back F.PL BKG+F
 vi 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 nf nm vt

nematamona
 na -himata -mona
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 aux

"They are coming back laughing, the ones who are becoming spider monkeys," the deer said.'

534 *Bato ayaka hiri ne ahi ayaki*
 bato ayaka hiri ne ahi , ayaki
 deer song say AUX then sing
 nm nf vt aux dem vi

kawinematamonaka
 ka- wina -himata -mona -ka
 COMIT lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'The deer was singing the song. He was singing as he lay in the hammock.'

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

535 **Bato** **ayaki** **kawine** **ya** , **biyo**
 bato ayaka.NFIN ka- wina.NOM+M ya , biyo
 deer sing COMIT lie in hammock ADJU spider monkey
 nm vi vi prt nf

kamarawa , **Okanoti** **te** **amo** **nahi**
 ka -ma -rawa+F o- ka noti tee amo na -hi
 go/come back F.PL 1SG.POSS POSS grandson 2PL.S sleep AUX IMP+F
 vi nm pron vi aux

ahi
 ahi
 then
 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
 nf vi

"The ones who were turning into spider monkeys came back."

537 **Kamarawini**
 ka -ma -rawa -ni
 go/come back F.PL BKG+F
 vi

"They came back."

538 **Kamarawini**
 ka -ma -rawa -ni
 go/come back F.PL BKG+F
 vi

"They came back."

539 **Kamarawini** **ati** **nematamona**
 ka -ma -rawa -ni ati na -himata -mona
 go/come back F.PL BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi vt aux

"They came back," he said.'

540 **Iti** **ota** **amo** **namateya**
 iti otaa amo na -mate -ya
 grandfather 1EX.S sleep AUX short time.IMP+F now
 nm pron vi aux

"Grandpa, we are going to sleep."

541 **Ota** **amo** **namateya**
 otaa amo na -mate -ya
 1EX.S sleep AUX short time.IMP+F now
 pron vi aux

"We are going to sleep."

542 **Te** **amo** **na** **one** **oni**
 tee amo na+F ati o- na -ne o- ni
 2PL.S sleep AUX say 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 pron vi aux vt prt

"You sleep."

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

543 *Te amo na one oni*
tee amo na+F ati o- na -ne o- ni
2PL.S sleep AUX say 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
pron vi aux vt prt

"You sleep."

544 *Faya me amo nemetemone fahi me sari*
faya me amo na -hemete -mone fahi me sari
so 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F then 3PL.O burn
conj pron vi aux dem pron 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 fiya tonanike*
o- ati fiya to- 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 hikanabani 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

na -rawa -hemete -mone -ke tani hiri hirawaharo
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 biyoterawabana*
biyo -tee -rawa -bana biyo -tee -rawa -bana
spider monkey HAB F.PL FUT spider monkey HAB F.PL FUT
nf nf

biyoterawabana

biyo -tee -rawa -bana biyo -tee -rawa -bana ati
spider monkey HAB F.PL FUT spider monkey HAB F.PL FUT say
nf nf vt

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- kekerewe 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."

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

564 *Sowiri hatimatamonane*

sowiri hati -himata -mona -ne
penis be burnt FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
pn vi

'His penis was burnt.'

565 *Faya yora kawahare , kana ni*

faya yora ka- na -waharI , kana na.NFIN
so jump COMIT AUX all over run AUX
conj vi aux vi aux

tokematamonaka

to- ka -himata -mona -ka bisa ahi
away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M also then
vi prt dem

'He jumped all around, and went running away.'

566 *Totohiya*

to- to- hiya kerewe remetemone amani bato
DUP CH be different be slow AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F deer
nf vi aux sec nm

karo

karo
which
prt

'He turned into a deer right away.'

567 *Wiso ni tokematamonaka*

wiso na.NFIN to- ka -himata -mona -ka wisiyō
blow AUX away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (sound of deer blowing)
vi aux vi sound

baoo

baoo
(sound of running)
sound

baoo

baoo
(sound of running)
sound

baoo

baoo
(sound of running)
sound

baoo

baoo
(sound of running)
sound

'He went running away blowing, wisiyō, baoo, baoo, baoo.'

568 *Faya biyo*

faya biyo tohiyarawa , me sari
so spider monkey CH be different F.PL 3PL.O burn
conj nf vi pron vt

hikarawa

hi- ka- na -rawa+F to- ka -ma -rawa+F , faya
OC COMIT AUX F.PL away go/come back F.PL so
aux vi conj

tokomarawemetemone

to- ka -ma -rawa -hemete -mone
away go/come back F.PL FP.N+F REP+F
vi

'The ones who had turned into spider monkeys, when they got burnt, went away.'

THE WOOLLY MONKEYS

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 vi

fara me ka yoa kawi ya
 fara me ka yoha ka- waa.NOM+F ya
 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
 vt 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 yome nineke ahi*
 waho wata -hamaro yome na -ne -ke ahi
 tree sp stand FP.E+F swallow AUX CONT+F DECL+F there
 nf 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?'

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (1)

Free Translation

The old man's daughter didn't want him to go far, but he was corageous. He was corageous, and he went out into the forest. He carried a hoe on his shoulder. He went into the forest carrying the hoe on his shoulder.

"Should I cut the jaguar in the face with the hoe? I will cut it in the face."

He went. As he went, he heard something. A jaguar was lying on top of a fallen tree, crying, "Hoo, hoo, hoo, hoo."

"There is a curassow calling. I will shoot the curassow with my blowgun."

He went further, and the jaguar saw him. It saw him, and got up. It stopped crying. It looked for him. The fallen tree was up high. It walked rapidly on top of the fallen tree. The old man quickly threw the blowgun away and grabbed the hoe. He wanted to cut the jaguar's face, but it knocked the hoe away. It grabbed him, along with some branches. The old man went in among some branches. The jaguar broke the branches. The old man went in further, and the jaguar broke the branches. The old man almost got out, but the jaguar broke the branches, which were not strong, and it went after the old man and caught him.

The old man cried out. "Aya, aya, it's going to eat me! Children, it's going to eat me!"

Then the old man died. The jaguar bit into his head, and he died, and it ate him. It ate the old man. When it was finished eating the old man, it went back onto the log and lay there.

The old man's two sons got up early. They came.

"Where is my father?"

"They will go after him," [said the people back at the village].

He didn't call. They called him. "Father."

He didn't call, because the jaguar had eaten him. The jaguar ate him, and he died.

They went back home and slept, and got up early. They came in the morning.

"My father's arrows are there against a tree. Let's look around. My father's arrows are there against a tree." They came upon the arrows.

"You go this way. I will go that way."

They both went. As they were going, it was near them lying on the log with its stomach full. It got up, and went down along the log, and jumped off. It went running away. The place where the old man had been eaten was there.

"A jaguar has eaten my father. That's why he disappeared."

He found his father, who had been eaten.

"The jaguar ate my father. I heard the sound of the jaguar leaving."

They both climbed up into small trees, and stayed there. One was over here, and the other over there. They waited, but it did not come back, because its stomach was full. It went away.

They carried the pieces of him, and buried the pieces. When they arrived back, they buried the pieces of him.

"When you hunt, you walk fast [so that you come back quickly]," [said their mother].

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (1)

Interlinear Presentation

1 *Iti* *bote* *iti* *bote* *mate* *ahi* *iti*
 iti bote iti bote matehe ahi iti
 grandfather old grandfather old children then grandfather
 nm adj nm adj nf dem nm

bote *bite* *hikayawe* *hiwa* *aware* ,
 bote bite hi- ka- yawa+M hiwa awa -ra+M
 old 3SG.POSS.daughter OC COMIT be upset 3SG.REFL.M see NEG
 adj nf vt pron vt

hiwa *awarematamonaka*
 hiwa awa -ra -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.REFL.M see NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt

'The old man's daughter didn't want him to go far, but he was corageous.'

2 *Hiwa* *aware* , *tokematamonaka*
 hiwa awa -ra+M to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.REFL.M see NEG away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt vi

'He was corageous, and he went out into the forest.'

3 *Isata* *isata* *tiwa* *kanematamonaka* *isata*
 isata isata tiwa ka- na -himata -mona -ka isata
 hoe hoe carry COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M hoe
 nm nm vt aux nm

'He carried a hoe on his shoulder.'

4 *Isata* *tiwa* *kane* *toke* *Yome* *yome* *noko* *ka*
 isata tiwa ka- na+M to- ka+M yomee yomee noko kaa
 hoe carry COMIT AUX away go/come jaguar jaguar face+M chop
 nm vt aux vi nm nm pn vt

oribana *ahi* , *isata* *ya* *ahi* ?
 o- na -rI -bana ahi isata ya ahi
 1SG.S AUX raised surface FUT then hoe ADJU then
 aux dem nm prt dem

'He went into the forest carrying the hoe on his shoulder. "Should I cut the jaguar in the face with the hoe?"'

5 *Noko* *ka* *orehibanaka* *ahi*
 noko kaa o- na -rI -hibana -ka ahi
 face+M chop 1SG.S AUX raised surface FUT+M DECL+M then
 pn vt aux dem

'"I will cut it in the face."'

6 *Tokahi* *tokahi* *narabo* *hawimatamona*
 to- ka+M to- ka+M narabo hawi -himata -mona
 away go/come away go/come ear+M work FP.N+M REP+M
 vi vi pn vi

'He went. As he went, he heard something.'

7 *Faya* *yome* *awa* *mese* *ya* *fore* *ohi*
 faya yomee awa mese ya forI ohi
 so jaguar tree surface ADJU lie on top cry
 conj nm nf pn prt vi vi

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (1)

nematamonaka , **Hoo** , **hoo** ,
 na -himata -mona -ka , hoo , hoo ,
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (cry of jaguar) (cry of jaguar)
 aux sound sound
hoo , **hoo** , **hoo** , **hoo** .
 hoo , hoo , hoo , hoo
 (cry of jaguar) (cry of jaguar) (cry of jaguar) (cry of jaguar)
 sound sound sound sound

'A jaguar was lying on top of a fallen tree, crying, "Hoo, hoo, hoo, hoo."'

8 **Mase** **mase** **hi** **naka** .
 mase mase hii na.CONT+M -ka
 curassow curassow (call of curassow) AUX DECL+M
 nm nm vi aux

""There is a curassow calling.""

9 **Mase** **okaraboamatibeya** **ahi** .
 mase o- karaboha -mata -be -ya ahi
 curassow 1SG.S shoot with blowgun short time IMMED+F now there
 nm vt dem

""I will shoot the curassow with my blowgun.""

10 **Tokematamonaka** .
 to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He went further.'

11 **Toke** , **toke** , **fe** **awematamonaka** .
 to- ka+M , to- ka+M , fee awa -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come away go/come 3SG.O see FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi pron vt

'He went further, and it saw him.'

12 **Fe** **aweno** **waremise** ,
 fee awa -hino waa -rI -misa+M
 3SG.O see IP.N+M stand raised surface up
 pron vt vi

waremisematamona .
 waa -rI -misa -himata -mona
 stand raised surface up FP.N+M REP+M
 vi

'It saw him, and stood up.'

13 **Waremise** **hi** **ni** **fawa** **ne**
 waa -rI -misa+M hii na.NFIN fawa na+M
 stand raised surface up (call of curassow) AUX stop AUX
 vi vi aux vi aux

tabiyo **yama** **ki** **ne** **awa** **awa** **kaya** **nemetemoneke**
 tabiyo yama kii na+M awa awa kaya na -hemete -mone -ke
 absence thing look at AUX tree tree lie AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pn nf vt aux nf nf vi aux

neme **ya** **ahi** .
 neme ya ahi
 up ADJU there
 nf prt dem

'It stood up. It stopped crying. He looked for it. The fallen tree was up high.'

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (1)

14 *Awa kaya na ya berebere*
 awa kaya na+F ya bere- bere
 tree lie AUX ADJU DUP be across
 nf vi aux prt vi

kawematamonaka ahi
 ka- na -waha -himata -mona -ka ahi
 COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'It walked rapidly on top of the fallen tree.'

15 *Iti bote karaboa koro kabote ne karaboa*
 iti bote karaboha koro na -kabote na+M karaboha
 grandfather old blowgun throw AUX quickly AUX blowgun
 nm adj nf vt aux aux nf

isata tama kane isata ya ka
 isata tama ka- na+M isata ya kaa
 hoe hold onto COMIT AUX hoe ADJU chop
 nm vt aux nm prt vt

hirebona he kahitimatamonaka
 hi- na -rI -hibona hee kahiti -himata -mona -ka
 OC AUX raised surface INT+M 3SG.O take first FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux pron vt

'The old man quickly threw the blowgun away and grabbed the hoe. He wanted to cut the jaguar's face, but it knocked the hoe away.'

16 *He kawatematamona awa ini ya*
 hee ka- wata -himata -mona awa ini ya
 3SG.O COMIT catch FP.N+M REP+M tree branch+F ADJU
 pron vt nf pn prt

'It grabbed him with branches.'

17 *Awa ini ya he kawatematamona fahi*
 awa ini ya hee ka- wata -himata -mona fahi
 tree branch+F ADJU 3SG.O COMIT catch FP.N+M REP+M then
 nf pn prt pron vt dem

'It grabbed him with branches.'

18 *Kawate iti bote iti bote*
 ka- wata+M iti bote iti bote
 COMIT catch grandfather old grandfather old
 vt nm adj nm adj

tokiyomematamonaka awa ini boti ya
 to- ka -yoma -himata -mona -ka awa ini boti ya
 away go/come through FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M tree branch+F inside ADJU
 vi nf pn pn prt

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'It grabbed him. The old man went in among some branches.'

19 *Yome awa ini awa ini baka nematamona*
 yomee awa ini awa ini baka na -himata -mona
 jaguar tree branch+F tree branch+F break AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm nf pn nf pn vt aux

'The jaguar broke the branches.'

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (1)

20 *Awa ini baka ne iti bote tokiyomawite*
 awa ini baka na+M iti bote to- ka -yoma -witI
 tree branch+F break AUX grandfather old away go/come through out
 nf pn vt aux nm adj vi

, *awa ini yome baka nematamona*
 awa ini yomee baka na -himata -mona
 tree branch+F jaguar break AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nf pn nm vt aux

'It broke the branches. The old man went in further, and the jaguar broke the branches.'

21 *Awa ini yome baka ne faya tasi tona*
 awa ini yomee baka na+M faya tasi to- na
 tree branch+F jaguar break AUX so emerge CH AUX
 nf pn nm vt aux conj vi aux

kanehina tasi tonehinaha tasi tonehinaha
 ka- na -hina tasi to- na -hina -ha tasi to- na -hina -ha
 COMIT AUX IRR+M emerge CH AUX IRR+M DUP emerge CH AUX IRR+M DUP
 aux vi aux vi aux

yome awa ini kitara ini baka kanihi
 yomee awa ini kita -ra+F ini baka ka- niha- na+M
 jaguar tree branch+F be strong NEG branch+F break COMIT CAUS AUX
 nm nf pn vi pn vt aux

, *tokomake tonamakehite iti*
 to- ka -makI to- na -makI -hitI iti
 away go/come following away AUX following along the way grandfather
 vi aux

bote watematamonaka
 bote wata -himata -mona -ka
 old catch FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 adj vt

'The jaguar broke the branches. The old man almost got out, but the jaguar broke the branches, which were not strong, and it went after the old man and caught him.'

22 *Iti bote kiya kanematamonaka*
 iti bote kiya ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 grandfather old yell COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm adj vi aux

'The old man cried out.'

23 *Aya aya yama owa kabibone*
 aya aya yama owa kaba.NOM+F -bone
 (expression of pain) (expression of pain) thing 1SG.O eat INT+F
 interj interj nf pron vt

'"Aya, aya, it's going to eat me!"'

24 *Yama owa kabibonehe matehe*
 yama owa kaba.NOM+F -bone -he matehe
 thing 1SG.O eat INT+F DUP children
 nf pron vt nf

'"Children, it's going to eat me!"'

25 *Faya iti bote abematamonaka fahi*
 faya iti bote ahaba -himata -mona -ka fahi
 so grandfather old die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj nm adj vi dem

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (1)

'Then the old man died.'

26 *Yome tati yaki hire , ahaba , faya ,*
 yomee tati yaki hi- na -rI , ahaba.LIST , faya
 jaguar head bite into OC AUX raised surface die so
 nm pn vt aux vi conj
he kabebanoho
 hee kaba -hiba -no -ho
 3SG.O eat FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 pron vt

'The jaguar bit into his head, and he died, and it ate him.'

27 *Faya iti bote kabematamona fahi .*
 faya iti bote kaba -himata -mona fahi
 so grandfather old eat FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj nm adj vt dem

'It ate the old man.'

28 *Iti bote kabe , iti bote kabi ahabe*
 iti bote kaba+M , iti bote kaba.NFIN ahaba.NOM+M
 grandfather old eat grandfather old eat end
 nm adj vt nm adj vt vi

ya tokomisame ya toforimisama ,
 ya to- ka -misa -ma.NOM+M ya to- forI -misa -ma.LIST ,
 ADJU away go/come up back ADJU away lie on top up back
 prt vi prt vi

faya iti bote , biti me bosa
 faya iti bote , biti me bosa
 so grandfather old 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S get up early
 conj nm adj nm pron vi

kanemetemoneke
 ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'It ate the old man. When it was finished eating the old man, it went back onto the log and lay there. The old man's two sons got up early.'

29 *Biti me bosa na me kake me*
 biti me bosa na+F me ka -kI me
 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S get up early AUX 3PL.S go/come coming 3PL.S
 nm pron vi aux pron vi pron

Hibaka okobi toahi ?
 hibaka o- ka abi to- ha+M
 where 1SG.POSS POSS father CH be
 interrog nm vc

'His sons got up early. They came. "Where is my father?"'

30 *Me hinakamakibe .*
 me hi- to- na- ka -makI -be
 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following IMMED+F
 pron vt

'"They will go after him."'

31 *Ha re me ha hine , me ha*
 haa na -ra+M me haa hi- na+M , me haa
 call AUX NEG 3PL.S call OC AUX 3PL.S call
 vi aux pron vt aux pron vt

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (1)

hinematamonaka

hi- na -himata -mona -ka
 OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'He didn't call. They called him.'

32 *Me ha hine , Abi*
 me haa hi- na+M , abi
 3PL.S call OC AUX father
 pron vt aux nm

'They called him. "Father."'

33 *Ha rematamonaka yome hikabari*
 haa na -ra -himata -mona -ka yomee hi- kaba -haari
 call AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M jaguar OC eat IP.E+M
 vi aux nm vt

'He didn't call, because the jaguar had eaten him.'

34 *Yome hikabe abe , faya me tokoma me*
 yomee hi- kaba+M ahaba+M , faya me to- ka -ma+F me
 jaguar OC eat die so 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S
 nm vt vi conj pron vi pron

amo tonama me bosa nemetemone
 amo to- na -ma+F me bosa na -hemete -mone
 sleep away AUX back 3PL.S get up early AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vi aux pron vi aux

'The jaguar ate him, and he died. They went back home and slept, and got up early.'

35 *Me amo na me bosa na me ,*
 me amo na+F me bosa na+F me
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S get up early AUX 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron vi aux pron

kakemina me , Okobi ka wati
 ka -kI -mina+F me o- ka abi ka wati
 go/come coming morning 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS father POSS arrow
 vi pron nm prt nm

kawaka hari
 ka- waa -ka haari
 COMMIT stand DECL+M that one+M
 vi dem

'They slept, and got up early. They came in the morning. "My father's arrows are there against a tree."'

36 *Okobi ka wati kawa hari*
 o- ka abi ka wati ka- waa.CONT+M haari
 1SG.POSS POSS father POSS arrow COMMIT stand that one+M
 nm prt nm vi dem

'"My father's arrows are there against a tree."'

37 *Yama e sisiba nahi*
 yama ee si- siba na -hi
 thing 1IN.S DUP look for AUX IMP+F
 nf pron vt aux

'"Let's look around."'

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (1)

45 *Okobi*
 o- ka abi yome kabe ama nanoho
 1SG.POSS POSS father jaguar eat be AUX IP.N+M DUP
 nm vt vc aux

"A jaguar has eaten my father."

46 *Okobi*
 o- ka abi yome kabenoho
 1SG.POSS POSS father jaguar eat IP.N+M DUP
 nm nm vt

"The jaguar has eaten my father."

47 *E* *namako* *fawa* *na*
 ee na -mako fawa na.CONT+M
 be similar AUX for this reason+M disappear AUX
 vi aux vi aux

nanoho
 na.NOM+M -no -ho
 AUX IP.N+M DUP
 aux

"That's why he disappeared."

48 *Faya bati* *wasi bati* *kabi wasi*
 faya bati wasi+M bati kaba.NFIN wasi+M
 so 3SG.POSS.father find 3SG.POSS.father eat find
 conj nm vt nm result vt

Okobi
 o- ka abi yome kabakeno
 1SG.POSS POSS father jaguar eat DECL IP.N+M
 nm nm vt

'He found his father. He found his father, who had been eaten. "The jaguar ate my father."

49 *Yome moni tokareka* *ahi yome moni*
 yomee moni to- ka -hare -ka ahi yomee moni
 jaguar sound away go/come IP.E+M DECL+M then jaguar sound
 nm pn vi dem nm pn

omitari
 o- mita -haari
 1SG.S hear IP.E+M
 vt

"I heard the sound of the jaguar leaving."

50 *Faya me ka abi me* , *faya me towakimisa*
 faya me ka abi me faya me to- ka- ka -misa+F
 so 3PL POSS father 3PL so 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come up
 conj pron prt nm pron conj pron vi

me yoro nare , *me aya owa ware*
 me yoro na -rI me aya owa waa -rI.LIST
 3PL.S stay AUX raised surface 3PL.S here one+M stand raised surface
 pron vi aux pron dem adj vi

aya owa ware *nematamonaka*
 aya owa waa -rI.LIST na -himata -mona -ka
 here one+M stand raised surface AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 dem adj vi aux

'They both climbed up into small trees, and stayed there. One was over here, and the other over there.'

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (1)

51 *Yama me noki na me kamarematamonaka*
 yama me noki na+F me ka -ma -ra -himata -mona -ka
 thing 3PL.S wait for AUX 3PL.S go/come back NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf pron vt aux pron vi

nabati nafi karo
 nabati nafi.NOM karo
 stomach be big because
 pn vi prt

'They waited, but it did not come back, because its stomach was full.'

52 *Nabati nafi ka kamarematamonane*
 nabati nafi.NOM ka ka -ma -ra -himata -mona -ne
 stomach be big because go/come back NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 pn vi prt vi

'It did not come back because its stomach was full.'

53 *Tokematamonaka*
 to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'It went away.'

54 *Toke ya faya me kote me tiwa hikane*
 to- ka.NOM+M ya , faya me , kote me tiwa hi- ka- na+M
 away go/come ADJU so 3PL piece 3PL.S carry OC COMIT AUX
 vi prt conj pron pn pron vt aux

, *kote me hikamomatamona*
 kote me hi- kamo -himata -mona
 piece 3PL.S OC bury FP.N+M REP+M
 pn pron vt

'It went away. They carried the pieces of him, and buried the pieces.'

55 *Kote me tiwa hikanematamonaka*
 kote me tiwa hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 piece 3PL.S carry OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pn pron vt aux

'They carried the pieces of him.'

56 *Kote me tiwa hikane me kobo tonama*
 kote me tiwa hi- ka- na+M , me kobo to- na -ma+F
 piece 3PL.S carry OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S arrive away AUX back
 pn pron vt aux pron vi aux

faya kote me hikamomatamonaha
 faya kote me hi- kamo -himata -mona -ha
 so piece 3PL.S OC bury FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 conj pn pron vt

'They carried the pieces of him. When they arrived back, they buried the pieces of him.'

57 *Kote me hikamo me Yama te yete na te*
 kote me hi- kamo+M , me yama tee yete na+F tee
 piece 3PL.S OC bury 3PL forest 2PL.S hunt AUX 2PL.S
 pn pron vt pron nf pron vt aux pron

kitakita raba nofara teni
 kita- kita na -raba na nofa -ra+F tee -ni
 DUP be strong AUX a bit AUX recently NEG 2PL.S BKG+F
 vi aux prt pron

'They buried the pieces of him. "When you hunt, you are fast."'

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (1)

THE JAGUARS ATE THE GIRLS

Free Translation

It was her future sister-in-law. She called her future sister-in-law to go out. It was *bihi*. It was *bihi* palm leaves, to be weaved [into fans].

"Sister-in-law, let's all go together."

"My mother won't let me."

"Let's go together and play all over. We aren't men. We are all women. When we have gone and picked the *bihi* leaves and brought back the *bihi* leaves, my mother and the others will weave them."

"Your sister-in-law is calling you to go with her. Go with your sister-in-law. If you don't go, she won't call you anymore," her mother said.

Her sister-in-law called her, and they went. They went out into the forest. They picked *bihi* leaves. They picked *bihi* leaves as they came back. They came back picking *bihi* leaves. As they were coming back picking *bihi* leaves, she found some *bihi* fruits and cut the bunch off. She cut off the bunch of *bihi* fruits, and was holding it in her hand. She picked *bihi* leaves and carried them on her shoulder. She came holding the bunch of *bihi* fruits in her hand.

"Are you finished?"

"Yes, we are finished. Let's go. Let's not separate the *bihi* leaves into strips, let's take the *bihi* leaves home."

She wanted to give her *bihi* fruits to her mother. Her sisters-in-law played a joke on her and ate the *bihi* fruits.

She was upset because they ate them. "You are eating the *bihi* fruits that are for my mother."

They didn't pay any attention to what she was saying. They pulled off the *bihi* fruits. They ate the *bihi* fruits, cracking them in their mouths.

"You go ahead and stay here. Go ahead and eat them."

"Go ahead, let her be mad. Hehei. Look at her, she's mad."

She went back mad. She went back. They were left behind running after each other. Their voices came to her and she stopped to listen. Their voices could be heard. She went on.

While the girls were playing, the jaguars were also playing. There were two logs across the trail, and the two jaguars were on top of them playing. "Ooo," the male was playing with its mate.

She saw them and left and came back. She came running back.

"Someone is coming. Someone is coming," they said.

"Don't say 'Someone's coming.' Let's go this way. There are jaguars playing. There are jaguars playing on our trail. Let's go the other way. We will come out on the other side of them."

"She is lying. She's saying that because she saw her boyfriend," they said. "She is coming here saying that because she saw her boyfriend who had come after her."

"That's enough talk. I am telling you to come with me, and you aren't listening. There are jaguars playing there. I am not fooling you. There are jaguars playing on the trail. They are playing on top of two logs on the trail."

"She is coming saying that because she saw her boyfriend," they said.

They came singing.

"Go ahead back singing."

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She was behind them as they went back. As they went, there was noise, "Kisiririri, toko [sounds of moving leaves, and of jaguars' paws hitting flesh]."

"Aya, aya," they said, yelling out. As they were yelling, the jaguar killed them. The jaguar killed them and they screamed.

She came. She was wearing cotton twine adornments, and she undid the cotton and wrapped it around her feet. It was a *baro* tree. She climbed up the *baro*, which was this thick [thick enough to be strong, but thin enough to climb]. She climbed up.

The jaguars ate her sisters-in-law. She looked down as she heard them eating.

"They wouldn't listen to me."

She waited until their stomachs were full, then she called out. The sun went down. She was afraid as the sun went down. "What am I going to do? Where can I go? I'm going to call out," she said. "I think they are full now. I think their stomachs are full."

Her older brother was making arrow poison. He ground the *iha* in the mortar. He stirred the poison. He dried the arrow points. He put more poison on the arrow points. The arrow points were dry. The dart points were dry, too.

The sun was going down. When the sun was going down, he went to urinate. He went, and untied his penis. He stood urinating.

"Heei," someone said. It was her calling. She was calling, and her older brother heard her calling.

"Mother, Mother, someone is calling there, where my sister went with the others," he said.

"Go look at my daughter."

"Wait." He went. He put the arrow points in the sheath. He hung up the darts and went.

"I'm going to take a look at them. Let's go together. Come along."

The two of them went.

"Hee," she said.

He called out. "Just let her call," he said, and they went.

They went on. "Someone is calling up there. I think she is standing up there in a tree."

As her calling could be heard, they came. The two jaguars were sitting eating. They were eating the bellies. They were eating their bellies, the girls' bellies. They were sitting eating the girls' bellies. They were full. They had eaten their livers, their intestines, the fat of their intestines.

He came to where they were sitting eating. The jaguar looked. It looked at him as he appeared. It was sitting eating. It got up quickly. He quickly pulled out an arrow. The other one behind him pulled out an arrow, too. They charged them, and they shot them with arrows.

The jaguar was full. It was staggering. It went a ways and collapsed. The other one shot the other one, and it went a ways and collapsed. They each killed one. They died.

"Sister."

"Brother, Brother," she said.

"What?"

"Is it you?"

"Yes, it's me."

"Is it really you?"

"It's really me. Come down."

So his sister came down. She thought her brother was someone else. She looked at her brother, holding on up there. "Oh, it's my brother." She came down.

The one who was with him was standing a ways away, his brother-in-law. She came down.

"Brother, they wouldn't listen to me, and the jaguars ate them."

She cried. She could be heard crying. "I was coming back. I was holding *bihi* fruits in my

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hand for my mother, and they took them from me and made me mad, so I came back. As I was coming back, I came upon the jaguars here. I came upon them playing, their log is across the path here. They are lying there by their log."

Then she cried. She could be heard crying. "I went back there. I wanted for us to go away, but they wouldn't listen to me. They came singing here. They came along singing. Now there is no more work for them to do."

"Come on, you go first."

The two jaguars were lying there. They left them lying on the ground.

"Come on, you two go on first."

So they came back. She was crying for her sisters-in-law along the way. She came back crying. They arrived back. She was crying.

When the mothers heard about their children, they cried, all of them. "Aya, my daughter, my daughter," they said, crying.

"I wanted to spare them. They refused. They almost caused me misfortune. I came upon the jaguars playing," she said, crying. She was crying while she talked. "They said I was fooling them. They said some men were coming after us. I went running. I wanted to take them, but they refused. They passed by me, and the jaguars killed them. I came on behind them, and I climbed a tree. I climbed the tree and heard them eating as I sat there. After the sun was setting I started calling out. I started calling out when the sun was going down."

"Your brother heard you calling when he went to urinate. I sent your brother and he went, and he shot the jaguar with an arrow."

"There were two of them. The two of them shot the two of them with arrows, and they are lying on the ground."

Then they cried. They got up early to go after their bones. They got up early because of them. They carried them in their own hammocks. They buried them, all of them. They cried. One of them remembered her daughter, and she cried, missing her daughter. They cried. They stopped crying, and slept. They remembered them again.

"The women will not go out in the forest anymore."

The girls were true jaguar food.

Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Nakiribone</i> nakiri 3SG.POSS.brother's wife nf	-bone INT+F	,	<i>fara</i> fara same+F dem	<i>amake</i> ama -ke be DECL+F vc	.
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'It was her future sister-in-law, that's it.'

2	<i>Nakiribonehe</i> nakiri 3SG.POSS.brother's wife nf	-bone -he INT+F DUP	,	<i>nakiribonehe</i> nakiri 3SG.POSS.brother's wife nf	-bone -he INT+F DUP
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<i>hima</i> hima call to go vt	<i>nemetemone</i> na -hemete -mone AUX FP.N+F REP+F aux	.
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'She called her future sister-in-law to go out.'

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3 *Nakiribone* *hima* *na* *bi* ,
 nakiri -bone hima na+F bihi ,
 3SG.POSS.brother's wife INT+F call to go AUX palm sp
 nf vt aux nf

bimetemoneke *bihi* *bi* *kowa* *kowahabonehe* ,
 bihi -mete -mone -ke bihi bihi kowa kowa -habone -he ,
 palm sp FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F palm sp palm sp weave weave INT+F DUP
 nf nf nf vt result

bi *kowahabonehe* .
 bihi kowa -habone -he
 palm sp weave INT+F DUP
 nf result

'She called her future sister-in-law to go out. It was *bihi*. It was *bihi* palm leaves, to be weaved.'

4 *Naki* *naki* *e* *e* *tabahi* .
 naki naki ee ee taba -hi
 brother's wife brother's wife 1IN 1IN.S be together IMP+F
 nf nf pron pron vi

""Sister-in-law, let's all go together.""

5 *E* *tabahi* *mata* .
 ee taba -hi mata
 1IN.S be together IMP+F for now
 pron vi prt

""Let's all go together.""

6 *E* *tabibeya* .
 ee taba -be -ya
 1IN.S be together IMMED+F now
 pron vi

""Let's all go together.""

7 *Okomi* *owa* *kayawi* *nofa* .
 o- ka ami owa ka- yawa nofa+F
 1SG.POSS POSS mother 1SG.O COMMIT be upset recently
 nf pron vt prt

""My mother won't let me.""

8 *E* *tabi* *ya* *e* *abe* *siwa* *ni*
 ee taba.NOM+F ya ee abe siwa niha- na
 1IN.S be together ADJU 1IN.POSS RECIP play CAUS AUX
 pron vi prt pron pn vi aux

nawahareraba *eni* .
 na -wahaI -ra -haba ee -ni
 AUX all over NEG FUT+F 1IN.POSS BKG+F
 aux pron

""Let's go together, we won't play all over.""

9 *Maki* *me* *e* *amakarene* .
 maki me ee ama -ka -re -ne
 male 3PL.COMPL 1IN.S be DECL NEG+F IRR+F
 nm pron pron vc

""We aren't men.""

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10 *Maki me e amarini*
 maki me ee ama -ra -ni
 male 3PL.COMPL 1IN.S be NEG BKG+F
 nm pron pron vc

"We aren't men."

11 *Fana hinama e toharawarake haro*
 fana hinama ee to- ha -rawa -hara -ke haaro
 female all 1IN.S CH be F.PL IP.E+F DECL+F that one+F
 nf adj pron vc dem

"We are all women."

12 *E tokomakeharo e tokomake*
 ee to- ka -makI -haaro ee to- ka -makI
 1IN.S away go/come following PFUT+F 1IN.S away go/come following
 pron vi pron vi

bi e hose naro bi e hose na
 bihi ee hose na -haaro bihi ee hose na+F
 palm sp 1IN.S pull out AUX PFUT+F palm sp 1IN.S pull out AUX
 nf pron vt aux nf pron vt aux

bi kakamaro bi okomi
 bihi ka- ka -ma -haaro bihi o- ka ami
 palm sp COMIT go/come back PFUT+F palm sp 1SG.POSS POSS mother
 nf result nf nf

hikowarawaba hikowarawabanani
 hi- kowa -rawa -haba hi- kowa -rawa -habana -ni
 OC weave F.PL FUT+F OC weave F.PL FUT+F BKG+F
 vt vt

"When we have gone and picked the *bihi* leaves and brought back the *bihi* leaves, my mother and the others will weave them."

13 *Naki tiwa hima na ati amani*
 naki tiwa hima na+F ati ama -ni
 2SG.POSS.brother's wife 2SG.O call to go AUX voice be BKG+F
 nf pron vt aux pn vc

"Your sister-in-law is calling you to go with her."

14 *Naki te famahi*
 naki tee fama -hi
 2SG.POSS.brother's wife 2PL.S be two IMP+F
 nf pron vi

"Go with your sister-in-law."

15 *Naki te famahi*
 naki tee fama -hi
 2SG.POSS.brother's wife 2PL.S be two IMP+F
 nf pron vi

"Go with your sister-in-law."

16 *Naki naki tiwa hima*
 naki naki tiwa hima
 2SG.POSS.brother's wife 2SG.POSS.brother's wife 2SG.O call to go
 nf nf pron vt

na ati amani
 na+F ati ama -ni
 AUX voice be BKG+F
 aux pn vc

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"Your sister-in-law is calling you to go with her."

17 *Ati tinahabihariyahi*
 ati ti- na- ahaba -ra -yahi
 voice 2SG.S CAUS end NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pn vt

"If you don't go, she won't call you anymore."

18 *Nakiri hima hinaha nakiri*
 nakiri hima hi- na+F nakiri
 3SG.POSS.brother's wife call to go OC AUX 3SG.POSS.brother's wife
 nf vt aux nf

me sawiha me sawihemetemoneke
 me sawi+F me sawi -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S be present 3PL.S be present FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi pron vi

'Her sister-in-law called her, and they went.'

19 *Me toka me tokemetemoneke*
 me to- ka+F me to- ka -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi pron vi

'They went out into the forest.'

20 *Me tokomaketemoneke*
 me to- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They went.'

21 *Me tokomake me me tokomake*
 me to- ka -makI me me to- ka -makI
 3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come following
 pron vi pron pron vi

me me tokomake bihi me hose
 me me to- ka -makI bihi me hose
 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come following palm sp 3PL.S pull out
 pron pron vi nf pron vt

nemetemoneke
 na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'They went. They picked *bihi* leaves.'

22 *Bi me hose namahite bi me hose*
 bihi me hose na -ma -hitI bihi me hose
 palm sp 3PL.S pull out AUX back along the way palm sp 3PL.S pull out
 nf pron vt aux

ni kama bi me hose namakia
 na.NFIN ka -ma+F bihi me hose na -makI+F
 AUX go/come back palm sp 3PL.S pull out AUX following
 aux vi nf pron vt aux

bi boni bi boni watawa toaha watawa
 bihi boni bihi boni watawa to- ha+F watawa
 palm sp fruit+F palm sp fruit+F bihi fruit CH be bihi fruit
 nf pn nf pn nm vc nm

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watawa wasiha watawa , watawa ti
 watawa wasi+F watawa watawa tii
 bihi fruit find bihi fruit bihi fruit cut through
 nm vt nm nm vt

nakosemetemoneke

na -kosa -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX middle FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'They picked *bihi* leaves as they came back. They came back picking *bihi* leaves. As they were coming back picking *bihi* leaves, she found some *bihi* fruits and cut the bunch off.'

23 **Watawa ti nakosa , watawa ti**
 watawa tii na -kosa+F watawa tii
 bihi fruit cut through AUX middle bihi fruit cut through
 nm vt aux nm vt

nakosa watawa tama na , bi hose na bi
 na -kosa+F watawa tama na+F bihi hose na+F bihi
 AUX middle bihi fruit hold onto AUX palm sp pull out AUX palm sp
 aux nm vt aux nf vt aux nf

tiwa kana , watawa tama ni kamakia me
 tiwa ka- na+F watawa tama na.NFIN ka -makI+F me
 carry COMMIT AUX bihi fruit hold onto AUX go/come following 3PL
 vt aux nm vt aux vi pron

Te hawa tohini ?
 tee hawa to- ha -ni
 2PL.S be finished away AUX BKG+F
 pron vi aux

'She cut off the bunch of *bihi* fruits, and was holding it in her hand. She picked *bihi* leaves and carried them on her shoulder. She came holding the bunch of *bihi* fruits in her hand. "Are you finished?"'

24 **Ee ota hawa toha otani**
 ee otaa hawa to- ha+F otaa -ni
 yes 1EX.S be finished CH AUX 1EX.S BKG+F
 interj pron vi aux pron

""Yes, we are finished.""

25 **Ota hawa toha otani**
 otaa hawa to- ha+F otaa -ni
 1EX.S be finished CH AUX 1EX.S BKG+F
 pron vi aux pron

""We are finished.""

26 **Ota , hima**
 otaa hima
 1EX let's go
 pron interj

""Let's go.""

27 **Bi e sisi namatara bi e**
 bihi ee si- sii na -mata -ra+F bihi ee
 palm sp 1IN.S DUP pull off AUX short time NEG palm sp 1IN.S
 nf pron vt aux nf pron

towakamabanakene
 to- ka- ka -ma -habana -ke -ne
 away COMMIT go/come back FUT+F DECL+F IRR+F
 vt

""Let's not separate the *bihi* leaves into strips, let's take the *bihi* leaves home.""

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28 *Ee* *hinaka* *watawa* , *mati* *ka* *mati*
 ee hinaka watawa , mati ka mati
 (pause) 3SG.POSS bihi fruit 3SG.POSS.mother POSS 3SG.POSS.mother
 interj pron nm nf prt nf

ka *watawabonaha* , *nakiri*
 ka watawa -bona -ha , nakiri
 POSS bihi fruit INT+M DUP 3SG.POSS.brother's wife
 prt nm nf

nakiri *siwa* *hiniharawa* *nakiri*
 nakiri siwa hi- niha- na -rawa+F nakiri
 3SG.POSS.brother's wife play OC CAUS AUX F.PL 3SG.POSS.brother's wife
 nf vi aux nf

watawa *kaba* , *kabarawaha* *ihi* ,
 watawa kaba+F , kaba -rawa -ha ihi
 bihi fruit eat eat F.PL DUP because of+F
 nm vt vt post

yawehemetemoneni
 yawa -hemete -mone -ni
 be upset FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi

'She wanted to give her *bihi* fruits to her mother. Her sisters-in-law played a joke on her and ate the *bihi* fruits. She was upset because they ate them.'

29 *Okomi* *ka* *okomi* *ka* *watawabona*
 o- ka ami ka o- ka ami ka watawa -bona
 1SG.POSS POSS mother POSS 1SG.POSS POSS mother POSS bihi fruit INT+M
 nf prt nf prt nm

, *okomi* *ka* *watawabona* *te* *kabineni*
 o- ka ami ka watawa -bona tee kaba -ne -ni
 1SG.POSS POSS mother POSS bihi fruit INT+M 2PL.S eat CONT+F BKG+F
 nf prt nm pron vt

"You are eating the *bihi* fruits that are for my mother."

30 *Okomi* , *okomi* *ati* *me* *aima*
 o- ka ami o- ka ami ati me aima
 1SG.POSS POSS mother 1SG.POSS POSS mother voice 3PL.S ignore
 nf prt nf pn pron vt

hine *watawa* *me* *watawa* *me* *hose*
 hi- na+M watawa me watawa me hose
 OC AUX bihi fruit 3PL bihi fruit 3PL.S pull out
 aux nm pron nm pron vt

nemetemoneke
 na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'They didn't pay any attention to what she was saying. They pulled off the *bihi* fruits.'

31 *Watawa* *me* *hose* *nemetemoneke*
 watawa me hose na -hemete -mone -ke
 bihi fruit 3PL.S pull out AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron vt aux

'They pulled off the *bihi* fruits.'

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32 *Watawa me wakara na watawa me*
 watawa me wakara na+F watawa me
 bihi fruit 3PL.S eat cracking AUX bihi fruit 3PL.S
 nm pron vt aux nm pron

kabehemetemoneke

kaba -hemete -mone -ke
 eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'They ate the *bihi* fruits, cracking them in their mouths.'

33 *Watawa me kaba me , Te nahoyahi ahi*
 watawa me kaba+F me , tee naho -yahi ahi
 bihi fruit 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 2PL.S stand DIST.IMP+F here
 nm pron vt pron pron vi dem

'They ate the *bihi* fruits. "You go ahead and stay here."'

34 *Te kabaho*
 tee kaba -ho
 2PL.S eat IMP+M
 pron vt

"Go ahead and eat them."

35 *Hine yawa na hehei*
 hine yawa na hehei
 only be upset AUX (exclamation of children playing)
 pron vi aux interj

"Go ahead, let her be mad. Hehei."

36 *Yama yawaha te awa haro*
 yama yawa+F tee awa haaro
 thing be upset 2PL.S see that one+F
 nf vi pron vt dem

"Look at her, she's mad."

37 *Yawa towakame , yawa*
 yawa to- ka- ka -ma+M yawa
 anger away COMIT go/come back anger
 nf vt nf

towakamemetemoneke

to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'She went back mad.'

38 *Yawa towakama tokoma , tokoma*
 yawa to- ka- ka -ma+F to- ka -ma+F , to- ka -ma+F
 anger away COMIT go/come back away go/come back away go/come back
 nf vt vi vi

tokomemetemoneke

to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'She went back mad.'

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39 *Tokoma* , *tokoma* *tokoma* *me*
 to- ka -ma+F , to- ka -ma+F to- ka -ma+F me
 away go/come back away go/come back away go/come back 3PL.POSS
 vi vi vi pron

abe *kiyoha* *me* *tonokosa* *me* *ati* *koro*
 abe kiyof+F me to- naho -kosa+F me ati koro
 RECIP chase 3PL.S CH stand middle 3PL.POSS voice be heard
 pn vt pron vi pron pn vi

namakia *me* *ati* , *yama* *mimita* *nemetemone*
 na -makI+F me ati , yama mi- mita na -hemete -mone
 AUX following 3PL.POSS voice thing DUP hear AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 aux pron pn nf vt aux

'She went back. They were left behind running after each other. Their voices came to her and she stopped to listen.'

40 *Me* *ati* *saiha* *tokoma* *tokoma*
 me ati sai+F to- ka -ma+F to- ka -ma+F
 3PL.POSS voice be heard away go/come back away go/come back
 pron pn vi vi vi

tokometemoneke
 to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'Their voices could be heard. She went on.'

41 *Yama* , *me fanawi* *siwa* *narawi* *ya* *me* *siwa*
 yama , me fanawi siwa na -rawa.NOM+F ya me siwa
 thing women play AUX F.PL ADJU 3PL.S play
 nf nf vi aux prt pron vi

nemetemone *yome* *mati*
 na -hemete -mone yomee mati
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F jaguar 3PL
 aux nm pron

'While the girls were playing, the jaguars were also playing.'

42 *Awa* , *awa bere* *nikima* , *mese* *ya* *me* *yoroyoro*
 awa , awa bere na -kima+F , mese ya me yoro
 tree tree be across AUX two surface ADJU 3PL.S stay
 nf nf vi aux pn prt pron vi

nare *me* *siwa* *nemetemoneni*
 na -rI me siwa na -hemete -mone -ni
 AUX raised surface 3PL.S play AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 aux pron vi aux

'There were two logs across the trail, and the two jaguars were on top of them playing.'

43 *Ooo* , *fati* *siwa*
 ooo , fati siwa
 (purring of jaguar) 3SG.POSS.wife play
 sound nf vi

nimatamonaka *fati*
 niha- na -himata -mona -ka fati
 CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS.wife
 aux nf

'"Ooo," the male was playing with its mate.'

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51 *E toka ahi*
 ee to- ka ahi
 1IN.S away go/come there
 pron vi dem

"Let's go the other way."

52 *E tasi tobe ahi*
 ee tasi to- na -be ahi
 1IN.S emerge CH AUX IMMED+F there
 pron vi aux dem

"We will come out on the other side of them."

53 *Keye hiri nane*
 keye hiri na -ne
 lie say AUX BKG+M
 nf vt aux

"She is lying."

54 *Keye hiri nane*
 keye hiri na -ne
 lie say AUX BKG+M
 nf vt aux

"She is lying."

55 *Ee efe tabiyo hiyawe ehene*
 ee , efe tabiyo hi- yawa+M ehene ,
 (pause) this+M absence OC be upset because of+M
 interj dem pn vi post

makibonaha makibonaha awanihi
 maki -bona -ha , maki -bona -ha awa -hani -hi
 3SG.POSS.husband INT+M DUP 3SG.POSS.husband INT+M DUP see IP.N+F DUP
 nm nm vt

ati amani ati narawemetemoneke
 ati ama -ni , ati na -rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 voice be BKG+F say AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pn vc vt aux

"She's saying that because she saw her boyfriend," they said.'

56 *Maki he nakamakenoho awani*
 maki hee na- ka -makI -hino -ho awa -hani
 3SG.POSS.husband 3SG.O CAUS go/come following IP.N+M DUP see IP.N+F
 nm pron vt vt

ati kakamineneni
 ati ka- ka -ma -ne -ni
 voice COMMIT go/come back CONT+F BKG+F
 pn vt

"She is coming here saying that because she saw her boyfriend who had come after her."

57 *Te ati fe na fahi*
 tee ati fee na fahi
 2PL.POSS voice 3SG exist then
 pron pn pron vi dem

"That's enough talk."

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58 *Te* *ati* *fe* *na* *fahi*
 tee ati fee na fahi
 2PL.POSS voice 3SG exist then
 pron pn pron vi dem

"That's enough talk."

59 *Tera* *hima* *onaha* *owati* *te*
 tera hima o- na+F o- ati tee
 2PL.O call to go 1SG.S AUX 1SG.POSS voice 2PL.S
 pron vt aux pn pron

kasawarineni

ka- sawari -ne -ni
 COMIT frustrate CONT+F BKG+F

vt

"I am telling you to come with me, and you aren't listening."

60 *Yama* *siwa* *narawarani*
 yama siwa na -rawa -hara -ni
 thing play AUX F.PL IP.E+F BKG+F
 nf vi aux

"There are jaguars playing there."

61 *Yama* *tera* *okeyerini*
 yama tera o- keyeha -ra -ni
 thing 2PL.O 1SG.S deceive NEG BKG+F
 nf pron vt

"I am not fooling you."

62 *Yama* *siwa* *narawarani* *hawi*
 yama siwa na -rawa -hara -ni hawi
 thing play AUX F.PL IP.E+F BKG+F trail
 nf vi aux nf

"There are jaguars playing on the trail."

63 *Awa* *kahoma* *ya* *yama* *siwa* *narawa* *yoro*
 awa ka- homa+F ya yama siwa na -rawa+F yoro
 tree COMIT lie on ground ADJU thing play AUX F.PL stay
 nf vi prt nf vi aux vi

narerawarani

na -rI -rawa -hara -ni
 AUX raised surface F.PL IP.E+F BKG+F

aux

"They are playing on top of two logs on the trail."

64 *Makibonaha* *makibonaha* *awahanihi*
 maki -bona -ha maki -bona -ha , awa -hani -hi
 3SG.POSS.husband INT+M DUP 3SG.POSS.husband INT+M DUP see IP.N+F DUP
 nm nm

ati *kakamineni*

ati ka- ka -ma -ne -ni ka- ka -ma -ne -ni
 voice COMIT go/come back CONT+F BKG+F COMIT go/come back CONT+F BKG+F

pn vt

yowiri

yowiri *ni* *ati* *nemetemoneni*
 sing woman's song na.NFIN ati na -hemete -mone -ni
 vi aux say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F

"She is coming saying that because she saw her boyfriend," they said.'

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- 65 *Yowiri* *ni* *kakamemetemoneke*
 yowiri na.NFIN ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 sing woman's song AUX COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux vi
 'They came singing.'
- 66 *Yowiri* *ni* *kakamemetemone* *ahi*
 yowiri na.NFIN ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi
 sing woman's song AUX COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then
 vi aux vi dem
 'They came singing.'
- 67 *Yowiri* *ni* *kakama* *ahi*
 yowiri na.NFIN ka- ka -ma+F ahi
 sing woman's song AUX COMIT go/come back then
 vi aux vi dem
 'They came singing.'
- 68 *Yowiri* *ni* *kakama* *me* *yowiri*
 yowiri na.NFIN ka- ka -ma+F me yowiri
 sing woman's song AUX COMIT go/come back 3PL.S sing woman's song
 vi aux vi pron vi
ni *kakamemetemoneke* *ahi*
 na.NFIN ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 AUX COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux vi dem
 'They came singing.'
- 69 *Tika* *yowiri* *ni* *tokoma* *fahi*
 ti- ka yowiri na.NFIN to- ka -ma fahi
 2SG.POSS POSS sing woman's song AUX away go/come back then
 prt vi aux vi dem
 "'Go ahead back singing.'"
- 70 *Yotohemetemoneke*
 yoto -hemete -mone -ke
 follow FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi
 'She was behind.'
- 71 *Yotowama* *yotoha* *me* *tokomemetemoneke*
 yoto -waha -ma+F yoto+F me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 follow change back follow 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi vi pron vi
ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem
 'She was behind, and they went back.'
- 72 *Me* *tokoma* *me* *tokomi* *ya* *me*
 me to- ka -ma+F me to- ka -ma.NOM+F ya me
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S away go/come back ADJU 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi prt pron

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tokomi
to- ka -ma.NOM+F ya yama moni yana
away go/come back ADJU thing sound start
vi prt nf pn vi

torawemetemone
to- na -rawa -hemete -mone amake ahi kisiririri
away AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F then (sound of leaves)
aux sec dem sound

toko
toko
(sound of paws grabbing)
sound
'They went back. As they went, there was noise, "Kisiririri, toko."'

73 **Aya** aya aya aya
(expression of pain) (expression of pain) (expression of pain)
interj interj interj

aya aya aya aya
(expression of pain) (expression of pain) (expression of pain)
interj interj interj

toko aya kiyari
toko aya kiya -ri
(sound of paws grabbing) (expression of pain) yell DISTR
sound interj vi

nemetemoneke
na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux
'"Aya, aya," they said, yelling out.'

74 **Me** kiyari nemetemoneni
me kiya -ri na -hemete -mone -ni
3PL.S yell DISTR AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
pron vi aux
'They were yelling.'

75 **Me** kiyari na waka hirawemetemoneke ahi
me kiya -ri na+F waka hi- na -rawa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
3PL.S yell DISTR AUX kill OC AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
pron vi aux vt aux dem

'As they were yelling, the jaguar killed them.'

76 **Yome** waka hirawa kiyari
yomee waka hi- na -rawa+F kiya -ri
jaguar kill OC AUX F.PL yell DISTR
nm vt aux vi

narawemetemoneni
na -rawa -hemete -mone -ni
AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
aux
'The jaguar killed them and they screamed.'

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77 **Kamakia** , **kamakia** **ya** **wafe** **boni** **wafe**
 ka -makI+F , ka -makI+F ya wafe boni wafe
 go/come following go/come following ADJU cotton fruit+F cotton
 vi vi prt nf pn nf

sana **hikana** **katisa** **wafe**
 sana hi- ka- na+F ka- tisa+F wafe
 carry strapped on shoulder OC COMIT AUX COMIT undo cotton
 vt aux vt nf

katisa , **tame** **mati** **nawata** ,
 ka- tisa+F , tame mati na- wata+F ,
 COMIT undo foot+F line+F CAUS be located
 vt pn pn vt

barometemoneke **baro** .
 baro -mete -mone -ke baro
 tree sp FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F tree sp
 nf nf

'She came. She was wearing cotton twine adornments, and she undid the cotton and wrapped it around her feet. It was a *baro* tree.'¹²⁸

78 **Baro** **aya** **totoha** **na** **ya** **baro** **wa** **ya**
 baro aya to- to- ha na+F ya baro waa+F ya
 tree sp this DUP CH be AUX ADJU tree sp stand ADJU
 nf dem vc aux prt nf vi prt

tokomisemetemoneke .
 to- ka -misa -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come up FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'She climbed up the *baro*, which was this thick.'

79 **Tokomisa** , **tokomisemetemoneke** .
 to- ka -misa+F , to- ka -misa -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come up away go/come up FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi vi

'She climbed up.'

80 **Nakiri** **yome** **hikabarawa** **me** **hikaba**
 nakiri yomee hi- kaba -rawa+F me hi- kaba+F
 3SG.POSS.brother's wife jaguar OC eat F.PL 3PL.O OC eat
 nf nm vt pron vt

me , **me** **tafi** **moni** **kamitani** **nokorisama** ,
 me me tafa.NFIN moni ka- mita -hani noko -risa -ma+F ,
 3PL.O 3PL.S eat sound COMIT hear IP.N+F point down back
 pron pron vi pn vt vi

Owati **me** **kasawariha** , **me** **akari** **forima**
 o- ati me ka- sawari+F , me akara.NFIN forima
 1SG.POSS voice 3PL.S COMIT frustrate 3PL.S be satiated do properly
 pn pron vt pron vi vi

hinihi **ha** **ha** **nemetemone** **fahi** .
 hi- niha- na+F ha haa na -hemete -mone fahi
 OC CAUS AUX call AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 aux vi aux dem

'The jaguars ate her sisters-in-law. She looked down as she heard them eating. "They wouldn't listen to me." She waited until their stomachs were full, then she called out.'

¹²⁸ *Wafe boni* is a mistake, it should be just *wafe*.

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81 *Bai bai abematamonaka*
 bahi bahi ahaba -himata -mona -ka
 sun sun end FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm nm vi

'The sun went down.'

82 *Bai ahabe , bai bai abe aawawa*
 bahi ahaba+M , bahi bahi ahaba+M a- awa -wa
 sun end sun sun end DUP see DUP
 nm vi nm nm vi vt

nemetemoneke

na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

aux

'The sun went down. She was afraid as the sun went down.'

83 *Himata nima onaba ?*
 himata nima o- na -haba
 what? like 1SG.S AUX FUT+F
 interrog prt aux

""What am I going to do?""

84 *Okomaba ama oniti*
 o- to- ka -ma -haba ama o- na.NOM -tee.NOM
 1SG.S away go/come back FUT+F SEC 1SG.S AUX HAB
 vi sec aux

""Where can I go?""

85 *Haha onabana oke*
 ha- haa o- na -habana o- ke
 DUP call 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi aux prt

""I'm going to call out.""

86 *Haha onabana oke ati nemetemoneni*
 ha- haa o- na -habana o- ke ati na -hemete -mone -ni
 DUP call 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi aux prt vt aux

""I'm going to call out," she said.'

87 *Me akara me akara me awinekene*
 me akara+F me akara+F me awine -ke -ne
 3PL.S be satiated 3PL.S be satiated 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F IRR+F
 pron vi pron vi pron sec

""I think they are full now.""

88 *Me nabati fota awineni*
 me nabati fota+F awine -ni
 3PL.POSS stomach be big seem+F BKG+F
 pron pn vi sec

""I think their stomachs are full.""

89 *Faya anoti anoti iha to*
 faya anoti anoti iha too
 so 3SG.POSS older brother 3SG.POSS older brother plant sp foam up
 conj nm nm nm vt

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kanematamonaka

ka- na -himata -mona -ka
COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux

'Her older brother was making arrow poison.'

90 *Iha to kane ia iha were ne* ,
iha too ka- na+M iha iha were na+M
plant sp pulverize COMIT AUX plant sp plant sp stir AUX
nm vt aux nm nm vt aux
ia were ne wati wati ino tokanayowe wati
iha were na+M wati wati ino to- ka- na- yowa+M wati
plant sp stir AUX arrow arrow point+M CH COMIT CAUS burn arrow
nm vt aux nm nm pn vt nm
ino howe ne wati ino howe nematamonaka
ino howe na+M wati ino howe na -himata -mona -ka
point+M wipe AUX arrow point+M wipe AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
pn vt aux nm pn vt aux

'He ground the iha in the mortar. He stirred the poison. He dried the arrow points. He put more poison on the arrow points.'

91 *Wati ino howe ne wati ino hokowe* ,
wati ino howe na+M wati ino hoko -waha+M
arrow point+M wipe AUX arrow point+M be dry change
nm pn vt aux nm pn vi
sare sare ini hokowaha faya bai
sarehe sarehe ini hoko -waha+F faya bahi
blowgun dart blowgun dart point+F be dry change so sun
nf nf pn vi conj nm

abematamonaka

ahaba -himata -mona -ka
end FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi

'He put more poison on the arrow points. The arrow points were dry. The dart points were dry, too. The sun was going down.'

92 *Bai abe ya so nebona so nebona*
bahi ababa.NOM+M ya soo na -hibona soo na -hibona
sun end ADJU urinate AUX INT+M urinate AUX INT+M
nm vi prt vi aux vi aux

tokomakematamonaka

to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi

'When the sun was going down, he went to urinate.'

93 *Tokomake tokomake sowiri sowiri*
to- ka -makI to- ka -makI sowiri sowiri
away go/come following away go/come following penis penis
vi vi pn pn

sota tonematamonaka

sota to- na -himata -mona -ka
remove CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vt aux

'He went, and untied his penis.'

THE JAGUARS ATE THE GIRLS

94 *Sowiri* *sota* *tone* *so* *ne* *we* , *so*
 sowiri sota to- na+M soo na+M waa+M , soo
 penis remove CH AUX urinate AUX stand urinate
 pn vt aux vi aux vi vi

nematamonaka

na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'He untied his penis, and stood urinating.'

95 *So* *ne* , *Heei* *inamati* *ati* *na* , *ha*
 soo na+M , heei inamati ati na+F , haa
 urinate AUX yoohoo someone say AUX call
 vi aux interj nf vt aux vi

nemetemoneke

na -hemete -mone -ke *ahi*
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux dem

'He was urinating. "Heei," someone said. It was her calling.'

96 *Ha* *nemetemoneke*
 haa na -hemete -mone -ke
 call AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux

'She was calling.'

97 *Ha* *na* *ha* *ni* , *anoti*
 haa na+F haa na.NFIN , anoti
 call AUX call AUX 3SG.POSS older brother
 vi aux vi aux nm

himitemetemoneke

hi- mita -hemete -mone -ke
 OC hear FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'She was calling, and her older brother heard her calling.'

98 *Anoti* *ha* *ni* *himita* , *Ami* , *ami*
 anoti haa na.NFIN hi- mita+F , ami , ami
 3SG.POSS older brother call AUX OC hear mother mother
 nm vi aux vt nf nf

hinamati *ha* *naka* *hari*
 hinamati haa na.CONT+M -ka haari
 someone call AUX DECL+M that one+M
 nm vi aux dem

'Her brother heard her calling. "Mother, Mother someone is calling there."'

99 *Ami* *hinamati* *ha* *na* *hari* ,
 ami hinamati haa na.CONT+M haari ,
 mother someone call AUX that one+M
 nf nm vi aux dem

okasima *me* *taba* *me* *toki* *ya*
 o- ka asima me taba+F me to- ka.NOM+F ya
 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister 3PL.S be together 3PL.S away go/come ADJU
 nf pron vi pron vi prt

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, *ati nematamonaka*
 ati na -himata -mona -ka
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux

"Mother, someone is calling there, where my sister went with the others," he said.'

100 *Okoto totowamake re ati amane*
 okoto to- to- awa -makI na -ra+M ati ama -ne
 my daughter DUP away see following AUX NEG voice be BKG+M
 nf vt aux pn vc

"Go look at my daughter."

101 *Hiba*
 hiba
 wait
 interj

"Wait."

102 *Tokome wati ino yoko tokaname*
 to- ka -ma+M wati ino yoko to- ka- na -ma+M
 away go/come back arrow point+M push away COMMIT AUX back
 vi nm pn vt aux

sare tafowe nawiname
 sarehe tafowe na- wina -ma+M
 blowgun dart wrapped CAUS hang back
 nf pn vt

tokomakewematamona
 to- ka -makI -waha -himata -mona
 away go/come following change FP.N+M REP+M
 vi

'He went. He put the arrow points in the sheath. He hung up the darts and went.'

103 *Me totowamake omatibe*
 me to- to- awa -makI o- na -mata -be
 3PL.O DUP away see following 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F
 pron vt aux

"I'm going to take a look at them."

104 *E famahi*
 ee fama -hi
 1IN.S be two IMP+F
 pron vi

"Let's go together."

105 *E famibe*
 ee fama -be
 1IN.S be two IMMED+F
 pron vi

"Let's go together."

106 *Tikamake*
 ti- ka -makI
 2SG.S go/come following
 vi

"Come along."

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107 *Me towakamakemetemoneke*
 me to- ka- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi
 'The two of them went.'

108 *Me towakamakia me*
 me to- ka- ka -makI+F me
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S
 pron vi pron

towakamakemetemone
 to- ka- ka -makI -hemete -mone
 away COMIT go/come following FP.N+F REP+F
 vi
 'They went.'

109 *Hee ati nemetemoneke*
 hee ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 hey say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 interj vt aux
 "'Hee," she said.'

110 *Ha nematamonane*
 haa na -himata -mona -ne
 call AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi aux
 'He called out.'

111 *Ha ni hine saine ati ne*
 haa na.NFIN hine sai -ne ati na+M
 call AUX only be heard CONT+F say AUX
 vi aux pron vi vt aux

tokomakematamona
 to- ka -makI -himata -mona
 away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M
 vi
 "'Just let her call," he said, and they went.'

112 *Me towakamakia me towakamakia*
 me to- ka- ka -makI+F me to- ka- ka -makI+F
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following
 pron vi pron vi

me me towakamakia me Inamati ha
 me me to- ka- ka -makI+F me inamati haa
 3PL.S 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S someone call
 pron pron vi pron nm vi

nari hari neme kari
 na -haari haari neme kari
 AUX look+M that one+M up LOC+M
 aux dem nf prt

'They went. They went on. "Someone is calling up there."'

113 *Wareha awineke neme ya*
 waa -rI+F awine -ke neme ya
 stand raised surface seem+F DECL+F up ADJU
 vi sec nf prt

'"I think she is standing up there."'

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114 *Faya ha ni saia me kakamake me* ,
 faya haa na.NFIN sai+F me ka- ka -makI me
 so call AUX be heard 3PL.S COMMIT go/come following 3PL.S
 conj vi aux vi pron vi pron

me tafa me yoro nemetemoneke ahi .
 me tafa+F me yoro na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S sit AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F there
 pron vi pron vi aux dem

'As her calling could be heard, they came. The two jaguars were sitting eating.'

115 *Sobo me kabemetemoneke sobo haro* .
 sobo me kaba -hemete -mone -ke sobo haaro
 belly 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F belly that one+F
 nf pron vt nf dem

'They were eating the bellies.'

116 *Me sobori me kabehemetemone me fanawi sobori* .
 me sobo -ri me kaba -hemete -mone me fanawi sobo -ri
 3PL.POSS belly PN 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F women belly PN
 pron pn pron vt nf pn

'They were eating their bellies, the girls' bellies.'

117 *Me fanawi sobori me kaba me yoro na me*
 me fanawi sobo -ri me kaba+F me yoro na+F me
 women belly PN 3PL.S eat 3PL.S sit AUX 3PL.S
 nf pn pron vt pron vi aux pron

akara rama ahi me me wahati me yoti
 akara+F rama ahi me me wahati me yoti
 be satiated unusual then 3PL 3PL.POSS liver 3PL.POSS intestines+F
 vi prt dem pron pron pn pron pn

yoti yehe .
 yoti yehe
 intestines+F fat+F
 pn pn

'They were sitting eating the girls' bellies. They were full. They had eaten their livers, their intestines, the fat of their intestines.'

118 *Me tafaha me yoro na me ni ya tasi*
 me tafa+F me yoro na+F me ni ya tasi
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S sit AUX 3PL to ADJU emerge
 pron vi pron vi aux pron prt prt vi

namakimatamonaka .
 na -makI -himata -mona -ka
 AUX following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'He came to where they were sitting eating.'

119 *Yama aawa ne tasi namaki ki kabote*
 yama a- awa na+M tasi na -makI+M kii na -kabote
 thing DUP see AUX emerge AUX following look at AUX quickly
 nf vt aux vi aux vt aux

nematamonaka tafahi itahari ahi .
 na -himata -mona -ka tafa+F ita -haari ahi
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M eat sit IP.E+M then
 aux vi vi dem

'The jaguar looked. It looked at him as he appeared. It was sitting eating.'

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120 *Yana kabote nematamonaka ahi*
 yana na -kabote na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 get up AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi aux aux dem

'It got up quickly.'

121 *Wati wati soba kabote nematamona ahi*
 wati wati soba na -kabote na -himata -mona ahi
 arrow arrow pull out AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 nm nm vt aux aux dem

'He quickly pulled out an arrow.'

122 *Owa wati soba nakebise yotobise wati*
 owa wati soba na -kI -bisa+M yoto -bisa+M wati
 other+M arrow pull out AUX coming also follow also arrow
 adj nm vt aux vi nm

soba nakebisehimatamonaka ahi
 soba na -kI -bisa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 pull out AUX coming also FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt aux dem

'The other one behind him pulled out an arrow, too. He pulled out an arrow.'

123 *He me fito kanahabone me me sa*
 hee me fito ka- na -habone me me saa
 3SG.O 3PL.S rush COMIT AUX INT+F 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow
 pron pron vi aux pron pron vt

hikanikimemetemoneke ahi akare rama ahi
 hi- ka- na -kima -hemete -mone -ke ahi akara+M rama ahi
 OC COMIT AUX two FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then be satiated unusual then
 aux dem vi prt dem

'They charged them, and they shot them with arrows. It was full.'

124 *Kawa nawahare toke*
 ka- waa na -waharI to- ka+M
 COMIT stand AUX all over away go/come
 vi aux vi

tosawitematamonaka ahi
 to- sona -witI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 away fall out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem

'It was staggering. It went a ways and collapsed.'

125 *Owa sa hikabise towake*
 owa saa hi- ka- na -bisa+M to- ka- ka+M
 other+M shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX also away COMIT go/come
 adj vt aux vi

tosawitematamona ahi
 to- sona -witI -himata -mona ahi
 away fall out FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi dem

'The other one shot the other one, and it went a ways and collapsed.'

THE JAGUARS ATE THE GIRLS

126 *Me me hinafamemetemoneke*
 me me hi- na- fama -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC CAUS be two FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pron vt
 'They each killed one.'

127 *Me me hinafama me , me abemetemone fahi*
 me me hi- na- fama+F me , me ahaba -hemete -mone fahi
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC CAUS be two 3PL.O 3PL.S die FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron pron vt pron pron vi dem

'They each killed one. They died.'

128 *Asima*
 asima
 younger sister
 nf
 "'Sister.'"

129 *Haa ?*
 haa
 huh?
 interj
 "'Huh?'"¹²⁹

130 *Ayo , ayo ati nemetemone*
 ayo ayo ati na -hemete -mone
 older brother older brother say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nm nm vt aux
 "'Brother, Brother," she said.'

131 *Haa ?*
 haa
 huh?
 interj
 "'What?'"

132 *Efe ama tini ?*
 efe ama ti- ni
 this+M be 2SG.S BKG+F
 dem vc prt
 "'Is it you?'"

133 *Ee efe ama oke*
 ee efe ama o- ke
 yes this+M be 1SG.S DECL+F
 interj dem vc prt
 "'Yes, it's me.'"

134 *Efe ama oni*
 efe ama o- ni
 this+M be 1SG.S BKG+F
 dem vc prt
 "'It's me.'"

129 Siko started the girl's quote wrong, and immediately corrected it.

THE JAGUARS ATE THE GIRLS

135 *Efe yokana ama tini* ?
 efe yokana ama ti- ni
 this+M true be 2SG.S BKG+F
 dem adj vc prt

"Is it really you?"

136 *Fe ama oke*
 fee ama o- ke
 3SG be 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron vc prt

"It's really me."

137 *Tikisamahi*
 ti- ka -risa -ma -hi
 2SG.S go/come down back IMP+F
 vi

"Come down."

138 *Faya hinakasima kisama*
 faya hinaka asima ka -risa -ma+F
 so 3SG.POSS younger sister go/come down back
 conj nf vi

kisamemetemoneke

ka -risa -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 go/come down back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'So his sister came down.'

139 *Faya anoti anoti baremona ati*
 faya anoti anoti bare -mona ati
 so 3SG.POSS older brother 3SG.POSS older brother other+M REP+M say
 conj nm nm adj vt

na anoti ki nemetemoneke
 na+F anoti kii na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX 3SG.POSS older brother look at AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux nm vt aux

wanaharo ahi neme ya
 wana -haaro ahi neme ya
 be attached IP.E+F there up ADJU
 vi dem nf prt

'She thought her brother was someone else. She looked at her brother, holding on up there.'

140 *Anoti ki na anoti Haa*
 anoti kii na+F anoti haa
 3SG.POSS older brother look at AUX 3SG.POSS older brother oh
 nm vt aux nm interj

okoyo ama nanoho
 o- ka ayo ama na.NOM+M -no -ho
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother be AUX IP.N+M DUP
 nm vc aux

'She looked at her brother. "Oh, it's my brother."

141 *Kisamemetemoneke*
 ka -risa -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 go/come down back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'She came down.'

THE JAGUARS ATE THE GIRLS

- 142 **Kisama** , **hahi** **he** **ya** **famabise**
 ka -risa -ma+F , haahi hee ya fama -bisa+M
 go/come down back this one+M 3SG ADJU be with also
 vi dem pron prt vi
- towamematamonaka** **hike** **ya** , **wabori**
 to- waa -ma -himata -mona -ka hike ya , wabori
 away stand back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M far ADJU 3SG.POSS brother-in-law
 vi nf prt nm

'She came down. The one who was with him was standing a ways away, his brother-in-law.'

- 143 **Faya** **kisama** , **Ayo** , **owati** **me**
 faya ka -risa -ma+F , ayo o- ati me
 so go/come down back older brother 1SG.POSS voice 3PL.S
 conj vi nm pn pron
- kasawaria** **me** , **yome** **me** **me** **kabineni**
 ka- sawari+F me , yomee me me kaba -ne -ni
 COMIT frustrate 3PL.S jaguar 3PL.O 3PL.S eat CONT+F BKG+F
 vt pron nm pron pron vt

'She came down. "Brother, they wouldn't listen to me, and the jaguars ate them."'

- 144 **Ohi** **nemetemoneke**
 ohi na -hemete -mone -ke
 cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux

'She cried.'

- 145 **Ohi** **ni** **ati** **saihemetemoneni**
 ohi na.NFIN ati sai -hemete -mone -ni
 cry AUX voice be heard FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi aux pn vi

'She could be heard crying.'

- 146 **Okomi** **ama** **ahi**
 o- ka -ma.NOM+F ama ahi
 1SG.S go/come back be here
 vi vc dem

"I was coming back."

- 147 **Okoma** **okomi** **ka** , **watawabona**
 o- ka -ma+F o- ka ami ka , watawona -bona
 1SG.S go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS mother POSS bihi fruit INT+M
 vi nf prt nm
- tama** **one** **me** **owa** **me** **owa** **me** **hose** **kana**
 tama o- na+M me owa me owa me hose ka- na+F
 hold onto 1SG.S AUX 3PL 1SG.O 3PL.S 1SG.O 3PL.S pull out COMIT AUX
 vt aux pron pron pron pron pron vt aux
- owa** **me** **nayawa** , **okomara** **oni**
 owa me na- yawa+F , o- ka -ma -hara o- ni
 1SG.O 3PL.S CAUS be upset 1SG.S go/come back IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 pron pron vt vi prt

"I was coming back. I was holding *bihi* fruits in my hand for my mother, and they took them from me and made me mad, so I came back."

THE JAGUARS ATE THE GIRLS

me ahi nawahineni
 me ahi na -waha -ne -ni
 3PL.S work on AUX change CONT+F BKG+F
 pron vt aux

"They came along singing. Now there is no more work for them to do."

155 **Faya , me Hima tai tiama**
 faya , me hima tai ti- to- ha -ma
 so 3PL let's go be ahead 2SG.S CH AUX back
 conj pron interj vi aux

"Come on, you go first."

156 **Me mata nemetemoneke**
 me mata na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S lie AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

'The two of them were lying there.'

157 **Me mata na me me**
 me mata na+F me me
 3PL.S lie AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron pron

hekanakosemetemoneke

hi- ka- kana -kosa -hemete -mone -ke
 OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'They left them lying on the ground.'

158 **Hima te tai tokahama**
 hima tee tai to- ka- ha -ma
 let's go 2PL.S be ahead CH COMIT AUX back
 interj pron vi aux

"Come on, you two go on first."

159 **Faya me kama me , oohi**
 faya me ka -ma+F me , o- ohi
 so 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S DUP cry
 conj pron vi pron vi

tosì nemetemoneke
 to- na -sii na -hemete -mone -ke
 CH AUX slowly along the way AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux aux

nakiri tabiyorawaha
 nakiri tabiyo -rawa -ha
 3SG.POSS.brother's wife absence F.PL DUP
 nf pn

'So they came back. She was crying for her sisters-in-law along the way.'

160 **Faya ohi ni kama , me kobo**
 faya ohi na.NFIN ka -ma+F , me kobo
 so cry AUX go/come back 3PL.S arrive
 conj vi aux vi pron vi

namemetemoneni

na -ma -hemete -mone -ni
 AUX back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 aux

'She came back crying. They arrived back.'

THE JAGUARS ATE THE GIRLS

161 *Ohi ya ohi nemetemoneke ahi* .
 ohi ya ohi na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 crying ADJU cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf prt vi aux dem

'She was crying.'

162 *Haha me ka ami , me ka mate tamine me*
 haaha me ka ami , me ka matehe tamine me
 this+F 3PL POSS mother 3PL POSS children news about 3PL.S
 dem pron prt nf pron prt nf pn pron

mita me ohi nemetemone me nafi .
 mita+F me ohi na -hemete -mone me nafi
 hear 3PL.S cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS all
 vt pron vi aux pron pn

'When the mothers heard about their children, they cried, all of them.'

163 *Me nafi ohi nemetemoneke* .
 me nafi ohi na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.POSS all cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pn vi aux

'All of them cried.'

164 *Aya okotora okotora ohi ni ati*
 aya okoto -ra okoto -ra ohi na.NFIN ati
 (expression of pain) my daughter NPQ my daughter NPQ cry AUX say
 interj nf nf vi aux vt

nemetemoneke ahi .
 na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux dem

'"Aya, my daughter, my daughter," they said, crying.'

165 *Me okayawarani* .
 me o- ka- yawa -hara -ni
 3PL.O 1SG.S COMIT be upset IP.E+F BKG+F
 pron vt

'"I wanted to spare them."

166 *Me , me ati hiyararake* .
 me me ati hiya -ra -hara -ke
 3PL 3PL.POSS voice be bad NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron pron pn vi

'"They refused."

167 *Owa me yokohene me amani* .
 owa me yoko -hene me ama -ni
 1SG.O 3PL.S bring misfortune on IRR+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F
 pron pron vt pron sec

'"They almost caused me misfortune."

168 *Owa me yokohene me , yama siwa*
 owa me yoko -hene me yama siwa
 1SG.O 3PL.S bring misfortune on IRR+F 3PL.S thing play
 pron pron vt pron nf vi

THE JAGUARS ATE THE GIRLS

narawani **owasimarawani** , **ohi** **ni** **ati**
na -rawa -hani o- wasi -ma -rawa -hani , ohi na.NFIN ati
AUX F.PL IP.N+F 1SG.S find back F.PL IP.N+F cry AUX say
aux vt vi aux vt

nemetemoneke
na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux

"They almost caused me misfortune. I came upon the jaguars playing," she said, crying.'

169 **Ohi** **ya** **hiyaremetemoneni**
ohi ya hiyara -hemete -mone -ni
crying ADJU speak FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
nf prt vi

'She was crying while she talked.'

170 **Me** **okeyehamone** **me** **ati** **na** **me** **ota** **me**
me o- keyeha -hamone me ati na+F me otaa me
3PL.O 1SG.S deceive REP+F 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.S 1EX.O 3PL.S
pron vt pron vt aux pron pron pron

nakamakehamone **me** **ati** **na** **me** , **oko**
na- ka -makI -hamone me ati na+F me , o- ka
CAUS go/come following REP+F 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS
vt pron vt aux pron prt

kana **ni** **tokoma** **me** **owakabone**
kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma+F me o- to- ka- ka -habone
run AUX away go/come back 3PL.O 1SG.S away COMMIT go/come INT+F
vi aux vi pron vt

me **ati** **hiyara** **me** **owa** **me** **fiya**
me ati hiya -ra+F me owa me fiya
3PL.POSS voice be bad NEG 3PL.POSS 1SG.O 3PL.S pass
pron pn vi pron pron pron vt

tonamarani
to- na -ma -hara -ni
away AUX back IP.E+F BKG+F
aux

"They said I was fooling them. They said some men were coming after us. I went running. I wanted to take them, but they refused. They passed by me."

171 **Owa** **me** **fiya** **tonama** **me** , **yome** **me** **me** **waka**
owa me fiya to- na -ma+F me , yomee me me waka
1SG.O 3PL.S pass away AUX back 3PL.S jaguar 3PL.O 3PL.S kill
pron pron vt aux pron nm pron pron vt

hinarani
hi- na -hara -ni
OC AUX IP.E+F BKG+F
aux

"They passed by me, and the jaguars killed them."

172 **Faya** **me** **nowati** **ya** **oyotomakia**
faya me nowati ya o- to- yoto -makI+F
so 3PL.POSS behind ADJU 1SG.S away follow following
conj pron pn prt vi

okomisawite , **okomisawiteara**
o- to- ka -misa -witI , o- to- ka -misa -witI -hara
1SG.S away go/come up out 1SG.S away go/come up out IP.E+F
vi vi

THE JAGUARS ATE THE GIRLS

oni

o- ni
1SG.S BKG+F
prt

"I came on behind them, and I climbed a tree."

173 *Okomisawite*

o- to- ka	-misa -witI	, <i>me</i> , <i>tafi</i> <i>ati</i>
1SG.S away go/come up	out	3PL.S eat voice
vi		pron vi pn

okomita

o- ka- mita+F o- ita -rI
1SG.S COMIT hear 1SG.S sit raised surface
vt vi

, *bai*
bahi
sun
nm

abamako

ahaba -mako
end for this reason+M
vi

oko

o- ka
1SG.POSS POSS
prt

ha

haa
call
vi

ni

na.NFIN
AUX
aux

yana

yana
start
vi

tonahara

to- na -hara
CH AUX IP.E+F
aux

oni

o- ni
1SG.POSS BKG+F
prt

"I climbed the tree and heard them eating as I sat there. After the sun was setting I started calling out."

174 *Bai*

bahi
sun
nm

abe

ahaba+M
end
vi

ehene

ehene
because of+M
post

faya

faya
so
conj

oko

o- ka
1SG.POSS POSS
prt

ha

haa
call
vi

ni

na.NFIN
AUX
aux

yana

yana
start
vi

na

na+F
AUX
aux

"I started calling out when the sun was going down."

175 *Tika*

ti- ka
2SG.POSS POSS
prt

ha

haa
call
vi

ni

na.NFIN
AUX
aux

ayo

ayo
2SG.POSS.older brother
nm

mitaharene

mita -hare -ne
hear IP.E+M BKG+M
vt

so

soo na -hibona to- ka -makI -haari
urinate AUX INT+M away go/come following IP.E+M
vi aux vi

nebona

tokomakehari

"Your brother heard you calling when he went to urinate."

176 *Ayo*

ayo
2SG.POSS.older brother
nm

tika

ti- ka
2SG.POSS POSS
prt

ha

haa
call
vi

ni

na.NFIN
AUX
aux

mitaharene

mita -hare -ne
hear IP.E+M BKG+M
vt

"Your brother heard you calling."

177 *Ayo*

ayo
2SG.POSS.older brother
nm

oyosemaki

o- to- yose -makI+M
1SG.S away command following
vt

THE JAGUARS ATE THE GIRLS

tokomake , **yome** **sa**
to- ka -makI , yomee saa
away go/come following jaguar shoot with arrow
vi nm vt

kananoho
ka- na.NOM+M -no -ho
COMIT AUX IP.N+M DUP
aux

"I sent your brother and he went, and he shot the jaguar with an arrow."

178 **Me famarani**
me fama -hara -ni
3PL.S be two IP.E+F BKG+F
pron vi

"There were two of them."

179 **Me fama me me sa hikanikima**
me fama+F me me saa hi- ka- na -kima+F
3PL.S be two 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX two
pron vi pron pron vt aux

me mata narani
me mata na -hara -ni
3PL.S lie AUX IP.E+F BKG+F
pron vi aux

"The two of them shot the two of them with arrows, and they are lying on the ground."

180 **Faya me , ohi nemetemoneke ahi**
faya me , ohi na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
so 3PL.S cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
conj pron vi aux dem

'Then they cried.'

181 **Faya me tone me me tone me bosa**
faya me tone me me tone me bosa
so 3PL.POSS bone 3PL 3PL.POSS bone 3PL.S get up early
conj pron pn pron pron pn pron vi

hikanemetemoneke
hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux

'They got up early to go after their bones.'

182 **Me me bosa hikana me me , yifo ya**
me me bosa hi- ka- na+F me me , yifo ya
3PL.O 3PL.S get up early OC COMIT AUX 3PL.O 3PL hammock ADJU
pron pron vi aux pron pron nm prt

fara me ka yifo ya me , me me tiwari
fara me ka yifo ya me , me me tiwa -ri
same+F 3PL POSS hammock ADJU 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S carry DISTR
dem pron prt nm prt pron pron pron vt

hikanemetemoneke
hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux

'They got up early because of them. They carried them in their own hammocks.'

THE JAGUARS ATE THE GIRLS

183 *Me me tiwari hikana me hikamometemone*
 me me tiwa -ri hi- ka- na+F me hi- kamo -hemete -mone
 3PL.O 3PL.S carry DISTR OC COMIT AUX 3PL.O OC bury FP.N+F REP+F
 pron pron vt aux pron vt

'They carried them and they buried them.'¹³⁰

184 *Me me hikamoha me me hikamometemoneke*
 me me hi- kamo+F me me hi- kamo -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC bury 3PL.O 3PL.S OC bury FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pron vt pron pron vt

me nafi
 me nafi
 3PL.POSS all
 pron pn

'They buried them, all of them.'

185 *Me me ohi na me bite wati nawaha*
 me me ohi na+F me bite wati na -waha+F
 3PL 3PL.S cry AUX 3PL.S 3SG.POSS.daughter remember AUX change
 pron pron vi aux pron nf vt aux

bite ohi ohi nemetemoneke bite
 bite ohi ohi na -hemete -mone -ke bite
 3SG.POSS.daughter cry cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3SG.POSS.daughter
 nf vi vi aux nf

tabiyo
 tabiyo
 absence
 pn

'They cried. One of them remembered her daughter, and she cried, missing her daughter.'

186 *Me ohi nemetemoneni*
 me ohi na -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL.S cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron vi aux

'They cried.'

187 *Me ohi ni fawa na me faya me amo na*
 me ohi na.NFIN fawa na+F me faya me amo na+F
 3PL.S cry AUX stop AUX 3PL.POSS so 3PL.S sleep AUX
 pron vi aux vi aux pron conj pron vi aux

me me amo nemetemoneke fahi
 me me amo na -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron pron vi aux dem

'They cried. They stopped crying, and slept.'

188 *Me amo na me ya me me wati*
 me amo na+F me ya me me wati
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL ADJU 3PL.O 3PL.S remember
 pron vi aux pron prt pron pron vt

hiwatasa me me wati hiwatasaha
 hi- na -waha -tasa+F me me wati hi- na -waha -tasa+F
 OC AUX change again 3PL.O 3PL.S remember OC AUX change again
 aux pron pron vt aux

¹³⁰ It should be *me me hikamometemone*.

THE JAGUARS ATE THE GIRLS

me , *Me fanawi tokamarabanake*
 me me fanawi to- ka -ma -ra -habana -ke
 3PL.O women away go/come back NEG FUT+F DECL+F
 pron nf vi
 "They slept. They remembered them again. "The women will not go out in the forest anymore."

189 *Me fanawi yome tefe yokanamatamona amaka*
 me fanawi yomee tefe yokana -mata -mona ama -ka
 women jaguar food+M true FP.N+M REP+M be DECL+M
 nf nm pn adj vc
 "The girls were true jaguar food."

THE JAGUAR ATE THE TWO BOYS

Free Translation

The two teen-age boys wanted to go hunting, and they got ready. They heated the dart points in the fire, so the poison would stick. One of them heated the dart points.

"Aren't you going to eat manioc mash?"

"We are going to eat manioc mash."

That's what they always said, because they were afraid of the switch. They were going to whip them.

"Let your grandfather whip you. After your grandfather blows snuff into your noses, let him whip you."

"Why should my grandfather whip me? Don't whip me. I am not in a seclusion hut," he said. "I will grab the jaguar and throw him off to the side. I will grab his arms up high and lift him up in the air, and throw him."

The two of them went out. As they were going, the calls of brown capuchins came to them, "Fikoo, fikoo, fikoo, fikoo, fikoo, fikoo, fikoo, fikoo, fikoo, fikoo, fikoo, fikoo."

"Brother, Brother that's the brown capuchins calling out because they haven't seen us. Let's hunt them."

They went there, twirling blowgun darts in their mouths. They went, and one of the capuchins was looking at something in the other direction, "Fikoo, fikoo, fikoo, fikoo, fikoo." The capuchin was looking the other way, and they went. He shot the capuchin as he was looking, fai saki. "Hoo, hoo [capuchins groaning in pain]." They shot them with darts, fai saki, as they were paying attention to the jaguar. The jaguar was standing there, watching them as they shot their blowguns. A capuchin fell, baka, beo. Another one fell.

"Don't let any of the capuchins escape."

He headed the capuchin off. He went and shot the capuchin. The capuchin came back, injured. It was drugged and sat down, and fell.

"Come one, that's enough of them. Let's go home. Wait, let's pick up the capuchins."

He went and got a capuchin. He came back and put the capuchin on the ground. He went and got another capuchin, and came back. His younger brother's were three, and his were five. They came back.

"Strip off some inner bark to tie the capuchins with. There is a *tamiyara* tree right there."

He chopped to get some inner bark with a stubby knife. He chopped at the inner bark, and then pulled it up, and yanked it off. He yanked off the inner bark.

"You separate the inner bark from the outer bark for yours. I'm going to take these here."

They separated the inner bark from the outer bark. After they separated the inner bark from the outer bark, he tied the pieces of inner bark together. He held the inner bark down with his foot. He tied the ends of the inner bark together.

"Is that enough inner bark?"

"Yes, it's enough. It's a long cord."

"Make it this long. There are many capuchins," he said.

A jaguar had come up, and it attacked. He draped the capuchins over the inner bark. The jaguar came running. It came running. The other boy was standing a ways off.

THE JAGUAR ATE THE TWO BOYS

"Older Brother, there is a jaguar coming."

It came and attacked right away. He grabbed its paws, and it almost killed him. He grabbed its paws, and held onto it. If the younger brother had succeeded in breaking off a sapling, they would have killed it. Why couldn't they do it? He threw the jaguar back. He threw it back, and it fell over, but then it charged right back. He grabbed its paws again, and it went after him again. He threw it back again.

The older brother went quickly behind his younger brother. It attacked the other one right away. The younger brother grabbed its paws.

"Push it into the trees. That's what I did."

He threw it back. It stayed close, to kill him. They kept grabbing its paws, but it tired them out. They came along the trail with it. If there had been a good log, and if they had lifted it in the air and hit it on it, it wouldn't have stayed. They came along the trail with it. They grabbed its paws again. He pushed it back. It jumped away. It was going to kill him now, he was tired out. So it killed them, because it wouldn't stop fighting. It tired them out. It killed the two of them.

"Whew, look at me, it is going to kill me!" he said. "Yikes, it's going to eat me!"

It stayed close to them. He pushed it back again. It jumped and attacked again. It charged them quickly again. The jaguar killed them. It wanted to rest, and it was thirsty, so it went off. It went and drank water. It came back and looked at them and stayed there. It ate them. It ate.

Their capuchins were there, tied up. It didn't care about the capuchins. It only ate the ones it had fought with. The jaguar ate them.

They didn't come back. They were missing, and the others missed them. They were missing, and they didn't come back, and the sun went down. The sun went down, and they wanted to go look for them.

Their older brother went after them. He stopped and called for them. He came back.

"What happened that they disappeared? He was always afraid of the switch and he has disappeared, because a jaguar ate him."

The tradition is true.

"You should have let your grandfather flail you."

They had disappeared. The others slept. They slept, and they got up early because of them.

"I'm going to take arrows along. I think a jaguar killed them."

They went, each one carrying a pack of arrows. They went after them. They went on and on and on. They had had arrows. There were arrows leaning against a tree by the trail. If they had come along with it further, they would have shot it, because their arrows were leaning against a tree by the trail. The others came.

"Look, there are arrows there against a tree."

The arrows were pointed in the direction the two of them had gone.

"They must have gone that way. Weren't they going after game? The arrows are pointed that way."

A smell came in the air. "Peeoo!" They smelled the stench of their rotting guts because a jaguar ate them. "It's the smell of something starting to rot. It's their smell, we'll see."

He went. He went on and on, and then there were sweat bees.

"There."

"Be quiet."

They stopped talking and stood there.

"There has been a jaguar eating. The jaguar ate my younger brothers. You go on back. I'm going to go up in a tree here. I'm going to stay up in the tree. Go home, and don't say anything. Take my brothers back. Fasten them both to poles, and carry them on your shoulders. Take their arrows,

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too. I'm going to wait for the jaguar," he said.

He wrapped twine around his feet and climbed the tree.

"Let's not delay. Let's go home."

So he went up into the tree and stood there, holding arrows. He looked all around. He looked all around. The jaguar didn't come back, because its stomach was full. He waited for it. When it started to get dark on him, he came home.

Their parents cried.

They lashed together their capuchins and carried them.

If they had brought it to where the arrows were leaning against a tree, they could have killed it with arrows. He seems to not have said to his younger brother, "Go get the arrows. I will watch him." He could have kept throwing it off him, and when his brother came back, he could have shot it with an arrow. So his younger brother didn't kill it with an arrow.

They came back.

"A jaguar ate them. The jaguar had eaten them, and their older brother is waiting for it in the tree. Maybe it will come back. I don't know."

They singed the hair off their game. The brown capuchin lasts quite a while before it gets bad. They singed the hair off the capuchins. They would only eat capuchins this one time.

"Let's eat them for now, the ones they killed. He wouldn't let me beat him, and the jaguar killed him."

"Look at the signs of the jaguar struggling with them. The trees were all bent over, because of the jaguar struggling with them. We looked at what they did to the brush. We came home. They were lying there in the middle. It caused them to start up, and brought them along. It killed them near where the arrows were leaning against a tree. It killed them and ate them."

He got up in a tree. He was in the tree.

"I'm going down, the jaguar didn't come back. I waited for it. If it had come back, I would have shot it with an arrow. It's gone."

So he came back.

"It didn't come after me."

He came back. He came and arrived.

"Is that him who came back? Didn't it come back?"

"It didn't come back. Its stomach was full, so it didn't come back. It had eaten them up completely, so it didn't come back. Its victims became bones. We carried its victims' bones on our shoulders, and they are burying them."

Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Me</i>	,	<i>yama</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>yete</i>	<i>nabisabone</i>		<i>me yetene</i>	<i>tohaha</i>	<i>me</i>
	me		yama	me	yete	na -bisa -habone		me yetene	to- ha+F	me
	3PL		thing	3PL.S	hunt	AUX also INT+F		young men	CH be	3PL.S
	pron		nf	pron	vt	aux		nf	vc	pron
	<i>fama</i>		<i>me</i>	,	<i>me</i>	<i>yana</i>	<i>tokanemetemone</i>			
	fama+F		me		me	yana	to- ka- na -hemete -mone			
	be two		3PL.S		3PL.S	start	CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F			
	vi		pron		pron	vi	aux			

'The two teen-age boys wanted to go hunting, and they got ready.'

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2 *Me yana tokana me , me yana tokana*
 me yana to- ka- na+F me , me yana to- ka- na+F
 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX
 pron vi aux pron pron vi aux

me sare sare ini me wahara
 me sarehe sarehe ini me wahara
 3PL.S blowgun dart blowgun dart point+F 3PL.S make poison stick
 pron nf nf pn pron vt

kanehemetemone yifo hiwe ya
 ka- na -hemete -mone yifo hiwe ya
 COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F fire heat+F ADJU
 aux nf pn prt

'They got ready. They heated the dart points in the fire, so the poison would stick.'

3 *Faya sare ini wahara kane , me*
 faya sarehe ini wahara kane na+M , me
 so blowgun dart point+F make poison stick COMIT AUX 3PL
 conj nf pn vt aux pron

Iyawa te kabaribana ?
 iyawa tee kaba -ra+F -bana ?
 manioc mash 2PL.S eat NEG FUT
 nf pron vt

'He heated the dart points. "Aren't you going to eat manioc mash?'"

4 *Iyawa ota kababanake*
 iyawa otaa kaba -habana -ke
 manioc mash 1EX.S eat FUT+F DECL+F
 nf pron vt

""We are going to eat manioc mash.""

5 *Iyawa ota kababanake*
 iyawa otaa kaba -habana -ke
 manioc mash 1EX.S eat FUT+F DECL+F
 nf pron vt

""We are going to eat manioc mash.""

6 *Afa me ati nofara me ama ha , kokosi*
 afa me ati na nofa -ra+F me ama haa , ko- kosi
 this+F 3PL.S say AUX recently NEG 3PL.S SEC DEM DUP flail
 dem pron vt prt pron sec dem nf

me nakome mati
 me na- komeha mati
 3PL.S CAUS be fearsome 3PL.S
 pron vt pron

'That's what they always said, because they were afraid of the switch.'

7 *Kokosi me nakomemetemoneke , me me*
 ko- kosi me na- komeha -hemete -mone -ke , me me
 DUP flail 3PL.S CAUS be fearsome FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nf pron vt pron pron

kosi hinabone mati
 kosi hi- na -habone mati
 flail OC AUX INT+F 3PL.O
 vt aux pron

'They were afraid of the switch, that they would whip them.'

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8 *Me me kosi hinabone me , Iti*
 me me kosi hi- na -habone me , iti
 3PL.O 3PL.S flail OC AUX INT+F 3PL.O 2SG.POSS grandfather
 pron pron vt aux pron nm

tera kosi nabonaha
 tera kosi na.NOM+M -bona -ha
 2PL.O flail AUX INT+M DUP
 pron vt aux

"They were going to whip them. "Let your grandfather whip you."

9 *Iti tera afo ne ya tera kosi*
 iti tera afo na.NOM+M ya tera kosi
 2SG.POSS grandfather 2PL.O blow snuff into AUX ADJU 2PL.O flail
 nm pron vt aux prt pron vt

naho
 na -ho
 AUX IMP+M
 aux

"After your grandfather blows snuff into your noses, let him whip you."

10 *Okiti owa kosi narihe*
 o- ka iti owa kosi na -harihe
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 1SG.O flail AUX ?+M
 nm pron vt aux

"Why should my grandfather whip me?"

11 *Owa kosi tina*
 owa kosi ti- na
 1SG.O flail 2SG.S AUX
 pron vt aux

"Don't whip me."

12 *Ofoya ama o , ati nematamonane*
 o- foya+F ama o- ati na -himata -mona -ne
 1SG.S be inside SEC 1SG.S say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi sec prt vt aux

"I am not in a seclusion hut," he said.'

13 *Yomahi , yome taro owitibana ahi*
 yomahi , yomee taro o- to- na -witI -bana ahi
 jaguar jaguar hit 1SG.S away AUX out FUT there
 nm nm vt aux dem

"I will grab the jaguar and throw him off to the side."

14 *Ta owawitibana ahi*
 taa o- to- na -waha -witI -hibana ahi
 give 1SG.S away AUX change out FUT+M there
 vt aux dem

"I will grab it and throw him off to the side."

15 *Wara omise ya koro owitibana*
 wara o- to- na -misa.NOM+M ya koro o- to- na -witI -hibana
 grab 1SG.S CH AUX up ADJU throw 1SG.S away AUX out FUT+M
 vt aux prt vt aux

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20 *Ayo* , *ayo* *yowi* *era* *me* *aawa*
 ayo , ayo yowi era me a- awa
 older brother older brother brown capuchin 1IN.O 3PL.S DUP see
 nm nm nm pron pron vt

ra *me* , *yowi* *era* *me* *aawa* *ra*
 na -ra+F me , yowi era me a- awa na -ra+F
 AUX NEG 3PL.S brown capuchin 1IN.O 3PL.S DUP see AUX NEG
 aux pron nm pron pron vt aux

me *ati* *amake* .
 me ati ama -ke
 3PL.POSS voice be DECL+F
 pron pn vc

"Brother, Brother, that's the brown capuchins calling out because they haven't seen us."

21 *Me* *e* *yete* *kanahi* .
 me ee yete ka- na -hi
 3PL.O 1IN.S hunt COMIT AUX IMP+F
 pron pron vt aux

"Let's hunt them."

22 *Me* *e* *yete* *kanahi* .
 me ee yete ka- na -hi
 3PL.O 1IN.S hunt COMIT AUX IMP+F
 pron pron vt aux

"Let's hunt them."

23 *Sare* *me* *rofi* *na* *me* ,
 sarehe me rofi na+F me ,
 blowgun dart 3PL.S twirl in mouth AUX 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux pron

towakemetemoneke *ahi* .
 to- ka- ka -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 away COMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F there
 vi dem

'They went there, twirling blowgun darts in their mouths.'

24 *Me* *towaka* *me* *towaka* *yowi* *me*
 me to- ka- ka+F me to- ka- ka+F yowi me
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S away COMIT go/come brown capuchin 3PL
 pron vi pron vi nm pron

yowi *yama* *ki* *nematamona* *ahi*
 yowi yama kii na -himata -mona ahi
 brown capuchin thing look at AUX FP.N+M REP+M there
 nm nf vt aux dem

Fikoo *fikoo* *fikoo*
 fikoo fikoo fikoo
 call of brown capuchin call of brown capuchin call of brown capuchin
 sound sound sound

fikoo *fikoo* .
 fikoo fikoo
 call of brown capuchin call of brown capuchin
 sound sound

"They went. They went, and one of the capuchins was looking at something in the other direction, "Fikoo, fikoo, fikoo, fikoo, fikoo."

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25 *Faya yowi yama ki ne me*
 faya yowi yama kii na+M me
 so brown capuchin thing look at AUX 3PL.S
 conj nm nf vt aux pron

towakemetemoneke

to- ka- ka -hemete -mone -ke
 away COMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'The capuchin was looking the other way, and they went.'

26 *Yowi yama ki ne*
 yowi yama kii na+M
 brown capuchin thing look at AUX
 nm nf vt aux

karaboematamonaka

karaboha -himata -mona -ka
 shoot with blowgun FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt (sound of blowgun arrow)
 sound

fai saki

'He shot the capuchin as he was looking, fai saki.'

27 *Hoo hoo , yowi me me*
 hoo hoo yowi me me
 (expression of pain) (expression of pain) brown capuchin 3PL.O 3PL.S
 interj interj nm pron pron

fora

fora na -hemete -mone -ke
 shoot with blowgun AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux (sound of blowgun arrow)
 sound

fai saki

yome noko me tonihani mati
 yomee noko me to- niha- ha -hani mati
 jaguar attraction 3PL.S CH CAUS be IP.N+F 3PL.S
 nm pn pron vt pron

'Hoo, hoo.' They shot them with darts, fai saki, as they were paying attention to the jaguar.'

28 *Yome wehimatamonaka mera kakatomahari , yama*
 yomee waa -himata -mona -ka mera ka- katoma -haari yama
 jaguar stand FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.O COMIT look at IP.E+M thing
 nm vi pron vt pron nf

me fora na mati
 me fora na+F mati
 3PL.S shoot with blowgun AUX 3PL.S
 pron vt aux pron

'The jaguar was standing there, watching them as they shot their blowguns.'

29 *Yowi sonematamonaka baka*
 yowi sona -himata -mona -ka baka
 brown capuchin fall FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (sound of hitting branches)
 nm vi sound

beo

beo
 (sound of hitting ground)
 sound

'A capuchin fell, baka, beo.'

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30 *Efe* *owa* *sonamake* *ahi*
 efe owa sona -makI ahi
 this+M other+M fall following then
 dem adj vi dem

'Another one fell.'

31 *Yowi* *hasi* *rayaho* *hibare* *mata*
 yowi hasi na -ra -yaho hibare mata
 brown capuchin escape AUX NEG DIST.IMP+M wait for now
 nm vi aux interj prt

""Don't let any of the capuchins escape.""

32 *Totikosawamake* *tokomake*
 to- iti -kosa -waha -makI to- ka -makI
 away take out middle change following away go/come following
 vi vi

yowi *karaboe* , *yowi* *wete*
 yowi karaboha+M , yowi wete
 brown capuchin shoot with blowgun brown capuchin return
 nm vt nm vi

kanamematamonaka
 ka- na -ma -himata -mona -ka
 COMIT AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'He headed the capuchin off. He went and shot the capuchin. The capuchin came back, injured.'

33 *Wete* *kaname* , *hanohi* *kawitare* *sona*
 wete ka- na -ma+M , hano+M ka- ita -rI , sona+M
 return COMIT AUX back be drunk COMIT sit raised surface fall
 vi aux vi vi vi

Hima , *faya* *me* *amake*
 hima , faya me ama -ke
 let's go enough 3PL.S be DECL+F
 interj adj pron vc

'The capuchin came back, injured. It was drugged and sat down, and fell. "Come one, that's enough of them.''

34 *E* *towakamaba* *ereke*
 ee to- ka- ka -ma -haba ere -ke
 1IN.S away COMIT go/come back FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F
 pron vi pron

""Let's go home.''

35 *E* *towakamaba* *ereke*
 ee to- ka- ka -ma -haba ere -ke
 1IN.S away COMIT go/come back FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F
 pron vi pron

""Let's go home.''

36 *Hiba* , *yowi* *me* *e* *yabamata*
 hiba , yowi me ee yaba -mata
 wait brown capuchin 3PL.O 1IN.S take out short time
 interj nm pron pron vt

""Wait, let's pick up the capuchins.''

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37	Tokomake to- ka away go/come vi	-makI following	yowi yowi brown capuchin nm	totimake to- iti away pick up vt	-makI following	,
	kame ka go/come vi	-ma+M back	yowi yowi brown capuchin nm	ibame iba set down vt	-ma+M back	,
	yowi yowi brown capuchin nm	owa owa other+M adj	totimake to- iti away pick up vt	-makI following	kama ka go/come vi	-ma.LIST ,
	nisori nisori 3SG.POSS.younger brother nm		me me 3PL pron	nisori nisori 3SG.POSS.younger brother nm	ka ka POSS prt	me me 3PL.S pron
	terei terei be three vi	toha to- ha.LIST CH AUX aux	hinaka hinaka 3SG.POSS pron	me me 3PL.S pron	siko siko be five vi	toha to- ha.LIST CH AUX aux
	nemetemone na AUX	-hemete FP.N+F	-mone REP+F			

'He went and got a capuchin. He came back and put the capuchin on the ground. He went and got another capuchin, and came back. His younger brother's were three, and his were five.'

38	Faya faya so conj	me me 3PL.S pron	kakama ka- ka COMIT go/come vi	-ma+F back	me me 3PL.S pron	,	me me 3PL.S pron	kakama ka- ka COMIT go/come vi	-ma+F back
	me me 3PL.S pron	Mato mato inner bark nf	mato mato inner bark nf	sa saa strip off vt	tinahi ti- na 2SG.S AUX aux		yowi yowi brown capuchin nm		
	me me 3PL.POSS pron	matibana mati line+F pn	-bana FUT						

"They came back. "Strip off some inner bark to tie the capuchins with."

39	Tamiyara tamiyara tree nm	wa waa.CONT+M stand vi	hari haari that one+M dem	tamiyara tamiyara tree nm
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""There is a *tamiyara* tree right there.""

40	Yifo yifo hammock nm	mato mato inner bark nf	ka kaa chop vt	kanematamonaka ka- na COMIT AUX aux	-himata FP.N+M	-mona REP+M	-ka DECL+M	yimawa yimawa knife nf	,
	yimawa yimawa knife nf	bite bite small+F adj	totoro to- toro DUP be short vi	kabote na -kabote AUX quickly aux	na na+F AUX aux	ya ya ADJU prt			

'He chopped to get some inner bark with a stubby knife.'

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41 *Mato* *ka* *kane* *mato* , *sa* *tomise*
 mato kaa ka- na+M mato , saa to- na -misa+M
 inner bark chop COMMIT AUX inner bark strip off away AUX up
 nf vt aux nf vt aux

mato *tamiyara* *hose* *nake* , *tamiyara* *hose*
 mato tamiyara hose na -kI , tamiyara hose
 inner bark tree sp pull out AUX coming tree sp pull out
 nf nm vt aux nm vt

nakematamonaka

na -kI -himata -mona -ka
 AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'He chopped at the inner bark, and then pulled it up, and yanked it off.'

42 *Tamiyara* *hose* *nake* *Tani* *tinisa* *fa*
 tamiyara hose na -kI tani ti- na -risa+F faa
 tree sp pull out AUX coming slide 2SG.S AUX down that
 nm vt aux vt aux dem

tikaba

ti- ka -ba
 2SG.S POSS FUT
 prt

'He yanked off the inner bark. "You separate the inner bark from the outer bark for yours."'

43 *Haha* *okoba* *ama* *ha*
 haaha o- ka -ba ama haa
 this+F 1SG.POSS POSS FUT be DEM
 dem prt vc dem

'"I'm going to take these here."'

44 *Tamiyara* *me* *tani* *nemetemoneke*
 tamiyara me tani na -hemete -mone -ke
 tree sp 3PL.S slide AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron vt aux

'They separated the inner bark from the outer bark.'

45 *Tamiyara* *me* *tani* *na* *me* , *tamiyara* *me* *tani* *na*
 tamiyara me tani na+F me , tamiyara me tani na+F
 tree sp 3PL.S slide AUX 3PL.S tree sp 3PL.S slide AUX
 nm pron vt aux pron nm pron vt aux

me *tamiyara* , *tamiyara* *katifomatamonaka* *ahi*
 me tamiyara , tamiyara ka- tifo -himata -mona -ka ahi
 3PL.S tree sp tree sp COMMIT tie together FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 pron nm nm vt dem

'They separated the inner bark from the outer bark. After they separated the inner bark from the outer bark, he tied the pieces of inner bark together.'

46 *Tamiyara* *ya* *kane* *tamiyara*
 tamiyara yaa ka- na+M tamiyara
 tree sp hold down with foot COMMIT AUX tree sp
 nm vt aux nm

katifomatamona

ka- tifo -himata -mona *ahi*
 COMMIT tie together FP.N+M REP+M then
 vt dem

'He held the inner bark down with his foot. He tied the ends of the inner bark together.'

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47 *Tamiyara katifo* , *Faya ama mato* ?
 tamiyara ka- tifo+M , faya ama mato
 tree sp COMMIT tie together enough be inner bark
 nm vt adj vc nf

'He tied the pieces of inner bark together. "Is that enough inner bark?"'

48 *Ee faya amake* .
 ee faya ama -ke
 yes enough be DECL+F
 interj conj vc

""Yes, it's enough.""

49 *Mato yabo* .
 mato yabo -ke
 inner bark be long DECL+F
 nf vi

""It's a long cord.""

50 *Aya yoyowa tinihahi* .
 aya yo- yowa ti- niha- na -hi
 this DUP reach 2SG.S CAUS AUX IMP+F
 dem vi aux

""Make it this long.""

51 *Yowi me tamake* .
 yowi me tama -ke
 brown capuchin 3PL.S be many DECL+F
 nm pron vi

""There are many capuchins.""

52 *Yowi me tamake ati nematamona* .
 yowi me tama -ke ati na -himata -mona
 brown capuchin 3PL.S be many DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm pron vi vt aux

""There are many capuchins," he said.'

53 *Yama , yama kakehani , fito*
 yama , yama ka -kI -hani , fito
 thing thing go/come coming IP.N+F rush
 nf nf vi vi

nakemetemoneni

na -kI -hemete -mone -ni
 AUX coming FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 aux

'Something had come up, and it attacked.'

54 *Yowi me sawi nematamonaka* .
 yowi me sawi na -himata -mona -ka
 brown capuchin 3PL.O drape AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm pron vt aux

'He draped the capuchins over the inner bark.'

55 *Yowi me sawi ne , kana ni*
 yowi me sawi na+M , kana na.NFIN
 brown capuchin 3PL.O drape AUX run AUX
 nm pron vt aux vi aux

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kakematamonaka **ahi**
ka -kI -himata -mona -ka ahi
go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
vi dem
'He draped the capuchins. The jaguar came running.'

56 **Yama titimariya** **faro**
yama ti- iti -ma -ra+F -yahi faaro
thing 2SG.S pick up back NEG DIST.IMP+F that+F
nf vt dem

itariharo
ita -rI -haaro
sit raised surface IP.E+F
vi
'Don't get that thing sitting there.'¹³¹

57 **Kana ni kake owa owa wematamona ha**
kana na.NFIN ka -kI owa owa waa -himata -mona haa
run AUX go/come coming other+M other+M stand FP.N+M REP+M DEM
vi aux vi adj adj vi dem

ya ahi
ya ahi
ADJU there
prt dem

'It came running. The other boy was standing a ways off.'

58 **Ayo yama kakini ayo**
ayo yama ka -kI -ni ayo
older brother thing go/come coming BKG+F older brother
nm nf vi nm

'Older Brother, there is something coming.'

59 **Yama kake wanakietemoneke ahi**
yama ka -kI wana -kI -hemete -mone -ke ahi
thing go/come coming be attached coming FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
nf vi vi dem

'It came and attacked right away.'

60 **Mano wara hikanematamona ahi he**
mano wara hi- to- ka- na -himata -mona ahi hee
arm+M grab OC CH COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M then 3SG.O
pn vt aux dem pron

nabowenaha
na- aboha -hina -ha
CAUS die IRR+M DUP
vt

'He grabbed its paws, and it almost killed him.'

61 **Mano wara hikane , tama**
mano wara hi- to- ka- na+M tama
arm+M grab OC CH COMIT AUX hold onto
pn vt aux vt

hinematamonaka
hi- na -himata -mona -ka
OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux

¹³¹ This is probably Siko ordering a child who was present.

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'He grabbed its paws, and held onto it.'

62	Nisori		awa	,	awa	nisori		baka
	nisori		awa		awa	nisori		baka
	3SG.POSS.younger brother		wood		wood	3SG.POSS.younger brother		break
	nm		nf		nf	nm		vt
	nakose		ya	,	me	hinabowena		me
	na -kosa.NOM+M		ya		me	hi- na- aboha -hina		me
	AUX middle		ADJU		3PL.S	OC CAUS die IRR+M		3PL.S
	aux		prt		pron	vt		pron

hiwarematamonaka

hi- awa -ra -himata -mona -ka
 OC see NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'If the younger brother had succeeded in breaking off a sapling, they would have killed it. Why couldn't they do it?'

63	Faya	yoko	hiwitimatamonaka					
	faya	yoko	hi- to- na -witI -himata -mona -ka					
	so	push	OC away AUX out		FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	
	conj	vt	aux					

'He threw the jaguar back.'

64	Yoko	hiwiti		tosawite		fito	nama
	yoko	hi- to- na -witI+M		to- sona -witI		fito	na -ma
	push	OC away AUX out		away fall out		rush	AUX back
	vt	aux		vi		vi	aux

kanibote **nematamona** **ahi**
 ka- na -bote na -himata -mona ahi
 COMIT AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 aux aux dem

'He threw it back, and it fell over, but then it charged right back.'

65	Wara	himisatase		fare	he	totoniha		ne
	wara	hi- to- na -misa -tasa+M		fare	hee	to- to- niha- ha		na+M
	grab	OC CH AUX up again		same+M	3SG.O	DUP CH CAUS be		AUX
	vt	aux		dem	pron	vt		aux
	yoko	hiwititase		nisori		ka	ya	
	yoko	hi- to- na -witI -tasa+M		nisori		ka	ya	
	push	OC away AUX out again		3SG.POSS.younger brother		LOC	ADJU	
	vt	aux		nm		prt	prt	

wanawa **tohitimatamonaka** **ahi**
 wana -waha to- na -hitI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 be attached change CH AUX along the way FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi aux dem

'He grabbed its paws again, and it went after him again. He threw it back again. The older brother went quickly behind his younger brother.'

66	Wanawa		toiti		nisori		wara
	wana	-waha	to- na -hitI+M		nisori		wara
	be attached change		CH AUX along the way		3SG.POSS.younger brother		grab
	vi		aux		nm		vt
	himise		Yoko	kabote	tinahi		
	hi- to- na -misa+M		yoko	na -kabote	ti- na -hi		
	OC CH AUX up		push	AUX quickly	2SG.S AUX IMP+F		
	aux		vt	aux	aux		

'It attacked the other one right away. The younger brother grabbed its paws. "Push it into the trees."'

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67 *Yoko kabote tinahi*
 yoko na -kabote ti- na -hi
 push AUX quickly 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vt aux aux

"Push it into the trees."

68 *Fe orarene*
 fee o- na -ra -hare -ne
 3SG.O 1SG.S AUX NEG IP.E+M BKG+M
 pron vt

"That's what I did."

69 *Faya yoko hiwiti sasawi ba*
 faya yoko hi- to- na -witI+M sa- sawi na -ba
 so push OC away AUX out DUP be present AUX without stopping
 conj vt aux vi aux

nematamona ehenebona ya
 na -himata -mona ehene -bona ya
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M victim of+M INT+M ADJU
 aux pn prt

'He threw it back. It stayed close, to kill him.'

70 *Me wara tomisarima hine me mera ma*
 me wara to- na -misa -rima hi- na+M me mera maa
 3PL grab CH AUX up intermittent OC AUX 3PL.S 3PL.O be tired
 pron vt aux aux pron pron vi

tokanihimatamonane

to- ka- niha- ha -himata -mona -ne
 CH COMIT CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 aux

'They kept grabbing its paws, but it tired them out.'

71 *Mera ma tokani me hiwakama*
 mera maa to- ka- niha+M- ha me hi- ka- ka -ma
 3PL.O be tired CH COMIT CAUS AUX 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back
 pron vi aux pron vt

hinamaiti awa aamosa na homi ya
 hi- na -ma -hitI+M awa a- amosa na+F homa.NOM+F ya
 OC AUX back along the way wood DUP be good AUX lie on ground ADJU
 aux nf vi aux vi prt

me tiwa himise ya me kote
 me tiwa hi- to- na -misa.NOM+M ya me kote
 3PL.S carry OC away AUX up ADJU 3PL.S hit
 pron vt aux prt pron vt

hire ya kawarenamata amaka
 hi- na -rI.NOM ya ka- waa -ra -hina -mata ama -ka
 OC AUX raised surface ADJU COMIT stand NEG IRR+M FP.N+M SEC DECL+M
 aux prt vi sec

me fama mati
 me fama+F mati
 3PL.S be two 3PL.S
 pron vi pron

'It tired them out. They came along the trail with it. If there had been a good log, and if they had lifted it in the air and hit it on it, it wouldn't have stayed.'

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72 *Faya kawarena me hiwakama*
 faya ka- waa -ra -hina me hi- ka- ka -ma
 so COMIT stand NEG IRR+M 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back
 conj vi pron vt

hinamaitimatamonaka ahi
 hi- na -ma -hitI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 OC AUX back along the way FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'It wouldn't have stayed. They came along the trail with it.'

73 *Me hiwakama hinamaiti me wara*
 me hi- ka- ka -ma hi- na -ma -hitI+M me wara
 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back OC AUX back along the way 3PL.S grab
 pron vt aux pron vt

wara himisatasematamona ahi
 wara hi- to- na -misa -tasa -himata -mona ahi
 grab OC CH AUX up again FP.N+M REP+M then
 vt aux dem

'They came along the trail with it. They grabbed its paws again.'

74 *Yoko hiwitimatamonaka*
 yoko hi- to- na -witI -himata -mona -ka
 push OC away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux

'He pushed it back.'

75 *Yoyora towitimatamonane he*
 yo- yora to- na -witI -himata -mona -ne hee
 DUP jump away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3SG.O
 vi aux pron

nabowawehibana mama ihi
 na- aboha -waha -hibana ma- maa ihi
 CAUS die change FUT+M DUP be tired because of+F
 vt nf post

'It jumped away. It was going to kill him now, he was tired out.'

76 *Faya mera fawa tokanimatamonaka fahi*
 faya mera fawa to- ka- niha- na -himata -mona -ka fahi
 so 3PL.O disappear CH COMIT CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj pron vi aux dem

hatahata ramako
 hata- hata na -ra -mako
 DUP be fast AUX NEG for this reason+M
 vi aux

'So it killed them, because it wouldn't stop fighting.'

77 *Ene ma tokahematamonane*
 ehene maa to- ka- ha -himata -mona -ne
 result of+M be tired CH COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 pn vi aux

'It tired them out.'

78 *Ene ma tokahe mera nabowikime mera*
 ehene maa to- ka- ha+M mera na- aboha -kima+M mera
 result of+M be tired CH COMIT AUX 3PL.O CAUS die two 3PL.O
 pn vi aux pron vt pron

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nabowikime , **Hoo** , **yama** **owa** **nabowaba**
na- aboha -kima+M , hoo , yama owa na- aboha -haba
CAUS die two whew thing 1SG.O CAUS die FUT+F
vt interj nf pron vt

tiweheye
ti- awa -heye
2SG.S see
vt

'It killed the two of them. It killed the two of them. "Whew, look at me, it is going to kill me!"

79 **Yama** **owa** **nabowaba** **tiweheye** **ati**
yama owa na- aboha+M -ba ti- awa -heye ati
thing 1SG.O CAUS die FUT 2SG.S see say
nf pron vt vt vt

nematamonaka **ahi**
na -himata -mona -ka ahi
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
aux dem

"Look at me, it is going to kill me!" he said.'

80 **Ami** **ami** **ami** **ami** **ami** **yama** **owa** **kabibone**
ami ami ami ami ami yama owa kaba.NOM+F -bone
yikes yikes yikes yikes yikes thing 1SG.O eat INT+F
interj interj interj interj interj nf pron vt

"Yikes, it's going to eat me!"

81 **Ami** **yama** **owa** **kabibone**
ami yama owa kaba.NOM+F -bone
yikes thing 1SG.O eat INT+F
interj nf pron vt

"Yikes, it's going to eat me!"

82 **Sasawi** **ba** **nematamonane**
sa- sawi na -ba na -himata -mona -ne
DUP be present AUX without stopping AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
vi aux aux

'It stayed close to them.'

83 **Yoko** **hiwititase** , **yora** **towiti** **fito**
yoko hi- to- na -witI -tasa+M , yora to- na -witI+M fito
push OC away AUX out again jump away AUX out rush
vt aux vi aux vi

nama **kanibote** **nematamonaka** **ahi**
na -ma ka- na -bote na -himata -mona -ka ahi
AUX back COMIT AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
aux aux aux dem

'He pushed it back again. It jumped and attacked again.'

84 **Fito** **nama** **kanibote** **ne** **yome** **me** , **waka** **hina**
fito na -ma ka- na -bote na+M yomee me , waka hi- na+F
rush AUX back COMIT AUX quickly AUX jaguar 3PL.O kill OC AUX
vi aux aux aux aux nm pron vt aux

me **hasi** **nebona** **bakasi** **awe** **tokematamona**
me hasi na -hibona bakasi awa+M to- ka -himata -mona
3PL rest AUX INT+M thirst feel away go/come FP.N+M REP+M
pron vi aux nf vt vi

'It charged them quickly again. The jaguar killed them. It wanted to rest, and it was thirsty, so it went off.'

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85 *Toke* *fa* *tofawite* *kame* , *mera*
to- ka+M faha to- fawa -witI ka -ma+M , mera
away go/come water away drink out go/come back 3PL.O
vi nf vt vi pron

kakatomame *wame* , *mera* *kabawematamona* *fahi*
ka- katoma -ma+M waa -ma+M , mera kaba -waha -himata -mona fahi
COMIT look at back stand back 3PL.O eat change FP.N+M REP+M then
vt vi pron vt dem

'It went and drank water. It came back and looked at them and stayed there. It ate them.'

86 *Mera* *kabematamonaka* *fahi*
mera kaba -himata -mona -ka fahi
3PL.O eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
pron vt dem

'It ate them then.'

87 *Tafehimatamonaka*
tafa -himata -mona -ka
eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi

'It ate.'

88 *Hinaka* *yowi* *me* , *soki* *nakosi* *homa*
hinaka yowi me , soki na -kosa.NFIN homa.LIST
3SG.POSS brown capuchin 3PL.S tie up AUX middle lie on ground
pron nm pron vt aux vi

'Their capuchins were there, tied up.'

89 *Yowi* *me* *noko*
yowi me noko
brown capuchin 3PL.POSS attraction
nm pron pn

toniharematamonaka
to- niha- ha -ra -himata -mona -ka
CH CAUS be NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vt

'It didn't care about the capuchins.'

90 *Fara* *me* *mono* *hina* *mera* *kabehimatamonane*
fara me mono hi- na+F mera kaba -himata -mona -ne
same+F 3PL.O struggle with OC AUX 3PL.O eat FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
dem pron vt aux pron vt

'It only ate the ones it had fought with.'

91 *Yome* *me* *hikaba* *me* *fawa* *kana* *me* , *me*
yomee me hi- kaba+F me fawa ka- na+F me , me
jaguar 3PL.S OC eat 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S
nm pron vt pron vi aux pron pron

fawa *kana* *me* *fawa* *kana* *me* *fawa*
fawa ka- na+F me fawa ka- na+F me fawa
disappear COMIT AUX 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX 3PL.S disappear
vi aux pron vi aux pron vi

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kanemetemoneke

ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux

'The jaguar ate them. They didn't come back.'

92 *Me fawa kana me , tabiyo me me*
me fawa ka- na+F me , tabiyo me me
3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX 3PL.POSS absence 3PL 3PL.S
pron vi aux pron pn pron pron

hora hina me , me tabiyo me
hora hi- na+F me , me tabiyo me
complain about OC AUX 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS absence 3PL.S
vt aux pron pron pn pron

hora hina me me fawa kana me ,
hora hi- na+F me me fawa kana na+F me ,
complain about OC AUX 3PL.POSS 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX 3PL.S
vt aux pron pron vi aux pron

kakamara me , bai tokematamona
ka- ka -ma -ra+F me , bahi to- ka -himata -mona
COMIT go/come back NEG 3PL.S sun away go/come FP.N+M REP+M
vi pron nm vi

amaka

ama -ka
SEC DECL+M
sec

'They were missing, and the others missed them. They were missing, and they didn't come back, and the sun went down.'

93 *Bai toke me me hiwamakebone me ,*
bahi to- ka+M me me hi- to- awa -makI -habone me ,
sun away go/come 3PL 3PL.S OC away see following INT+F 3PL.S
nm vi pron pron vt pron

me ka ayo tokomake ma tonamake
me ka ayo to- ka -makI maa to- na -makI+F
3PL.S POSS older brother away go/come following stop away AUX following
pron prt nm vi aux

ha tonamake kame , Himata me ebe na
haa to- na -makI ka -ma+M , himata me ebe na+F
call away AUX following go/come back what? 3PL.S purpose AUX
vi aux vi interrog pron vt aux

me fawa kanaha ?
me fawa ka- na+F ?
3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX
pron vi aux

'The sun went down, and they wanted to go look for them. Their older brother went after them. He stopped and called for them. He came back. "What happened that they disappeared?"'

94 *Kokosi nakome nofe fawa naka ,*
ko- kosi na- komeha nofa+M fawa na.CONT+M -ka ,
DUP flail CAUS be fearsome recently disappear AUX DECL+M
nf vt prt vi aux

yome hikabari
yomee hi- kaba -haari
jaguar OC eat IP.E+M
nm vt

'"He was always afraid of the switch and he has disappeared, because a jaguar ate him."'

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95 *Towe amaremetemoneke*

towe ama -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 bad be NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 adj vc

'The tradition is true.'

96 *Iti*

iti tiwa kosi nare
 2SG.POSS grandfather 2SG.O flail AUX raised surface
 nm pron vt aux

onofarara

ati o- na nofa -ra -hara o- ni
 say 1SG.S AUX recently NEG IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vt prt

'"You should have let your grandfather flail you."'

97 *Faya*

, me fawa kana me me amo
 faya me fawa ka- na+F me me amo
 so 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep
 conj pron vi aux pron pron vi

nemetemoneke

na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'They had disappeared. The others slept.'

98 *Me*

amo na me , me amo na me me
 me amo na+F me me amo na+F me me
 3PL.O sleep AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron pron vi aux pron pron

bosa

hikanemetemoneni

bosa hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ni
 get up early OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi aux

'They slept. They slept, and they got up early because of them.'

99 *Wati*

tama okobe
 wati tama o- ka- na -be
 arrow hold onto 1SG.S COMIT AUX IMMED+F
 nm vt aux

'"I'm going to take arrows along."'

100 *Yome*

ene fawa naka
 yomee ehene fawa na.CONT+M -ka
 jaguar victim of+M disappear AUX DECL+M
 nm pn vi aux

'"I think a jaguar killed them."'

101 *Me*

tokoma wati me tiwari
 me to- ka -ma+F wati me tiwa -ri
 3PL.O away go/come back arrow 3PL.S carry DISTR
 pron vi nm pron vt

kanemetemoneke

ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

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'They went, each one carrying a pack of arrows.'

102	Me	tokomake		me	me					
	me	to- ka	-makI	me	me					
	3PL.S	away go/come	following	3PL.S	3PL.S					
	pron	vi		pron	pron					
	hinakamakia			me	,	me	tokomake			
	hi-	to-	na-	ka	-makI+F	me	to-	ka	-makI	
	OC	away	CAUS	go/come	following	3PL.S	3PL.S	away go/come	following	
	vt					pron	pron	vi		
	tokomake			tokomake		ni	ya	,	wati	me
	to-	ka	-makI	to-	ka	-makI	na.NOM+F	ya	wati	me
	away go/come	following		away go/come	following	AUX	ADJU	arrow	3PL	
	vi			vi		aux	prt	nm	pron	
	kihemetemoneke									
	kiha	-hemete	-mone	-ke						
	have	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F						
	vt									

'They went. They went after them. They went on and on and on. They had had arrows.'

103	Wati	kawematamona		hawi	ya					
	wati	ka-	waa	-himata	-mona	hawi	ya			
	arrow	COMIT	stand	FP.N+M	REP+M	trail	ADJU			
	nm	vi				nf	prt			

'There were arrows leaning against a tree by the trail.'

104	Aya	me	hiwakamasa		hine	ya	me					
	aya	me	hi-	to-	ka-	ka	-ma	-saa	hi-	na.NOM+M	ya	me
	this	3PL.S	OC	away	COMIT	go/come	back	still	OC	AUX	ADJU	3PL.S
	dem	pron	vt						aux		prt	pron
	,	me	sa		hikanenaha		me	ka	wati			
		me	saa		hi-	ka-	na	-hina	-ha	me	ka	wati
		3PL.S	shoot with arrow	OC	COMIT	AUX	IRR+M	DUP		3PL	POSS	arrow
		pron	vt	aux						pron	prt	nm
	kawematamonaka				hawi	ya						
	ka-	waa	-himata	-mona	-ka	hawi	ya					
	COMIT	stand	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	trail	ADJU					
	vi					nf	prt					

'If they had come along with it further, they would have shot it, because their arrows were leaning against a tree by the trail.'

105	Me	kamakia		me	kamakiemetemone		ahi		
	me	ka	-makI+F	me	ka	-makI	-hemete	-mone	ahi
	3PL.S	go/come	following	3PL.S	go/come	following	FP.N+F	REP+F	then
	pron	vi		pron	vi				dem

'The others came.'

106	Wati	kawari		fari						
	wati	ka-	waa	-haari	faari					
	arrow	COMIT	stand	look+M	that one+M					
	nm	vi			dem					

'"Look, there are arrows there against a tree."'

107	Wati	kawa		fari						
	wati	ka-	waa	CONT+M	faari					
	arrow	COMIT	stand		that one+M					
	nm	vi			dem					

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"There are arrows there against a tree."

108 *Fara me , fara me towakini ya wati*
 fara me , fara me to- ka- ka.NOM+F -ni ya wati
 same+F 3PL.O same+F 3PL.S away COMIT go/come IP.N+F ADJU arrow
 dem pron dem pron vi prt nm

tokanokomakematamona ahi
 to- ka- noko -makI -himata -mona ahi
 away COMIT point following FP.N+M REP+M there
 vi dem

'The arrows were pointed in the direction the two of them had gone.'

109 *Me towaka me awineke ahi*
 me to- ka- ka+F me awine -ke ahi
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F here
 pron vi pron sec dem

"They must have gone that way."

110 *Bani me me tonakarinihi ?*
 bani me me to- na- ka -ra.NOM+F -ni -hi
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S away CAUS go/come NEG IP.N+F DUP
 nm pron pron vt

"Weren't they going after game?"

111 *Wati tokanomakeka hari*
 wati to- ka- noko -makI -ka haari
 arrow away COMIT point following DECL+M that one+M
 nm vi dem

"The arrows are pointed that way."

112 *Yama mai winakiemetemone amake*
 yama mahi wina -kI -hemete -mone ama -ke
 thing smell+F hang coming FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 nf pn vi sec

'A smell came in the air.'

113 *Hanf , me me yoti mahi me yoti*
 hanf , me me yoti mahi me yoti
 peeoo 3PL.O 3PL.POSS guts+F smell+F 3PL.POSS intestines+F
 interj pron pron pn pn pron pn

mai me yome me hikabi ka , me tori
 mahi me yomee me hi- kaba.NOM+F ka , me tori
 smell+F 3PL.O jaguar 3PL.O OC eat because 3PL.S inside+F
 pn pron nm pron vt prt pron pn

mai batarisa me tori mai ra me hisi
 mahi bata -risa+F me tori mahi ra me hisi
 smell+F be rotten down 3PL.POSS guts+F smell+F O 3PL.S sniff
 pn vi pron pn pn prt pron vt

nemetemone
 na -hemete -mone
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 aux

"Peeoo!" They smelled the stench of their rotting guts because a jaguar ate them.'

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114 *Yama mai babata raba kabote na mai*
 yama mahi ba- bata na -raba na -kabote na+F mahi
 thing smell+F DUP be rotten AUX a bit AUX quickly AUX smell+F
 nf pn vi aux aux aux pn

amake

ama -ke
 be DECL+F
 vc

"It's the smell of something starting to rot."

115 *Afa me mai amake , hiba*
 afa me mahi ama -ke hiba
 this+F 3PL.S smell+F be DECL+F wait
 dem pron pn vc interj

"It's their smell, we'll see."

116 *Tokomake tokomake tokomake*
 to- ka -makI to- ka -makI to- ka -makI
 away go/come following away go/come following away go/come following
 vi vi vi

ne ya taha me itemetemoneke
 na.NOM+M ya taha me ita -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX ADJU sweat bee sp 3PL.S sit FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux prt nm pron vi

'He went. He went on and on, and then there were sweat bees.'

117 *Haro*
 haaro
 that one+F
 dem

"There."

118 *Tiwati watarima nahi*
 ti- ati wata -rima na -hi
 2SG.POSS voice exist NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F
 pn vi aux

"Be quiet."

119 *Tiwati watarima nahi*
 ti- ati wata -rima na -hi
 2SG.POSS voice exist NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F
 pn vi aux

"Be quiet."

120 *Me me ati fawa kana me yoro na me , me*
 me me ati fawa ka- na+F me yoro na+F me me
 3PL.S 3PL.S voice stop COMMIT AUX 3PL.S stand AUX 3PL 3PL.O
 pron pron pn vi aux pron vi aux pron pron

naohemetemoneke

naho -hemete -mone -ke
 stand FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'They stopped talking and stood there.'

THE JAGUAR ATE THE TWO BOYS

121 *Me naoha me , Yome tafakenoho*
 me naho+F me yomee tafa -ke -no -ho
 3PL.S stand 3PL.S jaguar eat DECL IP.N+M DUP
 pron vi pron nm vi

"They stood there. "There has been a jaguar eating."

122 *Yome me okaniso me yome*
 yomee me o- ka niso me yomee
 jaguar 3PL.O 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother 3PL jaguar
 nm pron nm pron nm

kabakenoho

kaba -ke -no -ho
 eat DECL IP.N+M DUP

vt

"The jaguar ate my younger brothers."

123 *Te tokomahi*
 tee to- ka -ma -hi
 2PL.S away go/come back IMP+F
 pron vi

"You go on back."

124 *Okomisiba ahi*
 o- to- ka -misa.NOM+F -ba ahi
 1SG.S away go/come up FUT here
 vi dem

"I'm going to go up in a tree here."

125 *Owariba ahi*
 o- waa -rI.NOM -ba ahi
 1SG.S stand raised surface FUT there
 vi dem

"I'm going to stay up in the tree."

126 *Te tokoma te ati watarima nahi*
 tee to- ka -ma+F tee ati wata -rima na -hi
 2PL.S away go/come back 2PL.POSS voice exist NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F
 pron vi pron pn vi aux

"Go home, and don't say anything."

127 *Okaniso me te towakamahi*
 o- ka niso me tee to- ka- ka -ma -hi
 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother 3PL 2PL.S away COMIT go/come back IMP+F
 nm pron pron vt

"Take my brothers back."

128 *Awa ya me te nawanikimaha me te tiwa*
 awa ya me tee na- wana -kima+F me tee tiwa
 wood ADJU 3PL 2PL.S CAUS be attached two 3PL.S 2PL.S carry
 nf prt pron pron vt pron pron vt

kana

nahi

ka- na na -hi
 COMIT AUX AUX IMP+F

aux aux

"Fasten them both to poles, and carry them on your shoulders."

THE JAGUAR ATE THE TWO BOYS

129 *Me ka wati te tama kana*
 me ka wati tee tama ka- na.LIST
 3PL POSS arrow 2PL.S hold onto COMMIT AUX
 pron prt nm pron vt aux

"Take their arrows, too."

130 *Yome noki obeya*
 yomee noki o- na -be -ya
 jaguar wait for 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 nm vt aux

"I'm going to wait for the jaguar."

131 *Yome noki obeya ati ne teme matone*
 yomee noki o- na -be -ya ati na+M teme matone
 jaguar wait for 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now say AUX foot+M line+M
 nm vt aux vt aux pn pn
nawate tokomisawite E kekerewe rima
 na- wata+M to- ka -misa -witI ee ke- kerewe na -rima
 CAUS be located away go/come up out 1IN.S DUP be slow AUX NEG.IMP+F
 vt vi pron vi aux

nahi

na -hi
 AUX IMP+F
 aux

"I'm going to wait for the jaguar," he said. He wrapped twine around his feet and climbed the tree. "Let's not delay."

132 *E tokomibeya*
 ee to- ka -ma -be -ya
 1IN.S away go/come back IMMED+F now
 pron vi

"Let's go home."

133 *Faya tokomisawite*
 faya to- ka -misa -witI
 so away go/come up out
 conj vi

warehimatamonaka

waa -rI -himata -mona -ka ahi wati tama
 stand raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M there arrow hold onto
 vi dem nm vt

kanahi

ka- na+M
 COMMIT AUX
 aux

'So he went up into the tree and stood there, holding arrows.'

134 *Kiki tonikima nematamonaka*
 ki- kii to- na -kima na -himata -mona -ka
 DUP look CH AUX two AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux aux

'He looked all around. He looked all around. It didn't come back, because its stomach was full.'

135 *Yome nabati nafi ke*
 yomee nabati nafi.NOM ke
 jaguar stomach be big because of+M
 nm pn vi prt

THE JAGUAR ATE THE TWO BOYS

kamarematamonaka

ka -ma -ra -himata -mona -ka
 go/come back NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'The jaguar didn't come back, because its stomach was full.'

136 **Noki hine , faya kakayomarise**
 noki hi- na+M faya ka- kayoma -risa+M
 wait for OC AUX so COMMIT darken down
 vt aux conj vi

kamakimatamona

ka -maki -himata -mona
 go/come following FP.N+M REP+M
 vi

'He waited for it. When it started to get dark on him, he came home.'

137 **Me me ka abi me ohi nemetemoneke**
 me me ka abi me ohi na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.O 3PL.S POSS father 3PL.O cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pron prt nm pron vi aux

'Their parents cried.'

138 **Me ka yowi me me weye , yowi**
 me ka yowi me me weye yowi
 3PL.S POSS brown capuchin 3PL.O 3PL.S carry brown capuchin
 pron prt nm pron pron vt nm

me me weye nemetemoneke yowi me me
 me me weye na -hemete -mone -ke yowi me me
 3PL.S 3PL.S carry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F brown capuchin 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron pron vt aux nm pron pron

soki hinakia mati
 soki hi- na -kI+F mati
 tie up OC AUX coming 3PL.O
 vt aux pron

'They lashed together their capuchins and carried them.'

139 **Wati kawe ya me hekayasa**
 wati ka- waa.NOM+M ya me hi- ka- ka -ma -saa
 arrow COMMIT stand ADJU 3PL.S OC COMMIT go/come back still
 nm vi prt pron vt

hine ya me sa hikanena
 hi- na+M ya me saa hi- ka- na -hina
 OC AUX ADJU 3PL.O shoot with arrow OC COMMIT AUX IRR+M
 aux prt pron vt aux

'If they had brought it to where the arrows were leaning against a tree, they could have killed it with arrows.'

140 **Wati tinakamahi nisori ra**
 wati ti- to- na- ka -ma -hi nisori ra
 arrow 2SG.S away CAUS go/come back IMP+F 3SG.POSS.younger brother O
 nm vt nm prt

ati remata awaka
 ati na -ra -himata awa -ka
 say AUX NEG FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M
 vt aux sec

'He seems to not have said to his younger brother, "Go get the arrows."'

THE JAGUAR ATE THE TWO BOYS

141 *Owakatomeba* *awa*
 o- ka- katoma -hiba awa
 1SG.S COMIT look at FUT+M seem+M
 vt sec

"I will watch him."

142 *Wara tomisarima* *hine* *ya*
 wara to- na -misa -rima hi- na.NOM+M ya
 grab CH AUX up intermittent OC AUX ADJU
 vt aux aux prt

nisori *kame* *ya* *nisori*
 nisori ka -ma.NOM+M ya nisori
 3SG.POSS.younger brother go/come back ADJU 3SG.POSS.younger brother
 nm vi prt nm

sa *hikanena*
 saa hi- ka- na -hina
 shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX IRR+M
 vt aux

'He could have kept throwing it off him, and when his brother came back, he could have shot it with an arrow.'

143 *Faya nisori* *sa* *hikanena*
 faya nisori saa hi- ka- na -hina
 so 3SG.POSS.younger brother shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX IRR+M
 conj nm vt aux

faya me , *faya me kama* *me* , *Yome me*
 faya me , faya me ka -ma+F me , yomee me
 so 3PL.O so 3PL go/come back 3PL jaguar 3PL.O
 conj pron conj pron vi pron nm pron

hikabanike
 hi- kaba -hani -ke
 OC eat IP.N+F DECL+F
 vt

'So his younger brother didn't kill it with an arrow. They came back. "A jaguar ate them."'

144 *Yome me hikabani* *yome noki* *ne*
 yomee me hi- kaba -hani yomee noki na+M
 jaguar 3PL.S OC eat IP.N+F jaguar wait for AUX
 nm pron vt nm vt aux

warehare *me ka ayo*
 waa -rI -hare me ka ayo
 stand raised surface IP.E+M 3PL.O POSS older brother
 vi pron prt nm

"The jaguar had eaten them, and their older brother is waiting for it in the tree."

145 *Kame* *ya kama* *ne* *awaka*
 ka -ma.NOM+M ya ka -ma.LIST na+M awa -ka
 go/come back ADJU go/come back AUX seem+M DECL+M
 vi prt vi aux sec

"Maybe it will come back."

146 *E awakere*
 ee awa -ke -re
 1IN.S see DECL+F NEG+F
 pron vt

"I don't know."

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147 *Me ka bani me me hitokemetemoneke*
 me ka bani me me hi- toka -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S POSS animal 3PL 3PL.O OC partially burn FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron prt nm pron pron vt

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

"They singed the hair off their game."

148 *Yowi abakabote tere aware awane*
 yowi ahaba -kabote na -tee -ra+M awa -ra+M awa -ne
 brown capuchin die quickly AUX HAB NEG see NEG seem+M BKG+M
 nm vi aux vt sec

"The brown capuchin lasts quite a while before it gets bad."

149 *Faya yowi me me toka yowi me*
 faya yowi me me toka+F yowi me
 so brown capuchin 3PL.O 3PL.S partially burn brown capuchin 3PL.S
 conj nm pron pron vt nm pron

kabi ohariaba Me e kabamate me
 kaba.NFIN ohari -haba me ee kaba -mate , me
 eat be one FUT+F 3PL.O 1IN.S eat short time.IMP+F 3PL.POSS
 result vi pron pron vt pron

ihi
 ihi
 result of+F
 pn

"They singed the hair off the capuchins. They would only eat capuchins this one time. "Let's eat them for now, the ones they killed."

150 *Kosi orebona hiwa awi nofe , yome*
 kosi o- na -ra -hibona hiwa awa nofa+M , yomee
 flail 1SG.S AUX NEG INT+M 3SG.REFL.M see recently jaguar
 vt aux pron vt prt nm

nabowa nano
 na- aboha na.NOM+M -no
 CAUS die AUX IP.N+M
 vt aux

"He wouldn't let me beat him, and the jaguar killed him."

151 *Me ihi tiwa mata haro yome me*
 me ihi ti- awa mata haaro yomee me
 3PL.POSS result of+F 2SG.S see for now that one+F jaguar 3PL.O
 pron pn vt prt dem nm pron

mono hinani mati
 mono hi- na -hani mati
 struggle with OC AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O
 vt aux pron

"Look at the signs of the jaguar struggling with them."

152 *Awa bawibawiwi narake yome me*
 awa bawi- bawi -wi na -hara -ke yomee me
 tree DUP be bent over DUP AUX IP.E+F DECL+F jaguar 3PL.O
 nf vi aux nm pron

THE JAGUAR ATE THE TWO BOYS

mono hini karo
 mono hi- na.NOM+F karo
 struggle with OC AUX because
 vt aux prt

"The trees were all bent over, because of the jaguar struggling with them."

153 **Me , ihi ota ki na mata**
 me , ihi otaa kii na+F mata
 3PL.POSS result of+F 1EX.S look at AUX for now
 pron pn pron vt aux prt

"We looked at what they did to the brush."

154 **Ota kamawaine waha**
 otaa ka -ma -waha -ne waha
 1EX.S go/come back change CONT+F now
 pron vi prt

"We came home."

155 **Me mata namanike hari ya**
 me mata na -ma -hani -ke haari ya
 3PL.S lie AUX back IP.N+F DECL+F in the middle ADJU
 pron vi aux dem prt

"They were lying there in the middle."

156 **Mera yana kaneno me hiwakama**
 mera yana ka- na -hino me hi- ka- ka -ma
 3PL.O start COMIT AUX IP.N+M 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back
 pron vi aux pron vt

hinamaitino , wati kawi yabore
 hi- na -ma -hitI -hino wati ka- waa.NFIN yabo -ra.NOM+M
 OC AUX back along the way IP.N+M arrow COMIT stand be far NEG
 aux nm vi vi

ya mera waka nenoka fahi
 ya mera waka na -hino -ka fahi
 ADJU 3PL.O kill AUX IP.N+M DECL+M then
 prt pron vt aux dem

"It caused them to start up, and brought them along. It killed them near where the arrows were leaning against a tree."

157 **Faya mera waka ne mera kabeno fahi**
 faya mera waka na+M mera kaba -hino fahi
 so 3PL.O kill AUX 3PL.O eat IP.N+M then
 conj pron vt aux pron vt dem

"It killed them and ate them."

158 **Faya me hikabani me , faya**
 faya me hi- kaba -hani me , faya
 so 3PL.O OC eat IP.N+F 3PL.O so
 conj pron vt pron conj

warehimatamonaka
 waa -rI -himata -mona -ka
 stand raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

"It ate them." He got up in a tree.'

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159 *Ware* , *Okisamibe* , *yome*
 waa -rI o- to- ka -risa -ma -be yomee
 stand raised surface 1SG.S away go/come down back IMMED+F jaguar
 vi vi nm

kamare
 ka -ma -ra+M
 go/come back NEG
 vi
 'He was in the tree. "I'm going down, the jaguar didn't come back."'

160 *Kamare*
 ka -ma -ra+M
 go/come back NEG
 vi

"It didn't come back."

161 *Noki* *one* *kame* *ya* *sa*
 noki o- na+M ka -ma.NOM+M ya saa
 wait for 1SG.S AUX go/come back ADJU shoot with arrow
 vt aux vi prt vt

okanena , *fawa* *na*
 o- ka- na -hina fawa na.CONT+M
 1SG.S COMIT AUX IRR+M disappear AUX
 aux vi aux

"I waited for it. If it had come back, I would have shot it with an arrow. It's gone."

162 *Faya* *me* *kamaki* , *kamakimatamonaka*
 faya me ka -makI+M ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 so 3PL go/come following go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj pron vi vi

'So he came back.'

163 *Owa* *fifito* *kanare*
 owa fi- fito ka- na -ra+M
 1SG.O DUP rush COMIT AUX NEG
 pron vi aux

"It didn't come after me."

164 *Faya* *kamakimatamonaka*
 faya ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 so go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi

'He came back.'

165 *Kamaki* *kobo* *namaki* , *Fera* ?
 ka -makI+M kobo na -makI+M fee -ra
 go/come following arrive AUX following that+M NPQ
 vi vi aux dem

'He came and arrived. "Is that him who came back?"'

166 *Kamare* ?
 ka -ma -ra+M
 go/come back NEG
 vi

"Didn't it come back?"

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167 *Kamarareka*

ka -ma -ra -hare -ka
go/come back NEG IP.E+M DECL+M
vi

"It didn't come back."

168 *Kamarare*

ka -ma -ra -hare
go/come back NEG IP.E+M
vi

"It didn't come back."

169 *Nabati nafimako*

nabati nafi -mako
stomach be big for this reason+M
pn vi

kamarakenoho

ka -ma -ra.CONT+M -ke -no -ho
go/come back NEG DECL IP.N+M DUP
vi

"Its stomach was full, so it didn't come back."

170 *Nabati nafimako*

nabati nafi -mako
stomach be big for this reason+M
pn vi

kamare

ka -ma -ra+M
go/come back NEG
vi

kamaba

ka -ma.NOM+M -ba tafa.NFIN
go/come back FUT eat
vi vi

tafi

oohi

o- ohi
DUP do completely
vi vi

nenoho

na -hino -ho
AUX IP.N+M DUP
aux

"Its stomach was full. It had eaten them up completely, so it didn't come back."

171 *Tafi*

tafa.NFIN o- ohi
eat DUP do completely
vi vi

oohi

renoka

na -ra -hino -ka
AUX NEG IP.N+M DECL+M
aux

"It ate them up."

172 *Ehene*

ehene tone to- ha -hare -ne
victim of+M bone CH be IP.E+M BKG+M
pn pn vc

tone

toharene

"Its victims became bones."

173 *Ehene*

ehene tone otaa tiwa ka- na+M
victim of+M bone 1EX.S carry COMIT AUX
pn pn pron vt aux

tone

ota

tiwa

kane

ehene

tone

me

ehene tone me
victim of+M bone 3PL.S
pn pn pron

kamone

kamo -ne
bury CONT+F
vt

"We carried its victims' bones on our shoulders, and they are burying them."

TOBOYORO

Free Translation

I am going to tell about the *winika* fruits that they picked up. They were picking up the *winika* fruits.

He wanted to go after *winika* fruits. "I am protective of my *winika* fruits, and I want to pick them up."

There were two of them. Two women went. They were picking up *winika* fruits.

He was an old man, he wasn't a teenager, he was old. "Some people seem to have come after my *winika* fruits that I was going to pick up. Wait, I will take a look at them."

He went there. There were two teenage girls. He went to the two girls. He went there and looked at them. He stood a ways back looking at them.

"They are picking up my *winika* fruits that I was going to pick up."

He went there. They saw something. "Hey." They thought it was a jaguar.

"I'm not a jaguar. You are picking up my *winika* fruits that I was going to pick up. I want to have sex with you."

They looked at each other. "He said, 'I want to have sex with you two.'" They looked at each other, and they stopped talking.

He spoke, and then she spoke. "Mother, the basket isn't quite full of *winika* fruits."

"Pour them out."

"They came here to pick up my *winika* fruits before I could."

"Let him have you first. He will take me last," she said.

He went to take her first. "Come on, let me feel you."

"Feel me. I don't mind. Have sex with me."

So he got ahold of her and took her down. "You lie here on the ground." He took her down. He wanted to stick the thing in her but his penis was not hard. The penis was not hard, and so it could not go in. He pushed it in.

"You aren't having sex with me. You are just tickling me."

"I am tickling you. It's because my penis is not hard, the old penis." He complained about the penis.

Her vagina was completely exposed, because she had exposed it. He was staring at it.

"Is that it, are you done?"[asked the other woman].

"I'm not done. His penis wasn't hard."

"Throw him away."

She pushed him up and away, and he fell, iii.

"There, let him lie."

She hoisted the *winika* fruits onto her back and took the *winika* fruits off. The two of them went off.

"Humph, they threw me away. My penis won't get hard. The penis doesn't have any substance. I could have thrust into their anuses if the penis was hard."

The two of them went back. They disappeared into the forest. After they had left, he picked a few *winika* fruits. He went after another *winika* tree. He found a *winika* tree, and picked some

TOBOYORO

winika fruits.

"Did you see the one who went there?"

"He is standing there. He said we were taking his *winika* fruits before he could, so he was going to have sex with us."

"Did he have sex with you?"

"He didn't have sex with us. His penis wasn't hard, he was just talking big. He had talked big, but he couldn't have sex with me. I pushed him away, and he fell."

Then he came. He came carrying a basket of *winika* fruits that wasn't full. They questioned him. His own older sister was going to question him, and he came. He came and arrived.

"Come on, peel the *winika* fruits. I want to eat *winika* fruits."

Another man was looking at his face the whole time. His older sister looked at his face. "Is it you they are telling about?"

"Where?"

"You said you were going to have sex with them, but when you went to have sex with them you couldn't, and they said they threw you away."

"They threw me away and came back here, because my penis wasn't hard. My penis wasn't hard, so they threw me away and came back here. My old penis doesn't get hard."

"They said you only talk big."

"I guess they said I only talk big."

"They laughed. Their laughing could be heard as they came back. They stopped laughing."

"You should take a real one," his brother-in-law said, "sticking up. If you would take a sticking up one, and you finish off both of them, they would both get pregnant. But instead they are carrying your *winika* fruits," his brother-in-law said.

"Well, the flaccid one that I took is attached."

"Let my younger sister see the flaccid thing."

"Your sister will throw me away."

So they slept. They ate the *winika* fruits and slept. They slept so that they could be ready and pick *winika* fruits.

"There are so many *winika* fruits, wow! All of you pick *winika* fruits tomorrow. Go with your husband, who has a hard penis," they said.

"If it is flaccid, throw him in the water," he said, "if you are on the edge of the stream. You should say, 'Let's lie on the ground there,' and deceive him. You all go together."

They got ready. They ate *winika* fruits and got going. They took baskets on their backs. They picked up *winika* fruits and brought them back. When they were full, they came back.

When they arrived back, they peeled the *winika* fruits. They toasted some in cans. They toasted some shelled ones in ceramic pots, too. They toasted them, and ate them.

"They threw Toboyoro away, because his penis was flaccid. He shouldn't have spoken [to the women]. Because he didn't say, 'My penis isn't hard,' they threw him away."

"Did he go there?"

"He went to them as they were picking *winika* fruits. He went there. 'You are picking my *winika* fruits that I was going to pick,' he said. When he said, 'I want to have sex with you,' he brought misfortune on himself. 'Have sex with us. Have sex with us because we are picking your *winika* fruits,' they said. Toboyoro's penis wasn't hard, so he stroked her vagina. He stroked her vagina and put her on the ground. His thing couldn't go in. His penis went outside, because it was flaccid, and they were upset because of it. They were upset because of it. 'Are you done?' 'I'm not finished. The penis is not hard.' 'Throw him away,' the other one said. So her younger sister threw him away, and then he yelled."

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"Toboyoro, wasn't it you? Toboyoro, if the thing was hard, and you spoke, you would have cleaned up."

"The penis was not hard. They were angry with me because it was flaccid, and they threw me away. After they left, I stayed there and picked *winika* fruits. Then I came back."

Interlinear Presentation

1 *Winika* , *winika* *me* *yabemetemone* *me*
 winika winika me yaba -hemete -mone me
 cashew sp cashew sp 3PL.S pick up FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.O
 nf nf pron vt pron

okominaboneke *faro* .
 o- kamina -habone -ke faaro
 1SG.S tell INT+F DECL+F that+F
 vt dem

'I am going to tell about the *winika* fruits that they picked up.'

2 *Winika* *me* *yabaha* *me* , *winika*
 winika me yaba+F me winika
 cashew sp 3PL.S pick up 3PL.S cashew sp
 nf pron vt pron nf
tonakamakibona , *Oka* *winika*
 to- na- ka -makI -hibona , o- ka winika
 away CAUS go/come following INT+M 1SG.POSS POSS cashew sp
 vt prt nf

okayawa , *oyababone* *me* .
 o- ka- yawa+F , o- yaba -habone me
 1SG.S COMIT be upset 1SG.S pick up INT+F 3PL
 vt vt pron

"They were picking up the *winika* fruits. He wanted to go after *winika* fruits. "I am protective of my *winika* fruits, and I want to pick them up."

3 *Me* *famemetemoneke* .
 me fama -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S be two FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'There were two of them.'

4 *Me fanawi* *fama* *towaka* , *winika* *yabaha* , *bote*
 me fanawi fama+F to- ka- ka+F , winika yaba+F bote
 women be two away COMIT go/come cashew sp pick up old
 nf vi vi nf vt adj
bote , *yetene* *amarari* *botematamonaka* .
 bote , yetene ama -ra -haari bote -mata -mona -ka
 old teenage boy be NEG IP.E+M old FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 adj adj vc adj

'Two women went. They were picking up *winika* fruits. An old man, he wasn't a teen-ager, he was old.'

5 *Oka* *winika* *oyababone* *me* *tonaka*
 o- ka winika o- yaba -habone me to- na- ka+F
 1SG.POSS POSS cashew sp 1SG.S pick up INT+F 3PL.S away CAUS go/come
 prt nf vt pron vt

TOBOYORO

me awineke
 me awine -ke
 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
 pron sec

"Some people seem to have come after my *winika* fruits that I was going to pick up."

6 **Hiba me totowamake omate**
 hiba me to- to- awa -makI o- na -mate
 wait 3PL.O DUP away see following 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F
 interj pron vt aux

"Wait, I will take a look at them."

7 **Tokomake me fanawi atona famemetemoneke**
 to- ka -makI me fanawi atona fama -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come following women maiden be two FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi nf nf vi

'He went there. There were two teen-age girls.'

8 **Me fanawi atona famaha ra**
 me fanawi atona fama+F ra
 women maiden be two O
 nf nf vi prt

tokomakematamonaka
 to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He went to the two girls.'

9 **Tokomake mera kakatome towamake**
 to- ka -makI mera ka- katoma+M to- waa -makI
 away go/come following 3PL.O COMMIT look at away stand following
 vi pron vt vi

mera kakatomematamonaka
 mera ka- katoma -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.O COMMIT look at FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt

'He went there and looked at them. He stood a ways back looking at them.'

10 **Oka winika oyababone me yabine**
 o- ka winika o- ka yaba -habone me yaba -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS cashew sp 1SG.S pick up INT+F 3PL.S pick up CONT+F
 prt nf vt pron vt

ninihi
 na.NOM+F -ni -hi
 AUX IP.N+F DUP
 aux

"They are picking up my *winika* fruits that I was going to pick up."

11 **Tokomake tokomakematamonaka**
 to- ka -makI to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come following away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi

'He went there.'

TOBOYORO

12 *Tokomake* *awa* *awa* , *Haa* .
to- ka -makI awa+F awa+F , haa
away go/come following see see hey
vi vi vi interj

'He went there. They saw something. "Hey."'

13 *Yomemonaka*
yomee -mona -ka
jaguar REP+M DECL+M
nm

'They thought it was a jaguar.'

14 *Yome* *ama* *o*
yomee ama o-
jaguar be 1SG.S
nm vc prt

'I'm not a jaguar.'

15 *Oka* *winika* *oyababone* *te*
o- ka winika o- yaba -habone tee
1SG.POSS POSS cashew sp 1SG.S pick up INT+F 2PL.S
prt nf vt pron

yabinekeni
yaba -ne -ke -ni
pick up CONT+F DECL+F IP.N+F
vt

'You are picking up my *winika* fruits that I was going to pick up.'

16 *Winika* *oyababone* *te* *yabine*
winika o- yaba -habone tee yaba -ne
cashew sp 1SG.S pick up INT+F 2PL.S pick up CONT+F
nf vt pron vt

ninihi
na.NOM+F -ni -hi
AUX IP.N+F DUP
aux

'You are picking up the *winika* fruits that I was going to pick up.'

17 *Te* *yorl* *oni* *toe* *ori* *ati*
tee yori o- na to- ha o- na -ra.NOM+F ati
2PL.O have sex with 1SG.S AUX CH AUX 1SG.S AUX NEG say
pron vt aux aux aux vt

nematamonane
na -himata -mona -ne
AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
aux

'I want to have sex with you.'

18 *Abe* *noki* *awemetemoneni* , *me* *abe* *noki* *ahi* .
abe noki awa -hemete -mone -ni , me abe noki ahi
RECIP eye+F see FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 3PL.POSS RECIP eye+F then
pn pn vt pron pn pn dem

'They looked at each other.'

TOBOYORO

19 *Te yori onikimi toe ori*
tee yori o- to- na -kima to- ha o- na -ra.NOM+F
2PL.O have sex with 1SG.S CH AUX two CH AUX 1SG.S AUX NEG
pron vt aux aux aux

ati nane
ati na.CONT+M -ne
say AUX BKG+M
vt aux

"He said, 'I want to have sex with you two.'"

20 *Me abe noki awa me , ati fawa na ati yana*
me abe noki awa+F me , ati fawa na+F ati yana
3PL.S RECIP eye+F see 3PL.POSS voice stop AUX voice start
pron pn pn vt pron pn vi aux pn vi

tone ati yana nabanihi
to- na+M ati yana na -haba -ni -hi
away AUX voice start AUX FUT+F IP.N+F DUP
aux pn vi aux

'They looked at each other, and they stopped talking. He spoke, and then she spoke.'

21 *Ati yana nabani winika , Ami winika mo*
ati yana na -haba -ni winika , ami winika moo
voice start AUX FUT+F IP.N+F cashew sp mother cashew sp be full
pn vi aux nf nf nf vi

kanakene
ka- na -ke -ne
COMIT AUX DECL+F IRR+F
aux

'She spoke. "Mother, the basket isn't quite full of *winika* fruits.'"

22 *Sika tinamakehi*
sika ti- na -makI -hi
pour 2SG.S AUX following IMP+F
vt aux

"Pour them out."

23 *Oka winika me kahitiaba me ,*
o- ka winika me kahitiaba -haba me ,
1SG.POSS POSS cashew sp 3PL.S take first FUT+F 3PL.S
prt nf pron vt pron

kakinihi
ka -kI -ni -hi
go/come coming IP.N+F DUP
v

"They came here to pick up my *winika* fruits before I could."

24 *Tiwa tai tonihaho*
tiwa tai to- niha- ha -ho
2SG.O be ahead CH CAUS AUX IMP+M
pron vi aux

"Let him have you first."

25 *Tiwa tai tonihaho*
tiwa tai to- niha- ha -ho
2SG.O be ahead CH CAUS AUX IMP+M
pron vi aux

"Let him have you first."

TOBOYORO

26 *Owa nayotobanane* , *ati nemetemoneke*
 owa na- yoto -habana -ne , ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 1SG.O CAUS follow FUT+F BKG+M say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vt vt aux

"He will take me last," she said.'

27 *Ati na* , *tai hinihabone* , *Hiya tiwa*
 ati na+F , tai hi- to- niha- ha -habone , hiya tiwa
 say AUX be ahead OC CH CAUS AUX INT+F come on 2SG.O
 vt aux vi aux interj pron

boboyo obe
 bo- boyo o- na -be
 DUP feel 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 vt aux

'He went to take her first. "Come on, let me feel you.'"

28 *Owa boyo tinahi*
 owa boyo ti- na -hi
 1SG.O feel 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 pron vt aux

"Feel me."

29 *Owa okayawa okerene*
 owa o- ka- yawa+F o- ke -ra+F -ne
 1SG.O 1SG.S COMIT be upset 1SG.S DECL+F NEG IRR+F
 pron vt prt

"I don't mind."

30 *Owa okayawarini*
 owa o- ka- yawa -ri -ni
 1SG.O 1SG.S COMIT be upset NEG BKG+F
 pron vt

"I don't mind."

31 *Owa yori tinahi*
 owa yori ti- na -hi
 1SG.O have sex with 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 pron vt aux

"Have sex with me."

32 *Faya boyo hina hibarisa*
 faya , boyo hi- na+F hi- iba -risa+F ,
 so feel OC AUX OC set down down
 conj vt aux vt

Tihomibe ahi
 ti- homa -be ahi
 2SG.S lie on ground IMMED+F then
 vi dem

'So he got ahold of her and took her down. "You lie here on the ground.'"

33 *Faya hibarisa tani tanibone yoko*
 faya hi- iba -risa+F tani tani -bone yoko
 so OC set down down weapon against weapon against INT+F push
 conj vt pn pn vt

TOBOYORO

hinabone **sowiri** **kitarematamonaka**
 hi- na -habone sowiri kita -ra -himata -mona -ka
 OC AUX INT+F penis be strong NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux pn vi
 'He took her down. He wanted to stick the thing in her but his penis was not hard.'

34 **Sowi** **kitaremetemone**
 sowi kita -ra -hemete -mone
 penis be strong NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 nf vi
 'The penis was not hard.'

35 **Sowi** **kitara** **toki** **watoremetemoneke** **ahi**
 sowi kita -ra+F to- ka.NFIN wato -ra -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 penis be strong NEG away go/come know NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf vi vi vt dem

'The penis was not hard, and so it could not go in.'

36 **Sowi** **toki** **watora** , **toki** **watoremetemone**
 sowi to- ka.NFIN wato -ra+F , to- ka.NFIN wato -ra -hemete -mone
 penis away go/come know NEG away go/come know NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 nf vi vt vi vt

'The penis could not go in.'

37 **Yoko** **hina** , **Owa** **aahi** **tira** , **hine**
 yoko hi- na+F , owa a- ahi ti- na -ra+F , hine
 push OC AUX 1SG.O DUP have sex with 2SG.S AUX NEG only
 vt aux pron vt aux pron
ya **owa** **kofari** **tina**
 ya owa kofari ti- na+F
 ADJU 1SG.O tickle 2SG.S AUX
 prt pron vt aux

'He pushed it in. "You aren't having sex with me. You are just tickling me."'

38 **Tiwa** **kofari** **o**
 tiwa kofari o-
 2SG.O tickle 1SG.S
 pron vt prt
 "'I am tickling you.'"

39 **Oko** **sowi** **kitarimakoni** **ama**
 o- ka sowi kita -ra -makoni ama
 1SG.POSS POSS penis be strong NEG for this reason+F SEC
 prt pn vi sec

oke **sowi** **bote**
 o- ke sowi bote
 1SG.POSS DECL+F penis old
 prt nf adj
 "'It's because my penis is not hard, the old penis.'"

40 **Sowi** **bote** **kitarimakoni** **amake**
 sowi bote kita -ra -makoni ama -ke
 penis old be strong NEG for this reason+F SEC DECL+F
 nf adj vi sec

'"'It's because the old penis is not hard.'"

TOBOYORO

41 *Faya* , *faya* , *Sowi* *kikita* *ra*
 faya , faya , sowi ki- kita na -ra+F
 so so penis DUP be strong AUX NEG
 conj conj nf vi aux

"The penis is not hard."

42 *Sowi* *kasiro* *kanematamona*
 sowi kasiro ka- na -himata -mona
 penis complain about COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nf vt aux

'He complained about the penis.'

43 *Faya* *itakose* *rama* *ahi* *hiwatakosari* *ahi*
 faya ita -kosa+M rama ahi hi- wata -kosa -haari ahi
 so sit middle unusual then OC exist middle IP.E+M then
 conj vi prt dem vt dem

'Her vagina was completely exposed, because she had exposed it.'

44 *Awaawawa* *hinematamonaka* *ahi*
 awa- awa -wa hi- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 DUP see DUP OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M have sex with
 vt aux vt

'He was staring at it.'

45 *Fara* *hawa* *tihini* ?
 fara hawa ti- to- ha -ni
 same+F be finished 2SG.S CH AUX BKG+F
 dem vi aux

"Is that it, are you done?"

46 *Hawa* *ohini*
 hawa o- to- ha -ni
 be finished 1SG.S CH AUX BKG+F
 vi aux

"I'm not done."

47 *Sowiri* *kitararene*
 sowiri kita -ra -hare -ne
 penis be strong NEG IP.E+M BKG+M
 pn vi

"His penis wasn't hard."

48 *Yama* *koro* *tiwitihi*
 yama koro ti- na -witI -hi
 thing throw 2SG.S AUX out IMP+F
 nf vt aux

"Throw him away."

49 *Faya* , *yoko* *himisame* *yoko* *hiwiti*
 faya , yoko hi- na -misa -ma+M yoko hi- to- na -witI+M
 so push OC AUX up back push OC away AUX out
 conj vt vt vt aux
tosawitematamonaka *ahi* *iii*
 to- sona -witI -himata -mona -ka ahi iii
 away fall out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M have sex with (sound of falling)
 vi vt sound

TOBOYORO

'She pushed him up and away, and he fell, iii.'

50 *Fahi hiwa homa na*
 fahi hiwa homa.NOM+M na
 there only.M lie on ground AUX
 dem pron vi aux

'''There, let him lie.'''

51 *Winika weye namisemetemoneke*
 winika weye na -misa -hemete -mone -ke
 cashew sp carry AUX up FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vt aux

'She hoisted the basket of *winika* fruits onto her back.'

52 *Winika weye namisa winika*
 winika weye na -misa+F winika
 cashew sp carry AUX up cashew sp
 nf vt aux nf

towakamemetemoneke

to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'She hoisted the *winika* fruits onto her back and took the *winika* fruits off.'

53 *Me towakamemetemone*
 me to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vi

'The two of them went off.'

54 *Hoo owa me koro towiti*
 hoo owa me koro to- na -witI
 humph 1SG.O 3PL.S throw away AUX out
 interj pron pron vt aux

'''Humph, they threw me away.'''

55 *Oka oko sowi kiti nofara rama*
 o- ka o- ka sowi kita nofa -ra+F rama
 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS penis be strong recently NEG unusual
 prt prt nf vi prt prt

'''My penis won't get hard.'''

56 *Sowi , tafotafo nimako*
 sowi , tafo- tafo na -mako
 penis DUP be light AUX for this reason
 nf vi aux

'''The penis doesn't have any substance.'''

57 *Me yototi kawa onisikimene mati sowi*
 me yotohoti kawa o- na -risa -kima -hene mati sowi
 3PL.POSS rear part thrust 1SG.S AUX down two IRR+F 3PL.POSS penis
 pron pn vt aux pron nf

kitabote

kita -bote
 be hard very
 adj

'''I could have thrust into their anuses if the penis was hard.'''

TOBOYORO

58 *Faya me , towakama me fawa*
 faya me , to- ka- ka -ma+F me fawa
 so 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S disappear
 conj pron vi pron vi

tokasama me nowati ya winika
 to- ka- na -kosa -ma+F me nowati ya winika
 away COMIT AUX middle back 3PL.O behind ADJU cashew sp
 aux pron pn prt nf

oohariki na yabe winika bara
 o- ohari -kii na yaba+M winika bara
 DUP be one one at a time AUX take out cashew sp other+F
 vi aux vt nf adj

tonake winika wasi winika yabe , faya
 to- na- ka+M winika wasi+M winika yaba+M , faya
 away CAUS go/come cashew sp find cashew sp say so
 vt nf vt nf vt conj

Tokomake te awini ?
 to- ka -makI tee awa -ni
 away go/come following 2PL.S see BKG+F
 vi pron vt

"The two of them went back. They disappeared into the forest. After they had left, he picked up a few *winika* fruits. He went after another *winika* tree. He found a *winika* tree, and picked some *winika* fruits. "Did you see the one who went there?"

59 *Waharene*
 waa -hare -ne
 stand IP.E+M BKG+M
 vi

"He is standing there."

60 *Waharene*
 waa -hare -ne
 stand IP.E+M BKG+M
 vi

"He is standing there."

61 *Hinaka winika ota kahitiamone , otara ahi*
 hinaka winika otaa kahiti -hamone , otara ahi
 3SG.POSS cashew sp 1EX.S take first REP+F 1EX.O have sex with
 pron nf pron vt pron vt

nebona ati ne
 na -hibona ati na+M
 AUX INT+M say AUX
 aux vt aux

"He said we were taking his *winika* fruits before he could, so he was going to have sex with us."

62 *Tera ahi nanoho ?*
 tera ahi na.NOM+M -no -ho
 2PL.O here AUX IP.N+M DUP
 pron dem aux

"Did he have sex with you?"

63 *Otara ahi rarene*
 otara ahi na -ra -hare -ne
 1EX.O here AUX NEG IP.E+M BKG+M
 pron dem aux

TOBOYORO

"He didn't have sex with us."

64 *Sowiri kitare* , *sowiri kitare* *ati*
 sowiri kita -ra+M , sowiri kita -ra+M ati
 penis be strong NEG penis be strong NEG voice
 pn vi pn vi pn

kitehinoho

kita -hino -ho
 be strong IP.N+M DUP
 vi

"His penis wasn't hard. His penis wasn't hard, he was just talking big."

65 *Ati kitehino owa ai ni watore* ,
 ati kita -hino owa ahi na.NFIN wato -ra+M
 voice be strong IP.N+M 1SG.O have sex with AUX know NEG
 pn vi pron vt aux vt

yoko owiti

yoko o- to- na -witI+M *bao nisarene*
 push 1SG.S away AUX out bao na -risa -hare -ne
 vt aux vi aux fall AUX down IP.E+M BKG+M

"He had talked big, but he couldn't have sex with me. I pushed him away, and he fell."

66 *Faya kamakimatamonaka*
 faya , ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 so go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi

'Then he came.'

67 *Kamaki winika weye kani kamaki* ,
 ka -makI+M , winika weye ka- na.NFIN ka -makI+M
 go/come following cashew sp carry COMMIT AUX go/come following
 vi nf vt aux vi

me aate hinebanoho

me a- ate hi- na -hiba -no -ho
 3PL.O DUP ask OC AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 pron vt aux

'He came carrying a basket of *winika* fruits that wasn't full. They questioned him.'

68 *Fara hinakati hinakati aate*
 fara hinaka ati , hinaka ati a- ate
 same+F 3SG.POSS older sister 3SG.POSS older sister DUP ask
 dem nf nf vt

hineba

kamakimatamonane

hi- na -hiba ka -makI -himata -mona -ne
 OC AUX FUT+M go/come following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 aux vi

'His own older sister was going to question him, and he came.'

69 *Kamaki kobo namaki Hima winika wiri*
 ka -makI+M kobo na -makI+M , hima winika wiri
 go/come following arrive AUX following let's go cashew sp peel
 vi vi aux interj nf vt

tina

ti- na
 2SG.S AUX
 aux

'He came and arrived. "Come on, peel the *winika* fruits."

TOBOYORO

70 *Winika okobibe*
 winika o- kaba -be
 cashew sp 1SG.S eat IMMED+F
 nf vt

"I want to eat *winika* fruits."

71 *E nibamakoni noko*
 ee na -ba -makoni noko
 be similar AUX FUT for this reason+F face+M
 vi aux pn

hekatometatamonaka
 hi- ka- katoma -himata -mona -ka
 OC COMIT look at FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'Another man was looking at his face the whole time.'

72 *Noko hekatome Afa afa tiwani me*
 noko hi- ka- katoma+M afa afa tiwa -ni me
 face+M OC COMIT look at this+F this+F 2SG.O IP.N+F 3PL.S
 pn vt dem dem pron pron

kaminine ?
 kamina -ne
 tell CONT+F
 vt

'She looked at his face. "Is it you they are telling about?"'

73 *Hika ya ?*
 hika ya
 where ADJU
 interrog prt

"Where?"

74 *Me ai tinabone me tina me*
 me ahi ti- na -habone me ati ti- na+F me
 3PL.S have sex with 2SG.S AUX INT+F 3PL.S say 2SG.S AUX 3PL.O
 pron vt aux pron vt pron

ai tinabone me ai ni
 ahi ti- na -habone me ahi na.NFIN
 have sex with 2SG.S AUX INT+F 3PL.O have sex with AUX
 vt aux pron vt aux

tiwatora tiwa me koro towitiamone me ati
 ti- wato -ra+F tiwa me koro to- na -witI -hamone me ati
 2SG.S know NEG 2SG.O 3PL.S throw away AUX out REP+F 3PL.S say
 vt pron pron vt aux pron vt

narake
 na -hara -ke
 AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 aux

"You said you were going to have sex with them, but when you went to have sex with them you couldn't, and they said they threw you away."

75 *Owa me koro towitia me kakami*
 owa me koro to- na -witI+F me ka- ka -ma.NOM+F
 1SG.O 3PL.S throw away AUX out 3PL.S COMIT go/come back
 pron pron vt aux pron vi

TOBOYORO

amake *ahi* , *oko* *sowi* *kitara* *owa*
ama -ke ahi , o- ka sowi kita -ra+F owa
be DECL+F here 1SG.POSS POSS penis be hard NEG 1SG.POSS
vc dem prt pn vi pron

"They threw me away and came back here, because my penis wasn't hard."

76 *Oko* *sowi* *kitara* *owa* *me* , *koro*
o- ka sowi kita -ra+F owa me , koro
1SG.POSS POSS penis be hard NEG 1SG.O 3PL.S throw
prt nf vi pron pron vt

towitia *me* *kakami* *ama* *ahi*
to- na -witI+F me ka- ka -ma.NOM+F ama ahi
away AUX out 3PL.S COMMIT go/come back be here
aux pron vi vc dem

"My penis wasn't hard, so they threw me away and came back here."

77 *Oko* *sowi* *bote* *kitakita* *ra*
o- ka sowi bote kita- kita na -ra+F
1SG.POSS POSS penis old DUP be strong AUX NEG
prt nf adj vi aux

"My old penis doesn't get hard."

78 *Tiwati* *ta* *kitamone* *me* *ati* *narani*
ti- ati taa kita -hamone me ati na -hara -ni
2SG.POSS voice contrast be strong REP+F 3PL.S say AUX IP.E+F BKG+F
pn prt vi pron vt aux

"They said you only talk big."

79 *Owati* *ta* *kitamone* *me* *ati* *nani* *me*
o- ati taa kita -hamone me ati na -hani me
1SG.POSS voice contrast be strong REP+F 3PL.S say AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S
pn prt vi pron vt aux pron

awineni
awine -ni
seem+F BKG+F
sec

"I guess they said I only talk big."

80 *Me* *haha* *na* *me* *haha* *ni* *saima* *me*
me haahaa na+F me haahaa na.NFIN sai -ma+F me
3PL.S laugh AUX 3PL.S laugh AUX be heard back 3PL.S
pron vi aux pron vi aux vi pron

haha *ni* *fawa* *nineni*
haahaa na+F fawa na -ne -ni
laugh AUX stop AUX CONT+F BKG+F
vi aux vi aux

"They laughed. Their laughing could be heard as they came back. They stopped laughing."

81 *Fa* *yokana* *tekamakimakoni* *ama*
faa yokana ti- to- ka- ka -makI -makoni ama
that true 2SG.S away COMMIT go/come following for this reason+F SEC
dem adj vt sec

na *tohi* *wabori* *ati* *nematamona*
na to- ha.NFIN wabori ati na -himata -mona
AUX CH be 3SG.POSS brother-in-law say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
aux vc nm vt aux

TOBOYORO

ta tonaharo
 taa to- na -haaro
 protrude CH AUX IP.E+F
 vi aux

"You should take a real one," his brother-in-law said, "sticking up."

82 **Ta tona yokana tekamaki ya**
 taa to- na+F yokana ti- to- ka- ka -makI.NOM ya
 protrude CH AUX true 2SG.S away COMMIT go/come following ADJU
 vi aux adj vt prt

me fawa tikani ya me naba me
 me fawa ti- to- ka- niha- na.NOM+F ya me naba me
 3PL.S disappear 2SG.S CH COMMIT CAUS AUX ADJU 3PL pregnant 3PL.S
 pron vi aux prt pron adj pron

toene tika winika me weye nine
 to- ha -hene ti- ka winika me weye na -ne
 CH be IRR+F 2SG.POSS POSS cashew sp 3PL.S carry AUX CONT+F
 vc prt nf pron result aux

ninihi wabori ati nematamona
 na.NOM+F -ni -hi wabori ati na -himata -mona
 AUX IP.N+F DUP 3SG.POSS brother-in-law say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 aux nm vt aux

"If you would take a sticking up one, and you finish off both of them, they would both get pregnant. But instead they are carrying your *winika* fruits," his brother-in-law said.'

83 **Hoo oof kitara owakamaki**
 hoo oof kita -ra+F o- to- ka- ka -makI
 humph hoo be hard NEG 1SG.S away COMMIT go/come following
 interj interj vi vt

onofa kawanineni
 o- nofa+F ka- wana -ne -ni
 1SG.S recently COMMIT be attached CONT+F BKG+F
 prt vi

"Well, the flaccid one that I took is attached."

84 **Kitaramone okasima aawa hinahi**
 kita -ra -hamone o- ka asima a- awa hi- na -hi
 be hard NEG REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister DUP see OC AUX IMP+F
 vi nf vt aux

"Let my younger sister see the flaccid thing."

85 **Asima hiwa asima owa koro**
 asima hiwa asima owa koro
 2SG.POSS.younger sister 3SG.REFL.M 2SG.POSS.younger sister 1SG.O throw
 nf pron nf pron vt

towitibe
 to- na -witI -be
 away AUX out IMMED+F
 aux

"Your sister will throw me away."

86 **Faya me amo nemetemone fahi**
 faya me amo na -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron vi aux dem

'So they slept.'

TOBOYORO

87 *Winika me kaba me amo na me , me amo*
 winika me kaba+F me amo na me , me amo
 cashew sp 3PL.S eat 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep
 nf pron vt pron vi aux pron pron vi

nemetemoneke

na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

"They ate the *winika* fruits and slept."

88 *Me amo na me , faya , me yana tonabone me*
 me amo na+F me , faya , me yana to- na -habone me
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S so 3PL.S start CH AUX INT+F 3PL
 pron vi aux pron conj pron vi aux pron

winika me yabaminabone me yana tonabone
 winika me yaba -mina -habone me yana to- na -habone
 cashew sp 3PL.S take out morning INT+F 3PL.S start CH AUX INT+F
 nf pron vt pron vi aux pron vi aux

me amo na me Winika hine katomanini aii
 me amo na+F me winika hine katoma -hani -ni aii
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S cashew sp 3.REFL attack IP.N+F BKG+F wow!
 pron vi aux pron nf pron vt interj

"They slept. They slept so that they could be ready and pick *winika* fruits. "There are so many *winika* fruits, wow!"

89 *Winika te nafi yabaminahi*
 winika tee nafi yaba -mina -hi
 cashew sp 2PL.S all take out morning IMP+F
 nf pron pn vt

"All of you pick *winika* fruits tomorrow."

90 *Te ka yibote te tabahi sowiri kitabote*
 tee ka yibote tee taba -hi sowiri kita -bote
 2PL.S POSS wife 2PL.O be together IMP+F penis be hard very
 pron prt nf pron vi pn adj

me ati nemetemone
 me ati na -hemete -mone
 3PL.S voice AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron pn aux

"Go with your husband, who has a hard penis," they said."

91 *Fa yokana ya te koro nifemanaha ati*
 faha yokana ya tee koro na -fI -himanaha ati
 stream true ADJU 2PL.S throw AUX water HYPOTH+M say
 nf adj prt pron vt aux vt

nematamonaka , fa witi yokana te nahobasi
 na -himata -mona -ka , faha witi yokana tee naho -basa.NOM+F
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M water edge true 2PL.S stand edge
 aux nf pn adj pron vi

ya
 ya
 ADJU
 prt

"If it is flaccid, throw him in the water," he said, "if you are on the edge of the stream."

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92	E	e	e	mata	na	ahi	te	ati	ni	ya	te
	ee	ee	ee	mata	na	ahi	tee	ati	na.NOM+F	ya	tee
	1IN	1IN	1IN.S	lie	AUX	there	2PL.S	say	AUX	ADJU	2PL.S
	pron	pron	pron	vi	aux	dem	pron	vt	aux	prt	pron

keyehayaho

keyeha -yaho
deceive DIST.IMP+M
vt

"You should say, 'Let's lie on the ground there,' and deceive him."

93	Te	tabahi	
	tee	taba	-hi
	2PL.S	be together	IMP+F
	pron	vi	

"You all go together."

94	Faya	me	yana	tonabone		me	yana	tona		me	yana
	faya	me	yana	to- na	-habone	me	yana	to- na+F		me	yana
	so	3PL.S	start	CH AUX	INT+F	3PL.S	start	CH AUX		3PL.S	start
	conj	pron	vi	aux		pron	vi	aux		pron	vi

tona	winika	me	kaba	me	yana	nemetemoneke
to- na+F	winika	me	kaba+F	me	yana	na -hemete -mone -ke
CH AUX	cashew sp	3PL.S	eat	3PL.S	start	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux	nf	pron	vt	pron	vi	aux

'They got ready. They ate *winika* fruits and got going.'

95	Hisiri	me	weyeri	kawemetemoneni
	hisiri	me	weye -ri	ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ni
	basket	3PL.S	carry DISTR	COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
	nf	pron	vt	aux

'They took baskets on their backs.'

96	Winika	me	yaba	me
	winika	me	yaba+F	me
	cashew sp	3PL.S	pick up	3PL.S
	nf	pron	vt	pron

hekamemetemoneke	ahi
hi- ka- ka	-ma -hemete -mone -ke
OC COMIT go/come back	FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vt	ahi
	dem

'They picked up *winika* fruits and brought them back.'

97	Mo	na	me	kama		me	kama	me
	moo	na+F	me	ka	-ma+F	me	ka	-ma+F
	be full	AUX	3PL.S	go/come back		3PL.S	go/come back	3PL.S
	vi	aux	pron	vi		pron	vi	pron

kobo	nama	me	winika	me	wiri	nemetemoneke
kobo	na -ma+F	me	winika	me	wiri	na -hemete -mone -ke
arrive	AUX back	3PL.S	cashew sp	3PL.S	peel	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vi	aux	pron	nf	pron	vt	aux

ahi

ahi
then
dem

'When they were full, they came back. When they arrived back, they peeled the *winika* fruits.'

TOBOYORO

98 *One me hirawa rata ya rata ya yiwaha*
 one me hi- rawa+F rata ya rata ya yiwaha
 other+F 3PL.S OC toast large can ADJU large can ADJU pot
 adj pron vt nf prt nf prt nf

yiwa tebe ka kori toharawa kori me
 yiwaha tebe ka kori to- ha -rawa+F , kori me
 ceramic pot LOC naked+F CH AUX F.PL naked+F 3PL.S
 nf prt pn vc pn pron

hirawemetemoneke ahi
 hi- rawa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 OC toast FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt dem

'They toasted some in cans. They toasted some shelled ones in ceramic pots, too.'

99 *Me hirawa me hikaba Hoo oof Toboyoro*
 me hi- rawa+F me hi- kaba+F , hoo , oof Toboyoro ,
 3PL.S OC toast 3PL.S OC eat whew hoo (man's name)
 pron vt pron vt interj interj npropm

Toboyoro sowiri kitatere me koro towitimone
 Toboyoro sowiri kita -tee -ra+M me koro to- na -witI -mone
 (man's name) penis be hard HAB NEG 3PL.S throw away AUX out REP+F
 npropm pn vi pron vt aux

ya
 ya
 ADJU
 prt

'They toasted them, and ate them. "They threw Toboyoro away, because his penis was flaccid."'

100 *Hine ati toharanoho*
 hine ati to- ha -ra.NOM+M -no -ho
 only voice CH be NEG IP.N+M DUP
 pron pn vc

'"He shouldn't have spoken."'

101 *Oko sowi kitaraba ama o ati*
 o- ka sowi kita -ra -haba ama o- ati
 1SG.POSS POSS penis be hard NEG FUT+F SEC 1SG.POSS say
 prt pn vi sec prt vt

reno makoni me koro hiwitino
 na -ra -hino makoni , me koro hi- na -witI -hino
 AUX NEG IP.N+M for this reason 3PL.S throw OC AUX out IP.N+M
 aux conj pron vt aux

amaka
 ama -ka
 SEC DECL+M
 sec

'"Because he didn't say, 'My penis isn't hard,' they threw him away."'

102 *Tokomakimonaha* ?
 to- ka -makI.NOM -mona -ha
 away go/come following REP+M DUP
 vi

'"Did he go there?"'

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103 *Tokomakemonaka* *winika* *me* *yaba* *me*
to- ka -makI -himona -ka winika me yaba+F me
away go/come following REP+M DECL+M cashew sp 3PL.S pick up 3PL
vi nf pron vt pron

ni ya
na+F ya
AUX ADJU
aux prt

"He went to them as they were picking *winika* fruits."

104 *Tokomake* , *Oka* *winika*
to- ka -makI o- ka winika
away go/come following 1SG.POSS POSS cashew sp
vi prt nf

oyababone *te* *yabineke* *ati* *ne* *ama* *ahi*
o- yaba -habone tee yaba -ne -ke ati na+M ama ahi
1SG.S pick up INT+F 2PL.S take out CONT+F DECL+F say AUX SEC then
vt pron vt vt aux sec dem

"He went there. 'You are picking my *winika* fruits that I was going to pick,' he said."

105 *Te* *yori* *oni* *toe* *ori* *ati* *ne*
tee yori o- na to- ha o- na -ra.NOM+F ati na+M
2PL.S have sex with 1SG.S AUX CH AUX 1SG.S AUX NEG say AUX
pron vt aux aux aux vt aux

hiwa *yokomonaka*
hiwa yoko -himona -ka
3SG.REFL.M bring misfortune on REP+M DECL+M
pron vt

"When he said, 'I want to have sex with you,' he brought misfortune on himself."

106 *Ota* *ai* *tibeya*
otaa ahi ti- na -be -ya
1EX.O have sex with 2SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
pron vt aux

"Have sex with us."

107 *Ota* *ai* *tibeya* *tika* *winika*
otaa ahi ti- na -be -ya ti- ka winika
1EX.O have sex with 2SG.S AUX IMMED+F now 2SG.POSS POSS cashew sp
pron vt aux prt nf

ota *yaba* *ota* *me* *ati* *namoneke*
otaa yaba+F otaa me ati na -hamone -ke
1EX.S pick up 1EX.S 3PL.S say AUX REP+F DECL+F
pron vt pron pron vt aux

"Have sex with us because we are picking your *winika* fruits,' they said."

108 *Toboyoro* *sowiri* *kitare* , *faya* *heto*
Toboyoro sowiri kita -ra+M faya heto
(man's name) penis be strong NEG so stroke vagina
npropm pn vi conj vt

hinamoneke *fahi*
hi- na -hamone -ke fahi
OC AUX REP+F DECL+F then
vt dem

"Toboyoro's penis wasn't hard, so he stroked her vagina."

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109	Heto	hina	hibarisa		hibarisa	
	heto	hi- na+F	hi- iba	-risa+F	hi- iba -risa+F	
	stroke vagina	OC AUX	OC set down	down	OC set down down	
	vt	aux	vt		vt	
	tani	toki	watora	sowi	fiyafiya	tona
	tani	to- ka.NFIN	wato -ra+F	sowi	fiya- fiya	to- na
	weapon against	away go/come	know NEG	penis	DUP pass	CH AUX
	pn	vi	vt	nf	vi	aux
	namoneke	ahi	bate	ihi	yawabanihi	
	na -hamone -ke	ahi	bate	ihi	yawa -haba -ni -hi	
	AUX REP+F DECL+F	then	rotten+F	result of+F	be upset FUT+F IP.N+F DUP	
	aux	dem	pn	pn	vi	

"He stroked her vagina and put her on the ground. His thing couldn't go in. His penis went outside, because it was flaccid, and they were upset because of it."

110	Ihi	yawamoneke
	ihi	yawa -hamone -ke
	result of+F	be upset REP+F DECL+F
	pn	vi

"They were upset because of it."

111	Fara	hawa	tihini		?
	fara	hawa	ti- to- ha -ni		
	same+F	be finished	2SG.S CH AUX BKG+F		
	dem	vi	aux		

"Are you done?"

112	Hawa	oharini
	hawa	o- to- ha -ra -ni
	be finished	1SG.S CH AUX NEG BKG+F
	vi	aux

"I'm not finished."

113	Sowi	kitararani
	sowi	kita -ra -hara -ni
	penis	be strong NEG IP.E+F BKG+F
	nf	vi

"The penis is not hard."

114	Yama	koro	tiwitihi		one	ati	namoneke
	yama	koro	ti- na -witI -hi		one	ati	na -hamone -ke
	thing	throw	2SG.S AUX out IMP+F		other+F	say	AUX REP+F DECL+F
	nf	vt	aux		adj	vt	aux

"Throw him away,' the other one said."

115	Faya	hinakasima	koro	hiwitimonaka
	faya	hinaka asima	koro	hi- to- na -witI -himona -ka
	so	3SG.POSS younger sister	throw	OC away AUX out REP+M DECL+M
	conj	nf	vt	aux
	ahi	kiya	kanebana	ahi
	ahi	kiya	ka- na -hibana	ahi
	then	yell	COMIT AUX FUT+M	then
	dem	vi	aux	dem

"So her younger sister threw him away, and then he yelled."

THE JAGUAR ATE THE MAN'S WIFE

Free Translation

They set out. He was alone. He was alone when a jaguar found him. He went out alone. He went to the game animals. They were brown capuchin monkeys. He had just gotten married, and he was with his wife. As he was going, he heard a brown capuchin calling. They were brown capuchins. The capuchins called, "Fitiko, fitiko, fitiko, fitiko." The capuchins were calling out.

"The capuchins are calling because they haven't seen me. Sit here. There is a log there. I'm going to go look at the capuchins."

He sat his wife there on the log. His wife had a knife, a thing for piercing things. She was hungry.

"We will go home soon," he said.

He went, going after the capuchins. He went around to the front of the capuchins. The capuchins came, and he shot them with blowgun darts. He shot at the capuchins with his blowgun, and the capuchins turned around and came back. The capuchins came back and fell, *basa beo, basa beo*. He shot all of them with his blowgun.

He should have stayed with his wife. He should have said, "You and I are always together. You carry the arrows, and we will go together." He came back.

She was hungry, so she cut some heart of palm. She cut down a palm for palm heart. She pulled on the palm leaves. She cut the trunk of the palm. She cut the ends off the heart of palm and came back and sat down on a log. She made shallow cuts in the surface and took the outer layers off. "Eo, eo," it went.

Then it came. The jaguar came. The arrows were leaning against a tree not far away. She was sitting right where the arrows were. The jaguar killed her as she sat there.

He didn't hear her yelling. The capuchins were falling over there. He was picking up the capuchins that had fallen, and he didn't hear his wife yelling.

He came back. He came really fast. "My wife is sitting there on the log," he said.

It didn't take her away. It had eaten her in the same place that it killed her. He was looking ahead, searching. He threw down the capuchins. "My wife was sitting here."

He looked around, and there it was lying on the ground eating.

"Isn't that my wife that the jaguar is eating lying there?"

He didn't care about the capuchins anymore. He went to where the jaguar was lying. He went and picked up the arrows. He pulled out an arrow. He put the arrow in the bow. He hit it with an arrow behind its front leg. It was lurching this way and that, hurt. He yelled out. "It has eaten my wife!"

It fell over. He hit it with an arrow behind its front leg. He went and looked at it. He pulled the arrow out.

"Come on, get better. Did you eat my wife?"

It was eating her bones. Her back was just bones because of it. So he got his knife and dug a hole, and buried his wife's bones.

He went after the game and brought the game and tied up the game and carried the game. He came back carrying the capuchins. When he was near, he started crying. He came on crying.

"My son went out with his wife, and my son came back crying. He is crying because an

THE JAGUAR ATE THE MAN'S WIFE

animal killed someone."

He came back crying. As he carried the game, the capuchins, he came back crying.

"I didn't see his wife with him. He is crying as he comes."

He came back and arrived.

"Why are you crying?"

"A jaguar ate my wife. The jaguar ate my wife after I left. After I went after some capuchins, my wife was sitting on a log eating heart of palm. As she sat there eating heart of palm, the jaguar killed her."

"Where is she?"

"I buried her bones, and now I have come home. The jaguar ate her all up."

"Why didn't you take her with you?" his mother said.

"We didn't go together. I told her to sit there for a while, and the jaguar killed her. The jaguar ate her. When the jaguar was eating her I came back. It was lying there eating when I came upon it. It was eating lying there, and I shot it with an arrow. It jumped away and went off and fell. I hit it with an arrow behind its front leg."

Interlinear Presentation

1 *Faya me* , *haha onebisa* , *onebisa* , *ka* , *me*
 faya me , haaha one -bisa , one -bisa , ka , me
 so 3PL.S this+F other+F also other+F also which 3PL.S
 conj pron dem adj adj prt pron
yana tona me , *oharimatamonane* *fari*
 yana to- na+F me , ohari -himata -mona -ne faari
 start CH AUX 3PL.S be one FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M that one+M
 vi aux pron vi dem

'This is another story. They set out. He was alone.'

2 *Oharimatamona* *yome* *hiwasibana*
 ohari -himata -mona yomee hi- wasi -hibana
 be one FP.N+M REP+M jaguar OC find FUT+M
 vi nm vt

'He was alone when a jaguar found him.'

3 *Oharimatamonane*
 ohari -himata -mona -ne
 be one FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi

'He was alone.'

4 *Ohari* *toke* , *tokematamonaka*
 ohari+M to- ka+M , to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 be one away go/come away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi vi

'He went out alone.'

5 *Toke* *me* , *bani* , *bani* *me* *ni* *ya* , *yowi*
 to- ka+M me , bani , bani me ni ya , yowi
 away go/come 3PL animal animal 3PL to ADJU brown capuchin
 vi pron nm nm pron prt prt nm

THE JAGUAR ATE THE MAN'S WIFE

memetemoneke	yowi	mati
me -mete -mone -ke	yowi	mati
3PL.S FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	brown capuchin	3PL
pron	nm	pron

'He went to the game animals. They were brown capuchin monkeys.'

6 Fati	fame	fati	famematamona
fati	fama+M	fati	fama -himata -mona
3SG.POSS.wife	be two	3SG.POSS.wife	be with FP.N+M REP+M
nf	vi	nf	vi

fati	hiba	fana	nari
fati	hiba	fana	na -haari
3SG.POSS.wife	soon after	be married	AUX IP.E+M
nf	conj	vi	aux

'He was with his wife. He had just gotten married.'

7 Hiba	fana	nematamonaka
hiba	fana	na -himata -mona -ka
soon after	be married	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
conj	vi	aux

'He had just gotten married.'

8 Hiba	fana	ne	fati	fame	toke
hiba	fana	na+M	fati	fama+M	to- ka+M
soon after	be married	AUX	3SG.POSS.wife	be two	away go/come
conj	vi	aux	nf	vi	vi

yowi	fiko	nemetemoneke
yowi	fiko	na -hemete -mone -ke
brown capuchin	(cry of capuchin)	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
nm	vi	aux

'He had just gotten married, and he was with his wife. As he was going, he heard a brown capuchin calling.'

9 Yowi	memetemoneni
yowi	me -mete -mone -ni
brown capuchin	3PL.S FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
nm	pron

'They were brown capuchins.'

10 Yowi	me	fiko	nemetemone
yowi	me	fiko	na -hemete -mone
brown capuchin	3PL.S	(cry of capuchin)	AUX FP.N+F REP+F
nm	pron	vi	aux

Fitiko	fitiko	fitiko
fitiko	fitiko	fitiko
(call of capuchin)	(call of capuchin)	(call of capuchin)
sound	sound	sound

fitiko	fitiko	fitiko
fitiko	fitiko	fitiko
(call of capuchin)	(call of capuchin)	(call of capuchin)
sound	sound	sound

fitiko	fitiko	fitiko
fitiko	fitiko	fitiko
(call of capuchin)	(call of capuchin)	(call of capuchin)
sound	sound	sound

'The capuchins called, "Fitiko, fitiko, fitiko, fitiko."'

THE JAGUAR ATE THE MAN'S WIFE

11 *Yowi* *me* *fiko* *nemetemoneke* *ahi*
 yowi me fiko na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 brown capuchin 3PL.S (cry of capuchin) AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nm pron vi aux dem

"The capuchins were calling out."

12 *Me* , *Yowi* *owa* *me* *awara* *me* *ati*
 me yowi owa me awa -ra+F me ati
 3PL brown capuchin 1SG.O 3PL.S see NEG 3PL.POSS voice
 pron nm pron pron vt pron pn

amani

ama -ni
 be BKG+F
 vc

"The capuchins are calling because they haven't seen me."

13 *Tiware*
 ti- ita -rI
 2SG.S sit raised surface
 vi

"Sit here."

14 *Tiware*
 ti- ita -rI
 2SG.S sit raised surface
 vi

"Sit here."

15 *Awa* *homine* *haro*
 awa homa -ne haaro
 tree lie on ground CONT+F that one+F
 nf vi dem

"There is a log there."

16 *Awa* *homine* *ha*
 awa homa -ne haa
 tree lie on ground CONT+F DEM
 nf vi dem

"There is a log there."

17 *Tiwarema* *ahi*
 ti- ita -rI -ma ahi
 2SG.S sit raised surface back here
 vi dem

"You sit here."

18 *Yowi* *me* *owamakematibe*
 yowi me o- to- awa -makI -mata -be
 brown capuchin 3PL.O 1SG.S away see following short time IMMED+F
 nm pron vt

"I'm going to go look at the capuchins."

19 *Fati* *fati* *watarimatamonaka*
 fati fati wata -rI -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife put raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf nf vt

THE JAGUAR ATE THE MAN'S WIFE

'He sat his wife there on the log.'

20	<i>Fati</i>	<i>yimawa</i>	<i>yimawa</i>	<i>bite</i>	,	<i>yimawa</i>	<i>bite</i>	<i>tama</i>
	fati	yimawa	yimawa	bite		yimawa	bite	tama
	3SG.POSS.wife	knife	knife	small+F		knife	small+F	hold onto
	nf	nf	nf	adj		nf	adj	vt
	<i>na</i>	<i>yama</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>sasakatebisa</i>		<i>na</i>	<i>-tee -bisa</i>	<i>yimawa</i>
	na+F	yama	ee	sa- saka		na	-tee -bisa	yimawa
	AUX	thing	1IN.S	DUP pierce repeatedly		AUX	HAB also	knife
	aux	nf	pron	vt				nf
	<i>bite</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>nemetemoneke</i>					
	bite	tama	na -hemete -mone -ke					
	small+F	hold onto	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F					
	adj	vt	aux					

'His wife had a knife, a thing for piercing things. She had a knife.'

21	<i>Yimawa</i>	<i>bite</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>na</i>	,	<i>fimiharo</i>	<i>fimiha</i>	<i>E</i>
	yimawa	bite	tama	na+F		fimi	fimi+F	ee
	knife	small+F	hold onto	AUX		be hungry	IP.E+F	be hungry
	nf	adj	vt	aux		vi	vi	pron
	<i>kakamakabote</i>		<i>naba</i>	<i>eke</i>		<i>ati</i>	<i>ne</i>	
	ka- ka	-ma	-kabote	na -haba	ee -ke	ati	na+M	
	COMIT go/come	back	quickly	AUX FUT+F	1IN.S DECL+F	say	AUX	
	vi		aux	aux	pron	vt	aux	
	<i>yowi</i>	<i>mera</i>	<i>tonakamaki</i>			<i>tokomake</i>		
	yowi	mera	to- na- ka	-makI+M		to- ka	-makI	
	brown capuchin	3PL.O	away CAUS	go/come following		away go/come	following	
	nm	pron	vt			vi		
	<i>yowi</i>	<i>me</i>		<i>yowi</i>	<i>mera</i>	<i>keru</i>	<i>kane</i>	
	yowi	me		yowi	mera	keru	ka- na+M	
	brown capuchin	3PL.O		brown capuchin	3PL.O	go around	COMIT AUX	
	nm	pron		nm	pron	vt	aux	
	<i>yowi</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>kake</i>		<i>mera</i>	<i>fora</i>		
	yowi	me	ka -kI	mera	fora			
	brown capuchin	3PL.S	go/come coming	3PL.O	shoot with	blowgun		
	nm	pron	vi	pron	vt			
	<i>nematamonaka</i>		<i>ahi</i>					
	na -himata	-mona -ka	ahi					
	AUX FP.N+M	REP+M DECL+M	then					
	aux		dem					

'She had a knife. She was hungry. "We will go home soon," he said. He went, going after the capuchins. He went around to the front of the capuchins. The capuchins came, and he shot them with blowgun darts.'

22	<i>Yowi</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>fora</i>		<i>ne</i>	<i>yowi</i>	<i>me</i>
	yowi	me	fora		na+M	yowi	me
	brown capuchin	3PL.O	shoot with	blowgun	AUX	brown capuchin	3PL.S
	nm	pron	vt		aux	nm	pron
	<i>wete</i>	<i>nama</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>kama</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>yowi</i>	<i>me</i>
	wete	na -ma+F	me	ka -ma+F	me	yowi	me
	return	AUX back	3PL.S	go/come back	3PL.S	brown capuchin	3PL.S
	vi	aux	pron	vi	pron	nm	pron
	<i>kamemetemoneke</i>						
	ka	-ma	-hemete	-mone -ke			
	go/come back	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F			
	vi						

'He shot at the capuchins with his blowgun, and the capuchins turned around and came back. The capuchins came back.'

THE JAGUAR ATE THE MAN'S WIFE

23 *Yowi* *me* *kama* *me* *foro*
 yowi me ka -ma+F me foro
 brown capuchin 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S fall
 nm pron vi pron vi

nemetemoneke *ahi* *baasa*
 na -hemete -mone -ke ahi baasa
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then (sound of hitting leaves)
 aux dem sound

beo , *baasa*
 beo , baasa
 (sound of hitting ground) (sound of hitting leaves)
 sound sound

beo .
 beo .
 (sound of hitting ground)
 sound

'The capuchins came back and fell, baasa beo, baasa beo.'

24 *Me* *nafi* *fora* *hina* *rama* *ahi* .
 me nafi fora hi- na+F rama ahi
 3PL.POSS all shoot with blowgun OC AUX unusual then
 pron pn vt aux prt dem

'He shot all of them with his blowgun.'

25 *Fati* *fama* *fati* , *E* *fama* *nawi* *na*
 fati fama+M fati , ee fama na -wi na+F
 3SG.POSS.wife be two 3SG.POSS.wife 1IN.S be two AUX steadily AUX
 nf vi nf pron vi aux aux

wati *tiwa* *tikana* *e* *famibeya* , *ati* *ne*
 wati tiwa ti- ka- na+F ee fama -be -ya , ati na.NOM+M
 arrow carry 2SG.S COMIT AUX 1IN.S be two IMMED+F now say AUX
 nm vt aux pron vi vt aux

ya , *ati* .
 ya , ati
 ADJU voice
 prt pn

'He should have stayed with his wife. He should have said, "You and I are always together. You carry the arrows, and we will go together."'

26 *Kamematamonaka* *ahi* .
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem

'He came back.'

27 *Afo* *fimiha* *yimawa* *yimawa* *bite* *ya* , *yimawa*
 afo fimi+F yimawa yimawa bite ya , yimawa
 heart of palm be hungry knife knife small+F ADJU knife
 nf vi nf nf adj prt nf

bite *ya* *afo* *afo* *ka* *na* *afo* *ka*
 bite ya afo afo kaa na+F afo kaa
 small+F ADJU heart of palm heart of palm chop AUX heart of palm chop
 adj prt nf nf vt aux nf vt

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nemetemoneke

na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

aux

'She was hungry, so she cut some heart of palm.'

28	Afo		ka	na	afo		hoka	nake	
	afo		kaa	na+F	afo		hoka	na -kI	,
	heart of palm		chop	AUX	heart of palm		yank	AUX coming	
	nf		vt	aux	nf		vt	aux	

afo		ti		nakosa		afo		ti
afo		tii		na -kosa+F		afo		tii
heart of palm		cut through		AUX middle		heart of palm		cut through
nf		vt		aux		nf		vt

nakosemetemone

na -kosa -hemete -mone
AUX middle FP.N+F REP+F

aux

'She cut down a palm for palm heart. She pulled on the palm leaves. She cut the trunk of the palm.'

29	Afo		ti		nakosa		kama
	afo		tii		na -kosa+F		ka -ma+F
	heart of palm		cut through		AUX middle		go/come back
	nf		vt		aux		vi

itarima			afo		ka	kana	afo
ita -rI			-ma+F afo		kaa	ka- na+F	afo
sit raised surface		back	heart of palm		chop	COMIT AUX	heart of palm
vi			nf		vt	aux	nf

ka	kana		afo		okoro	na	Eo
kaa	ka- na+F		afo		okoro	na+F	eo
chop	COMIT AUX		heart of palm		peel	AUX	(squeaking sound)
vt	aux		nf		vt	aux	sound

eo		afo		ati	nemetemone
eo		afo		ati	na -hemete -mone
(squeaking sound)		heart of palm		say	AUX FP.N+F REP+F
sound		nf		vt	aux

'She cut the ends off the heart of palm and came back and sat down on a log. She made shallow cuts in the surface and took the outer layers off. "Eo, eo," it went.'

30	Yama	kakehemetemoneke			ahi
	yama	ka -kI	-hemete -mone -ke		ahi
	thing	go/come coming	FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F		then
	nf	vi			dem

'Then it came.'

31 **Kakehimatamonane**

ka -kI -himata -mona -ne
go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M

vi

'The jaguar came.'

32	Kake		kakehimatamonaka
	ka -kI		ka -kI -himata -mona -ka
	go/come coming		go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	vi		vi

'It came.'

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33 *Wati kawi yaboremata awaka*
 wati ka- waa.NFIN yabo -ra -himata awa -ka
 arrow COMMIT stand be far NEG FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M
 nm vi vi sec

'The arrows were leaning against a tree not far away.'

34 *Fare wati kawē ya*
 fare wati ka- waa+M ya
 same+M arrow COMMIT stand ADJU
 dem nm vi prt

itariemetemoneni

ita -rI -hemete -mone -ni
 sit raised surface FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi

'She was sitting right where the arrows were.'

35 *Faya itaria ra yome nabowemata awa fa*
 faya ita -rI+F ra yomee na- aboha -himata awa faa
 so sit raised surface O jaguar CAUS die FP.N+M seem+M that
 conj vi prt nm vt sec dem

'The jaguar killed her as she sat there.'

36 *Nabowematamonaka*
 na- aboha -himata -mona -ka
 CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'It killed her.'

37 *Faya kiya kani himitara yowi me foro*
 faya kiya ka- na.NFIN hi- mita -ra+F yowi me foro
 so yell COMMIT AUX OC hear NEG brown capuchin 3PL.O fall
 conj vi aux vt nm pron vi

naba nemetemone hike ya ahi
 na -baa na -hemete -mone hike ya ahi
 AUX at a distance AUX FP.N+F REP+F far ADJU there
 aux aux nf prt dem

'He didn't hear her yelling. The capuchins were falling over there.'

38 *Yowi me foro na yowi me yabe*
 yowi me foro na+F yowi me yaba+M
 brown capuchin 3PL.S fall AUX brown capuchin 3PL.O take out
 nm pron vi aux nm pron vt

fati kiya kani mitare
 fati kiya ka- na.NFIN mita -ra+M
 3SG.POSS.wife yell COMMIT AUX hear NEG
 nf vi aux vt

kamematamonaka

ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He was picking up the capuchins that had fallen, and he didn't hear his wife yelling. He came back.'

39 *Kame kamematamonaka*
 ka -ma+M ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 go/come back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi

'He came back.'

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40 *Kasiro kame , Oko yibote*
 kasiro ka -ma+M , o- ka yibote
 a lot go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS wife
 adv vi prt nf

itarikani ati ne ,
 ita -rI -kani ati na+M ,
 sit raised surface CNTRFACT say AUX
 vi vt aux

hiwakaremetemoneke

hi- to- ka- ka -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 OC away COMIT go/come NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'He came really fast. "My wife is sitting there on the log," he said. It didn't take her away.'

41 *Fara nabowi wati ya hikabemetemoneke*
 fara na- aboha.NFIN wata+F ya hi- kaba -hemete -mone -ke
 same+F CAUS die be located ADJU OC eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 dem vt vi prt vt

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'It had eaten her in the same place that it killed her.'

42 *Noko tai tokahame yowi me koro*
 noko tai to- ka- ha -ma+M yowi me koro
 eye+M be ahead CH COMIT AUX back brown capuchin 3PL.O throw
 pn vi aux nm pron vt

kaname , Oko yibote itari amake
 ka- na -ma+M , o- ka yibote ita -rI.NOM ama -ke
 COMIT AUX back 1SG.POSS POSS wife sit raised surface be DECL+F
 aux prt nf vi vc

ahi
 ahi
 there
 dem

'He was looking ahead, searching. He threw down the capuchins. "My wife was sitting here.'"

43 *Noko tokikimebona yama yama tafa*
 noko to- ka -kima -hibona yama yama tafa+F
 eye+M away go/come two INT+M thing thing eat
 pn vi nf nf vi

homemetemoneke ahi
 homa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F there
 vi dem

'He looked around, and there it was lying on the ground eating.'

44 *Oko yibote amara yome kabe homa*
 o- ka yibote ama -ra+F yomee kaba+M homa.LIST
 1SG.POSS POSS wife be NEG jaguar eat lie on ground
 prt nf vc nm vt vi

hari
 haari
 that one+M
 dem

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"Isn't that my wife that the jaguar is eating lying there?"

45 *Yowi* *me* *noko*
 yowi me noko
 brown capuchin 3PL.POSS attraction
 nm pron pn

tonihamarematamonaka

to- niha- ha -ma -ra -himata -mona -ka
 CH CAUS AUX back NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'He didn't care about the capuchins anymore.'

46 *Tokomematamona* *yome* *home* *beri* *ya* *ahi*
 to- ka -ma -himata -mona yomee homa+M beheri ya ahi
 away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M jaguar lie on ground side ADJU then
 vi nm vi pn prt dem

'He went to where the jaguar was lying.'

47 *Tokome* *wati* *kakitikabote* *wati* *soba*
 to- ka -ma+M wati ka- iti -kabote wati soba
 away go/come back arrow COMIT pick up quickly arrow pull out
 vi nm vt nm vt

nake *yor* *kabote* *nematamonaka* *ahi*
 na -kI yori na -kabote na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 AUX coming insert AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux vt aux aux dem

'He went and picked up the arrows. He pulled out an arrow. He put the arrow in the bow.'

48 *Sa* *hikane* *rama* *fariboti* *ahi*
 saa hi- ka- na+M rama fariboti ahi
 shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX unusual armpit there
 vt aux prt pn dem

'He hit it with an arrow in the armpit.'

49 *Kawa* *nawarematamonaka* *ahi*
 ka- waa na -waharI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 COMIT stand AUX all over FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi aux dem

'It was lurching this way and that, hurt.'

50 *Ye* *tonakosematamonaka*
 yee to- na -kosa -himata -mona -ka
 yell CH AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'He yelled out.'

51 *Oko* *yibote* *yama* *kabinihi*
 o- ka yibote yama kaba.NOM+F -ni -hi
 1SG.POSS POSS wife thing eat IP.N+F DUP
 prt nf nf vt

'It has eaten my wife!'

52 *Oko* *yibote* *yama* *kabakeni*
 o- ka yibote yama kaba -ke -ni
 1SG.POSS POSS wife thing eat DECL+F IP.N+F
 prt nf nf vt

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"It has eaten my wife!"

53 *Faya* , *tosawitematamonaka*
 faya , to- sona -witI -himata -mona -ka
 so away fall out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi

'It fell over.'

54 *Fariboti* *sa* *hikane* *rama* *ahi*
 fariboti saa hi- ka- na+M rama ahi
 armpit shoot with arrow OC COMMIT AUX unusual then
 pn vt aux prt dem

'He hit it with an arrow in the armpit.'

55 *Tosawite* , *hiwamake* *tani* *bete*
 to- sona -witI , hi- to- awa -makI tani bete
 away fall out OC away see following weapon against pull
 vi vt pn vt

hiname , *Hima* , *titafimiyahi* *bisa*
 hi- na -ma+M , hima , ti- tafi -ma -yahi bisa
 OC AUX back let's go 2SG.S wake up back DIST.IMP+F also
 aux interj vi prt

'It fell over. He went and looked at it. He pulled the arrow out. "Come on, get better."'

56 *Titafimiyahi* *bisa*
 ti- tafi -ma -yahi bisa
 2SG.S wake up back DIST.IMP+F also
 vi prt

"Get better."

57 *Oko* *yibote* *tikabani* *ama* *ti* ?
 o- ka yibote ti- kaba -hani ama ti-
 1SG.POSS POSS wife 2SG.S eat IP.N+F SEC 2SG.S
 prt nf vt vc prt

"Did you eat my wife?"

58 *Faya* , *tone* *hikabemetemone*
 faya , tone hi- kaba -hemete -mone
 so bone OC eat FP.N+F REP+F
 conj pn vt

'It was eating her bones.'

59 *Bari* , *tone* *tohemetemoneke* *ehene*
 bari , tone to- ha -hemete -mone -ke ehene
 back bone CH be FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F because of+M
 pn pn vc post

'Her back was just bones because of it.'

60 *Faya* *yimawa* *tama* *ne* *hoti* *wi* *ne* , *hoti* *wi* *ne*
 faya yimawa tama na+M hoti wii na+M , hoti wii na+M
 so knife hold onto AUX hole dig AUX hole dig AUX
 conj nf vt aux nf vt aux nf vt aux

fati *tone* *kamo*
 fati tone kamo.LIST
 3SG.POSS.wife bone bury
 nf pn vt

'So he got his knife and dug a hole, and buried his wife's bones.'

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61 *Fati* *tone* *kamomatamonaka*
 fati tone kamo -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS.wife bone bury FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf pn vt

'He buried his wife's bones.'

62 *Fati* *tone* *kamo* , *bani* *me* *tonakame*
 fati tone kamo+M , bani me to- na- ka -ma+M
 3SG.POSS.wife bone bury animal 3PL.O away CAUS go/come back
 nf pn vt nm pron vt

bani *me* *kakame* *bani* *me* *soki* *nake*
 bani me ka- ka -ma+M bani me soki na -kI
 animal 3PL.O COMMIT go/come back animal 3PL.O tie up AUX coming
 nm pron vt nm pron vt aux

bani *me* *weye* *nematamonaka*
 bani me weye na -himata -mona -ka
 animal 3PL.O carry AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm pron vt aux

'He buried his wife's bones. He went after the game and brought the game and tied up the game and carried the game.'

63 *Yowi* *me* *weye* *ne* , *kame*
 yowi me weye na+M , ka -ma+M ,
 brown capuchin 3PL.O carry AUX go/come back
 nm pron vt aux vi

kamematamonaka
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He came back carrying the capuchins. He came back.'

64 *Kame* *yama* *yabori* *ya* *faya* *ohi* *ni* *yana* *ne*
 ka -ma+M yama yabo -ra+F ya faya ohi na.NFIN yana na+M
 go/come back thing be far NEG ADJU so cry AUX start AUX
 vi nf vi prt conj vi aux vi aux

ohi *ni* *kame* , *ohi* *ni*
 ohi na.NFIN ka -ma+M , ohi na.NFIN
 cry AUX go/come back cry AUX
 vi aux vi vi aux

kamematamonaka *ahi*
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem

'He came back. When he was near, he started crying. He came on crying. He came on crying.'

65 *Okatao* *fati* *fame* *toke* *ya* , *okatao*
 okatao fati fama+M to- ka.NOM+M ya , okatao
 my son 3SG.POSS.wife be two away go/come ADJU my son
 nm nf vi vi prt nm

fati *fame* *toke* *ya* *me* , *okatao* *ohi* *ni*
 fati fama+M to- ka.NOM+M ya me , okatao ohi na.NFIN
 3SG.POSS.wife be two away go/come ADJU 3PL my son cry AUX
 nf vi vi prt pron nm vi aux

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kamane

ka -ma.CONT+M -ne
go/come back BKG+M
vi

"My son went out with his wife, and my son came back crying."

66 **Bani ehene ati amane**
bani ehene ati ama -ne
animal result of+M voice be BKG+M
nm pn pn vc

"He is crying because an animal killed someone."

67 **Faya ohi ni kame bani me weye ne ohi**
faya ohi na.NFIN ka -ma+M bani me weye na+M ohi
so cry AUX go/come back animal 3PL.O carry AUX cry
conj vi aux vi nm pron vt aux vi

ni kamematamonaka yowi mati
na.NFIN ka -ma -himata -mona -ka yowi mati
AUX go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M brown capuchin 3PL
aux vi nm pron

'He came back crying. As he carried the game, the capuchins, he came back crying.'

68 **Fati sawi aawa ora ohi ni**
fati sawi.NFIN a- awa o- na -ra+F ohi na.NFIN
3SG.POSS.wife be present DUP see 1SG.S AUX NEG cry AUX
nf vi vt aux vi aux

kamane

ka -ma.CONT+M -ne
go/come back BKG+M
vi

"I didn't see his wife with him. He is crying as he comes."

69 **Faya kamematamonaka**
faya ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
so go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
conj vi

'He came back.'

70 **Kame kobo name kobo name Himata ebe**
ka -ma+M kobo na -ma+M kobo na -ma+M himata ebe
go/come back arrive AUX back arrive AUX back what? purpose
vi vi aux vi aux interrog vt

tina ohi tine tiriya ?
ti- na+F ohi ti- na -ne ti- ri -ya
2SG.S AUX cry 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S CQ+F now
aux vi aux prt

'He came back and arrived. He arrived. "Why are you crying?"'

71 **Oko yibote oko yibote yome kabeno**
o- ka yibote o- ka yibote yomee kaba -hino
1SG.POSS POSS wife 1SG.POSS POSS wife jaguar eat IP.N+M
prt nf prt nf nm vt

oni

o- ni
1SG.POSS BKG+F
prt

"A jaguar ate my wife."

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"The jaguar ate her all up."

79 *He famarani awineni mati ati*
 hee fama -ra -hani awine -ni mati ati
 3SG be with NEG IP.N+F seem+F BKG+F 3SG.POSS.mother say
 pron vi sec nf vt

nemetemonehe
 na -hemete -mone -he
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP
 aux

"Why didn't you take her with you?" his mother said.'

80 *Ota famarineke*
 otaa fama -ra -ne -ke
 1EX.S be with NEG CONT+F DECL+F
 pron vi

"We didn't go together."

81 *Itarimatabone ona yome*
 ita -rI -mata -habone ati o- na+F yomee
 sit raised surface short time INT+F say 1SG.S AUX jaguar
 vi aux nm

hinabowanike
 hi- na- aboha -hani -ke
 OC CAUS die IP.N+F DECL+F
 vt

"I told her to sit there for a while, and the jaguar killed her."

82 *Yome hikabani fahi*
 yomee hi- kaba -hani fahi
 jaguar OC eat IP.N+F then
 nm vt dem

"The jaguar ate her."

83 *Yome hikabani okomara oke*
 yomee hi- kaba -hani o- ka -ma -hara o- ke
 jaguar OC eat IP.N+F 1SG.S go/come back IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 nm vt vi prt

"When the jaguar was eating her I came back."

84 *Tafe homeno owasimarene*
 tafa+M homa -hino o- wasi -ma -hare -ne
 eat lie on ground IP.N+M 1SG.S find back IP.E+M BKG+M
 vi vi vt

"It was lying there eating when I came upon it."

85 *Tafe home sa okane yora*
 tafa+M homa+M saa o- ka- na+M yora
 eat lie on ground shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX jump
 vi vi vt aux vi

tokowite toke tosawitereka
 to- ka- na -witI to- ka+M to- sona -witI -hare -ka
 away COMIT AUX out away go/come away fall out IP.E+M DECL+M
 aux vi vi

"It was eating lying there, and I shot it with an arrow. It jumped away and went off and fell."

THE JAGUAR ATE THE MAN'S WIFE

86 *Fariboti* *sa* *okanare* .
fariboti saa o- ka- na -hare
armpit shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX IP.E+M
pn vt aux
"I hit it with an arrow in the armpit."

THE WOMAN WENT INTO THE FOREST ALONE

Free Translation

They grieved [because of the woman who died in the story I'm going to tell], and then they stopped grieving.

He pulverized the shavings of *iha* stalk, and then put the poison on the the arrow points and the blowgun dart points.

His wife went out into the forest. His wife went out at her own initiative, and the jaguar ate her.

She went out. She beat the *kona* roots. She put her son in an enclosure, and he sat there. She put the *kona* poison in the water. The *aba siri* fish were stunned. She went after the stunned *aba siri* fish.

She came back and breast fed her son, so he wouldn't cry. She put her son back.

"Stay there. I'm going back to pick up the fish. Don't cry. Sit there quietly."

She went back. She went downstream. The basket was full of fish. She was picking up the fish, and putting them in the basket. She was putting the fish in the basket as she went downstream.

The jaguar was standing on top of a log. The log was across the stream. At the curve in the stream where the log crossed it, the jaguar was on top of the log, and she crossed under it.

She filled the basket with fish and brought the fish back. She was coming back with the basket of fish hung on her shoulder. She turned around and came back. She came on. There was a noise, "Kiisaa, tookoo [sounds of moving leaves, and of the jaguar hitting the woman].

"Eee."

It knocked her into the water and killed her. It killed her, biting her head. She died. Her son was sitting there.

Her husband put the arrow points in the sheath and came.

"Wait, I'm going to take a look at my wife."

He came. He came holding his arrows.

"My son is sitting there. Where is the child's mother?"

He picked up the child and hugged him.

"Where is your mother?"

The child didn't say anything. He picked up the child's sling, and he slung the sling over his shoulder, and put the child in the sling. He took his arrows and went. As he was about to go, he saw the jaguar lying on the ground, eating. It was biting and tearing the flesh.

"The jaguar is eating my wife."

He was carrying his son in the sling, and he gripped his son's arm under his arm, and pulled out an arrow. He pulled out an arrow and inserted it in the bow. It started to get up but he shot it quickly. "Taakaa, tookoo," went the arrow, hitting the jaguar.

"Hee," it said.

It staggered off and collapsed. It tried to get up and collapsed again, and died.

"The jaguar was eating my wife."

He took his wife away. He brought a piece of her, then brought another piece. Then he came home. The fish that the jaguar dumped when it killed the woman went downstream, dead. The fish went downstream, and he didn't get them. He came home. He came home carrying his son in the

THE WOMAN WENT INTO THE FOREST ALONE

sling. He appeared at the village.

"A jaguar ate my wife."

"Hoo, kids should go with them. She went out alone and a jaguar killed her," they said.

He didn't eat. He buried the pieces of his wife.

Interlinear Presentation

1 **Me me yawemetemoneke**
 me me yawa -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL 3PL.S be upset FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pron vi

'They grieved.'

2 **Me yawa me , me yawa , me yawarene**
 me yawa+F me me yawa+F me yawa -ra -hene
 3PL.S be upset 3PL.S 3PL.S be upset 3PL.S be upset NEG IRR+F
 pron vi pron pron vi pron vi

'They grieved, and then they stopped grieving.'

3 **Iha , iha to kane , faya wati ino**
 iha iha too ka- na+M faya wati ino
 plant sp plant sp foam up COMMIT AUX so arrow point+M
 nm nm vt aux conj nm pn
were sare ini were , fara fati
 were.LIST sarehe ini were fara fati
 coat blowgun dart point+F coat same+F 3SG.POSS.wife
 vt nf pn vt dem nf

tokemetemoneke
 to- ka -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'He pulverized the shavings of *iha* stalk, and then put the poison on the the arrow points and the blowgun dart points. His wife went out.'

4 **Fara fati tokemetemoneni yome**
 fara fati to- ka -hemete -mone -ni yomee
 same+F 3SG.POSS.wife away go/come FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F jaguar
 dem nf vi nm

hikababanihi
 hi- kaba -haba -ni -hi
 OC eat FUT+F IP.N+F DUP
 vt

'His wife went out at her own initiative, and the jaguar ate her.'

5 **Toka kona baro na kona baro na , biti**
 to- ka+F kona baro na+F kona baro na+F , biti
 away go/come plant sp beat AUX plant sp beat AUX 3SG.POSS.son
 vi nm vt aux nm vt aux nm

biti wasa kanemetemoneke
 biti wasa ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
 3SG.POSS.son enclose COMMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm vt aux

'She went out. She beat the *kona* roots. She put her son in an enclosure.'

THE WOMAN WENT INTO THE FOREST ALONE

6	Biti	was	kana		biti	ita		faya	
	biti	was	ka- na+F		biti	ita.LIST		faya	
	3SG.POSS.son	enclose	COMIT AUX		3SG.POSS.son	sit		so	
	nm	vt	aux		nm	vi		conj	
	kona	sa	na	,	kona	aba siri	me	aba siri	me
	kona	saa	na+F		kona	aba siri	me	aba siri	me
	plant sp	release	AUX		plant sp	fish sp	3PL	fish sp	3PL.S
	nm	vt	aux		nm	nm	pron	nm	pron

hanoemetemoneni

hano -hemete -mone -ni
 be drunk FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi

'She put her son in an enclosure, and he sat there. She put the *kona* poison in the water. The *aba siri* fish were stunned.'

7	Aba siri	me	hanoha	me	,	tonakamakia
	aba siri	me	hano+F	me		to- na- ka -makI+F
	fish sp	3PL.S	be drunk	3PL.O		away CAUS go/come following
	nm	pron	vi	pron		vt

biti	nafawami		forima	na	biti
biti	na- fawa -ma.NFIN		forima	na+F	biti
3SG.POSS.son	CAUS drink back		do properly	AUX	3SG.POSS.son
nm	vt		vi	aux	nm

nafawa	,	ohi	rebonaha
na- fawa+F		ohi	na -ra -hibona -ha
CAUS drink		cry	AUX NEG INT+M DUP
vt		vi	aux

'She went after the stunned *aba siri* fish. She came back and breast fed her son, so he wouldn't cry.'

8	Biti	nafawamaha	,	biti	towatama
	biti	na- fawa -ma+F		biti	to- wata -ma+F
	3SG.POSS.son	CAUS drink back		3SG.POSS.son	away exist back
	nm	vt		nm	vt

Iita	karama	tiyahi
i- ita	na -karahama	ti- na -yahi
DUP stay	AUX only do	2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F
vi	aux	aux

'She came back and breast fed her son. She put her son back. "Stay there."'

9	Aba	me	oyabamamateya
	aba	me	o- to- yaba -ma -mate -ya
	fish	3PL.O	1SG.S away take out back short time.IMP+F now
	nm	pron	vt

""I'm going back to pick up the fish.""

10	Ohi	tiriyahi
	ohi	ti- na -ra -yahi
	cry	2SG.S AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F
	vi	aux

""Don't cry.""

11	Tiwati	watari	tiwitiyahi
	ti- ati	wata -ra.NFIN	ti- ita -yahi
	2SG.POSS voice	exist NEG	2SG.S sit DIST.IMP+F
	pn	vi	vi

""Sit there quietly.""

THE WOMAN WENT INTO THE FOREST ALONE

12 *Tokomake* *tokisamakietemoneke*
 to- ka -makI to- ka -risa -makI -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come following away go/come down following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi vi

'She went back. She went downstream.'

13 *Tokisamakia* *tokisamakia* *aba* *me*
 to- ka -risa -makI+F to- ka -risa -makI+F aba me
 away go/come down following away go/come down following fish 3PL
 vi vi nm pron

isiri *mo* *kanemetemone*
 isiri moo ka- na -hemete -mone
 basket be full COMMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nf vi aux

'She went downstream. The basket was full of fish.'¹³²

14 *Aba* *me* *yabemetemone*
 aba me yaba -hemete -mone
 fish 3PL.O take out FP.N+F REP+F
 nm pron vt

'She was picking up the fish.'

15 *Aba* *me* *yabaha* *aba* *me* *te* *nemetemoneke*
 aba me yaba+F aba me tee na -hemete -mone -ke
 fish 3PL.O take out fish 3PL.O put inside AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron vt nm pron vt aux

'She was picking up the fish, and putting them in the basket.'

16 *Aba* *me* *te* *na* *aba* *me* *te* *na*
 aba me tee na+F aba me tee na+F
 fish 3PL.O put inside AUX fish 3PL.O put inside AUX
 nm pron vt aux nm pron vt aux

tokisamakia *tokisamakia*
 to- ka -risa -makI+F to- ka -risa -makI+F
 away go/come down following away go/come down following
 vi vi

warehimatamona *yomahi*
 waa -rI -himata -mona yomahi
 stand raised surface FP.N+M REP+M jaguar
 vi nm

'She was putting the fish in the basket as she went downstream. The jaguar was standing on top of a log.'

17 *Awa* *awa* *kaya* *nemetemoneke* *ahi*
 awa awa kaya na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 tree tree lie AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F there
 nf nf vi aux dem

'The log was across the stream.'

18 *Awa* *kaya* *na* *ya* *fa* *fa* *towakama* *ya*
 awa kaya na+F ya faha faha to- ka- ka -ma+F ya
 tree lie AUX ADJU water water away COMMIT go/come back ADJU
 nf vi aux prt nf nf vi prt

¹³² The words *aba me* are a false start.

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yome **ware** **fiya** **tonakosamake** , **isiri**
yomee waa -rI fiya to- na -kosa -makI , isiri
jaguar stand raised surface pass away AUX middle following basket
nm vi vt aux nf

ya **aba** **me** **mo** **kaniha** **aba** **me**
ya aba me moo ka- niha- na+F aba me
ADJU fish 3PL.O be full COMMIT CAUS AUX fish 3PL.O
prt nm pron vi aux nm pron

kakama , **kamemetemoneke** **aba** **me**
ka- ka -ma+F , ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke aba me
COMIT go/come back go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F fish 3PL.O
vt vi nm pron

sana **kanaharo** **ahi**
sana ka- na -haaro ahi
carry strapped on shoulder COMMIT AUX IP.E+F then
vt aux dem

'At the curve in the stream where the log crossed it, the jaguar was on top of the log, and she crossed under it. She filled the basket with fish and brought the fish back. She was coming back with the basket of fish hung on her shoulder.'

19 **Wete** **namemetemone**
wete na -ma -hemete -mone
return AUX back FP.N+F REP+F
vi aux

'She turned around and came back.'

20 **Wete** **nama** **kama** , **wete** **namemetemoneke**
wete na -ma+F ka -ma+F , wete na -ma -hemete -mone -ke
return AUX back go/come back return AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vi aux vi vi aux

'She turned around and came back.'

21 **Kamemetemoneke**
ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vi

'She came back.'

22 **Kama** , **kama** **kama** **kama** **yama**
ka -ma+F , ka -ma+F ka -ma+F kama -ma+F yama
go/come back go/come back go/come back go/come back thing
vi vi vi vi nf

moni **yana** **tonemetemone** **kiisaa** **tookoo**
moni yana to- na -hemete -mone kiisaa tookoo
sound start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F (sound of leaves) (sound of hitting)
pn vi aux sound sound

Eee
eee
(scream when attacked)
interj

'She came on. There was a noise, "Kiisaa, tookoo." "Eee."'

23 **Faha** **ya** **hinabowemetemoneke** **ahi**
faha ya hi- na- aboha -hemete -mone -ke ahi
water ADJU OC CAUS die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
nf prt vt dem

THE WOMAN WENT INTO THE FOREST ALONE

'It killed her in the water.'

24 *Faya hinabowa , tati yaki hire*
 faya hi- na- aboha+F , tati yaki hi- na -rI ,
 so OC CAUS die head bite into OC AUX raised surface
 conj vt pn vt aux
ahaba , biti itematamonane
 ahaba+F , biti ita -himata -mona -ne
 die 3SG.POSS.son sit FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi nm vi

'It killed her, biting her head. She died. Her son was sitting there.'

25 *Maki sare wati ino yoko tokaname*
 maki sarehe wati ino yoko to- ka- na -ma+M
 3SG.POSS.husband blowgun dart arrow point+M push away COMMIT AUX back
 nm nf nm pn vt aux
kamaki , Hiba oko yibote totowamake
 ka -makI+M , hiba o- ka yibote to- to- awa -makI
 go/come following wait 1SG.POSS POSS wife DUP away see following
 vi interj prt nf vt
omatibe
 o- na -mata -be
 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F
 aux

'Her husband put the arrow points in the sheath and came. "Wait, I'm going to take a look at my wife."'

26 *Kamakimatamonaka*
 ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He came.'

27 *Kamaki wati tama kane kamaki*
 ka -makI+M wati tama ka- na+M ka -makI+M ,
 go/come following arrow hold onto COMMIT AUX go/come following
 vi nm vt aux vi
kamakimatamona
 ka -makI -himata -mona
 go/come following FP.N+M REP+M
 vi

'He came holding his arrows. He came.'

28 *Kamaki kamaki Okatao iteno hari*
 ka -makI+M ka -makI+M okatao ita -hino haari
 go/come following go/come following my son sit IP.N+M that one+M
 vi vi nm vi dem

'He came. "My son is sitting there."'

29 *Inamatewe hibaka mati toahani ?*
 inamatewe hibaka mati to- ha -hani
 child where 3SG.POSS.mother CH be IP.N+F
 nm interrog nf vc

'"Where is the child's mother?"'

THE WOMAN WENT INTO THE FOREST ALONE

30 *Inamatewe* *iti* *inamatewe* *hitiri* *ne* , *ee*
 inamatewe iti+M inamatewe hiti -ri na+M ee
 child pick up child rub against DISTR AUX (pause)
 nm vt nm vt aux interj

Amira , *ami* ?
 ami -ra ami
 2SG.POSS.mother NPQ 2SG.POSS.mother
 nf nf

'He picked up the child and hugged him. "Where is your mother?"'

31 *Inamatewe* *ati* *watarematamonaka*
 inamatewe ati wata -ra -himata -mona -ka
 child voice exist NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm pn vi

'The child didn't say anything.'

32 *Inamatewe* , *tobene* *tobene* *hiti* *tobene*
 inamatewe , tobene tobene hi- iti+M tobene
 child sling+M sling+M OC pick up sling+M
 nm pn pn vt pn

sana *himise* , *inamatewe*
 sana hi- na -misa+M inamatewe
 carry strapped on shoulder OC AUX up child
 vt aux nm

sana *namisa* , *inamatewe*
 sana na -misa.LIST inamatewe
 carry strapped on shoulder AUX up child
 vt aux nm

sana *namise* *wati* *tama* *kane*
 sana na -misa+M wati tama ka- na+M
 carry strapped on shoulder AUX up arrow hold onto COMIT AUX
 vt aux nm vt aux

tokomake , *tokomake* *hiba*
 to- ka -makI to- ka -makI hiba
 away go/come following away go/come following soon after
 vi vi conj

totokomake *nebona* *ni* *ya* *yama* *tafa*
 to- to- ka -makI na -hibona ni ya yama tafa+F
 DUP away go/come following AUX INT+M to ADJU thing eat
 vi aux prt prt nf vi

homani *awematamonaka*
 homa -hani awa -himata -mona -ka
 lie on ground IP.N+F see FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vt

'He picked up the child's sling, and he slung the sling over his shoulder, and put the child in the sling. He took his arrows and went. As he was about to go, he saw the jaguar lying on the ground, eating.'

33 *Yai* *kana* *nematamonaka* *ahi*
 yai ka- na na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 bite off COMIT AUX AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt aux aux dem

'It was biting and tearing the flesh.'

34 *Oko* *yibote* *yome* *kabehino*
 o- ka yibote yomee kaba -hino
 1SG.POSS POSS wife jaguar eat IP.N+M
 prt nf nm vt

THE WOMAN WENT INTO THE FOREST ALONE

"The jaguar is eating my wife."

35	Biti		sana		ne		biti		
	biti		sana		na+M		biti		
	3SG.POSS.son		carry strapped on shoulder		AUX		3SG.POSS.son		
	nm		vt		aux		nm		
	sana				ne		ka		biti
	sana				na+M		ka		biti
	carry strapped on shoulder				AUX		because		3SG.POSS.son
	vt				aux		prt		nm
	kanakabote		biti		mano		bati		kane
	ka- na -kabote		biti		mano		bati		ka- na+M
	COMIT AUX quickly		3SG.POSS.son		arm+M		pinch		COMIT AUX
	aux		nm		pn		vt		aux
	wati		soba		wati		wati		soba
	wati		soba		wati		wati		soba
	arrow		pull out		arrow		arrow		insert
	nm		vt		nm		nm		vt
	wamisebona		sa		kanihiti				
	waa -misa -hibona		saa		ka- na -hiti				
	stand up INT+M		shoot with arrow		COMIT AUX quickly				
	vi		vt		aux				
	hiematamonaka		ahi						
	hi- to- ha -himata -mona -ka		ahi						
	OC CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M		then						
	aux		dem						

'He was carrying his son in the sling, and he gripped his son's arm under his arm, and pulled out an arrow.'

36	Wati	soba	nake	wati	wati	yor	tone	
	wati	soba	na -kI	wati	wati	yor	to- na+M	
	arrow	pull out	AUX coming	arrow	arrow	insert	CH AUX	
	nm	vt	aux	nm	nm	vt	aux	
	wamisebona		sa		kanihiti			
	waa -misa -hibona		saa		ka- na -hiti			
	stand up INT+M		shoot with arrow		COMIT AUX quickly			
	vi		vt		aux			
	hiematamonaka		ahi					
	hi- to- ha -himata -mona -ka		ahi					
	OC CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M		then					
	aux		dem					

'He pulled out an arrow and inserted it in the bow. It started to get up but he shot it quickly.'

37	Taakaa		tookoo		Hee		ati	ne
	taakaa		tookoo		hee		ati	na+M
	(sound of hitting)		(sound of hitting)		(cry of pain)		say	AUX
	sound		sound		interj		vt	aux
	towake		tosawitematamonaka					
	to- ka- ka+M		to- sona -witI -himata -mona -ka					
	away COMIT go/come		away fall out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M					
	vi		vi					

"Taakaa, tookoo." "Hee," it said. It staggered off and collapsed.'

38	Kawamisa		toiti		ahabematamonaka	
	ka- waa -misa		to- na -hitI+M		ahaba -himata -mona -ka	
	COMIT stand up		CH AUX along the way		die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	
	vi		aux		vi	

'It tried to get up and collapsed again, and died.'

39	Oko		yibote	yome	kabakenoho	
	o- ka		yibote	yomee	kaba -ke -no -ho	
	1SG.POSS POSS		wife	jaguar	eat DECL IP.N+M DUP	
	prt		nf	nm	vt	

"The jaguar was eating my wife."

THE WOMAN WENT INTO THE FOREST ALONE

40 *Oko* *yibote* *yome* *kabeno*
 o- ka yibote yomee kaba -hino -ho
 1SG.POSS POSS wife jaguar eat IP.N+M DUP
 prt nf nm vt

"The jaguar was eating my wife."

41 *Faya* *fati* *totimake* *fati* *kote*
 faya fati to- iti -makI fati kote
 so 3SG.POSS.wife away take out following 3SG.POSS.wife piece
 conj nf vt nf pn

kakame *fati* *kote* *kakamatase*
 ka- ka -ma+M fati kote ka- ka -ma -tasa+M
 COMIT go/come back 3SG.POSS.wife piece COMIT go/come back again
 vt nf pn vt

faya *kamematamona* *fahi*
 faya ka -ma -himata -mona fahi
 so go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj vi dem

'He took his wife away. He brought a piece of her, then brought another piece. Then he came home.'

42 *Aba* *me* *yome* *hikanabowa* *me* *abowi*
 aba me yomee hi- ka- na- aboha+F me abohi
 fish 3PL.O jaguar OC COMIT CAUS die 3PL.POSS dead body
 nm pron nm vt pron pn

tokisemetemoneke *faro*
 to- ka -risa -hemete -mone -ke faaro
 away go/come down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F
 vi dem

'The fish that the jaguar dumped when it killed the woman went downstream, dead.'

43 *Aba* *me* *tokisa* *me*
 aba me to- ka -risa+F me
 fish 3PL.S away go/come down 3PL.O
 nm pron vi pron

yabarematamonaka
 yaba -ra -himata -mona -ka
 take out NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'The fish went downstream, and he didn't get them.'

44 *Kame* *biti* *biti* *sana*
 ka -ma+M biti biti sana
 go/come back 3SG.POSS.son 3SG.POSS.son carry strapped on shoulder
 vi nm nm vt

ni *kame* *faya* *tasi* *namematamona* *fahi*
 na.NFIN ka -ma+M faya tasi na -ma -himata -mona fahi
 AUX go/come back so emerge AUX back FP.N+M REP+M then
 aux vi conj vi aux dem

'He came home. He came home carrying his son in the sling. He appeared at the village.'

45 *Tasi* *name* *Oko* *yibote* *yome* *kabeno*
 tasi na -ma+M o- ka yibote yomee kaba -hino
 emerge AUX back 1SG.POSS POSS wife jaguar eat IP.N+M
 vi aux prt nf nm vt

THE WOMAN WENT INTO THE FOREST ALONE

oke

o- ke
1SG.POSS DECL+F
prt

'He appeared. "A jaguar ate my wife."'

46 *Hoo* , *inamatewe* , *me* *me* *sawiriri* *kawi*
hoo , inamatewe , me me sawi -ri -ri ka- na -waha
humph child 3PL 3PL.S be present DISTR DUP COMIT AUX change
interj nm pron pron vi aux

nofa *me* *amani*
nofa+F me ama -ni
recently 3PL.S SEC BKG+F
prt pron sec

""Hoo, kids should go with them.""

47 *Me* *sawiriri* *kawi* *nofa* *me* *ohari*
me sawi -ri -ri ka- na -waha nofa+F me ohari+M
3PL.S be present DISTR DUP COMIT AUX change recently 3PL.S be one
pron vi aux prt pron vi

toke *yome* *nabowa* *nanoho* *me* *ati*
to- ka+M yomee na- aboha.CONT+M na.NOM+M -no -ho , me ati
away go/come jaguar CAUS die AUX IP.N+M DUP 3PL.S say
vi nm vt aux pron vt

nemetemoneke
na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux

""Kids should go with them. She went out alone and a jaguar killed her," they said.'

48 *Tafarematamonaka* *fari*
tafa -ra -himata -mona -ka faari
eat NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+M
vi dem

'He didn't eat.'

49 *Faya* *fati* *kote* *kamo* , *fati* *kote*
faya fati kote kamo+M , fati kote
so 3SG.POSS.wife piece bury 3SG.POSS.wife piece
conj nf pn vt nf pn

kamomatamonaka *fahi*
kamo -himata -mona -ka fahi
bury FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
vt dem

'He buried the pieces of his wife.'

50 *Fati* *kote* *kamo* *ya* , *faya*
fati kote kamo.NOM ya , faya
3SG.POSS.wife piece bury ADJU so
nf pn vt prt conj

'He buried the pieces of his wife.'¹³³

133 The word *faya* is a transition to the next story.

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Free Translation

It was a different woman [from the woman of the previous story], she was pregnant. She called her husband to go with her.

"Wait a little while, I'm going to pulverize the *iha* poison. I'm going to pulverize the *iha* poison now. When I have spread the poison on the arrow points, we will go out. It's early in the day."

He pulverized the poison, and cooked it. The poison boiled. He took the poison off the fire. He also cooked another small pot using the same powder, so he could spread it on the arrows a second time. He stirred the poison that was to be spread the second time.

"It's thick. Ok, that's good," he said.

He tied the blowgun darts in a bundle, and tied the arrow points in another bundle. He didn't take long, but she was in a hurry, so she went out into the forest.

"I'm hungry and he isn't leaving."

Her husband was hungry. They didn't have anything to eat, and they were hungry. He pulverized the poison, hungry. He spread the poison on the arrow points. He dried the arrow points by the fire. He set the arrow points next to the fire, and he set the dart points next to the fire, too. He came back.

"Where is she, I told her to wait for me? She went off. I wanted her to wait for me, but she left me behind. Whew, I'm hungry."

She was upset. She was going upset. She was pregnant. She went out and beat *kona* roots. She put the *kona* poison in the stream. She picked up the fish.

He came.

"Hoo, I'm really hungry. What should I eat? Wait, there is some tapioca in the pot there. I'm going to eat a little of the tapioca."

His wife was angry with him later. His wife would be angry with him. He took half of the tapioca. He rubbed the tapioca between his hands. He toasted the tapioca. He ate the tapioca. He finished eating the tapioca.

"I'm going after her."

Did she come back? Then she came back. She had fish in her hands, also leaves and *hamise* aerial roots, for wrapping the fish. She came, and wrapped the fish, and roasted the fish. She took a look at the tapioca.

"My husband has eaten half of the tapioca," she said, unhappy.

"Did you eat half of my tapioca? You didn't wait for me. You ate half of my tapioca," she said. She was speaking angrily. "Why don't you find other wives to give you food?" She was upset because of the tapioca.

He was going to be upset. "I ate a little of the tapioca. You can still eat tapioca." She roasted the fish. She took the fish off the fire. She put the fish on the ground. She rubbed the piece of tapioca between her hands. She toasted the tapioca. She didn't say, "My husband is hungry. Let him eat a little of the tapioca." She was upset because of it. She said, "Did you do that?" He said, "I did that. I took a little piece of the tapioca and ate it."

He lay in his hammock, upset. It's wrong to say, "You should find other wives to give you

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food." Why did she say that? He lay in his hammock, upset.

She finished toasting the tapioca.

"Come here. Let's eat. Come here."

He was upset. He lay in his hammock, upset. The sun went down. He lay in his hammock, upset. She ate. She wanted to eat with him, but he didn't come. She saved some of the fish. She saved a little tapioca for him, too. He was upset. He lay in his hammock, upset.

His wife called him. "You didn't come to eat fish."

"I already ate. I ate my wives' food. You go ahead and eat," he said. "I ate my wives' food. You eat."

He was upset. He lay in his hammock again, upset.

He wanted to take snuff and he called his father. "Father, I want snuff. I want to take snuff."

"He hasn't eaten, and he is asking for snuff," his wife said.

So he took snuff. He came back and drank water. He drank water so he could go to sleep, upset. His wife called him many times to eat, but it had no effect. He was upset, and they hung up some fish for him. There was also toasted manioc mash for him in the pot. He was upset.

Morning came. He got going.

"I'm going out into the forest. I'm going to catch a river turtle. Keep some food for me. You (pl) don't come after me."

"Sister."

"Huh?"

"Sister, put some manioc mash in a container for me."

So he left. He went out. He disappeared into the forest. The others came upon his brother-in-law [in the garden], who had taken some ripe bananas off the stalk, and had put them in a basket. They were taking roasted fish for the woman's husband.

"You (pl) take along roasted fish for that man," his wife said.

"If I take the roasted fish, is he going to want my food? Didn't you see him? He isn't going to want my food. I shouldn't take the roasted fish."

"Take a little. Here is manioc mash for him."

They went. As they went, they came upon the one who had put bananas in a basket, standing there.

"Whew, put the bananas in, to eat with the fish."

He started out. They came upon him as they were walking. They walked. He shot animals with his blowgun. They shot animals with their blowguns. They went. They arrived.

"Shall we go hunting?"

"Let's go hunting. We will sleep and eat meat."

They went. They found animals. They shot the animals with their blowguns. They brought the animals back. They burned the hair off the animals. They ate the animals. They roasted the animals on a grill. They ate the animals. Then they started out. They were going to sleep, and then start out.

He didn't want the little fish his brothers-in-law called him to eat, so they ate the fish.

"Brother-in-law, these fish are for you."

"I'm not going to eat the fish. I don't want to eat the fish. I already ate."

He didn't want to eat the fish, so they ate the fish. They ate. The moon was bright. They ate. They were going to catch river turtles.

"Let's go hunting first. When we have hunted, and when we have roasted the animals, we will catch river turtles [on another trip]."

They were going to catch river turtles. First they went hunting the next day. They shot

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animals with their blowguns. Woolly monkeys, brown capuchins. They shot the animals, and brought the animals back, and burned the hair off the animals. They burned the hair off the animals. When they were done burning the hair off the animals, they cut the animals up.

"You (pl) make a grill."

They made a grill. They finished making the grill. They lay the animals on top. They cut firewood. They broke the branches of fallen trees. They carried off the branches. They lit the firewood. They roasted the animals.

"Let's go home tomorrow."

"I don't know, wait. First let's look at the river turtles."

They got up and went. The turtle was burying its eggs. Because it was really big, it carried him [when he tried to catch it]. It didn't stay there.

"You two go that way. The two of us will go this way," he said.

They had just gone. The river turtles were on the beach. He wanted to get a river turtle. He ran to catch a turtle, and the turtle carried him. It was a big turtle. He wanted to catch the turtle but he couldn't. It carried him away. He kept holding onto the turtle. His younger brother also grabbed one. The two of them went and grabbed them.

It was taking him. There were alligators there. They were calling, and they were going to kill him. He was struggling with the turtle. It carried him off. He was holding onto it, making noise in the water. An alligator attacked and bit him. They ate him alive.

His younger brother came.

"They killed my older brother, look. He didn't let go of the turtle," he said.

The alligators ate him. They could be heard, "Obe, obe," as they ate him.

He was upset. He went to his two brothers-in-law, who had gone off.

"Let's go back. The alligators ate my brother, because of the turtle. He didn't let go of the turtle, and the turtle went off carrying him. He was holding onto the turtle in the water, and the alligators killed him."

So they came back [to the place where the man had been killed].

"Where?"

"The alligators can be heard as they eat my brother."

They were making a lot of noise, the many alligators.

"Let's go. They are eating our brother-in-law."

They came back [to their camp]. They came back, and they arrived. They slept a little. They were going to get started.

"We will go home tomorrow."

They roasted his animals again. They roasted the animals.

"Animals will not be eaten anymore [because the man who died knew how to hunt better than the others]. Let's carry the animals so we can eat the animals. We won't eat what he kills anymore. The animals are eating him."

Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Haha</i>	<i>hahabisa</i>	<i>one</i>	,	<i>nabati</i>	<i>nabati</i>	<i>weye</i>	<i>naro</i>	.
	haaha	haaha -bisa	one		nabati	nabati	weye	na -haaro	
	this+F	this+F also	other+F		stomach	stomach	carry	AUX IP.E+F	
	dem	dem	adj		pn	pn	vt	aux	

'It was a different woman, she was pregnant.'

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2 *Nabati weye na manakobisa , maki maki*
 nabati weye na+F manakobisa , maki maki
 stomach carry AUX then 3SG.POSS.husband 3SG.POSS.husband
 pn vt aux conj nm nm

hima nemetemoneke
 hima na -hemete -mone -ke
 call to go AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux

'She was pregnant. She called her husband to go with her.'

3 *Maki hima Hibare mata iha to*
 maki hima hibare mata iha too
 3SG.POSS.husband call to go wait for now plant sp pulverize
 nm vt interj prt nm vt

okomatibe hibare mata
 o- ka- na -mata -be , hibare mata
 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time IMMED+F wait for now
 aux interj prt

""Wait a little while, I'm going to pulverize the iha poison.""

4 *Iha to okomatibe mata*
 iha too o- ka- na -mata -be mata
 plant sp pulverize 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time IMMED+F for now
 nm vt aux prt

""I'm going to pulverize the iha poison now.""

5 *Wati ino were okani ya e*
 wati ino were o- ka- na.NOM+F ya ee
 arrow point+M coat 1SG.S COMIT AUX ADJU 1IN.S
 nm pn vt aux prt pron

towakaba ereke
 to- ka- ka -haba ere -ke
 away COMIT go/come FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F
 vi pron

""When I have spread the poison on the arrow points, we will go out.""

6 *Bai , bai yaboka*
 bahi , bahi yabo -ka
 sun sun be far DECL+M
 nm nm vi

""It's early in the day.""

7 *Iha to kane , iha to kane*
 iha too ka- na+M , iha too ka- na+M
 plant sp pulverize COMIT AUX plant sp pulverize COMIT AUX
 nm vt aux nm vt aux

iha kawari iha wiro kane , iha
 iha ka- waa -rI+M iha wiro ka- na+M , iha
 plant sp COMIT stand raised surface plant sp boil COMIT AUX plant sp
 nm vt vi aux nm

wiro kanematamonaka
 wiro ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 boil COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'He pulverized the poison, and cooked the poison. The poison boiled.'

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8 *Iha wiro kane iha yama kanihe*
 iha wiro ka- na+M iha yama ka- niha- na+M
 plant sp boil COMIT AUX plant sp remove from fire COMIT CAUS AUX
 nm vi aux nm vt aux
 , *ia yama kanihematamonaka*
 iha yama ka- niha- na -himata -mona -ka
 plant sp remove from fire COMIT CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vt aux

'The poison boiled. He took the poison off the fire.'

9 *Ia yama kanihe iha*
 iha yama ka- niha- na+M iha
 plant sp remove from fire COMIT CAUS AUX plant sp
 nm vt aux nm

tokayowabona ka yiwa iisi kabote
 to- ka- yowa.NOM+M -bona ka yiwa i- isi na -kabote
 away COMIT burn INT+M so that pot DUP be small AUX quickly
 vt prt nf vi aux

na kawari ia nakosiribonaha
 na+F ka- waa -rI+M iha nakosiri -bona -ha
 AUX COMIT stand raised surface plant sp ashes INT+M DUP
 aux vt nm pn

'He took the poison off the fire. He also cooked another small pot using the same powder, so he could spread it on the arrows a second time.'

10 *Nakosiribona werewere hinematamona fahi*
 nakosiri -bona were- were hi- na -himata -mona fahi
 ashes INT+M DUP stir OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 pn vt aux dem

'He stirred the poison that was to be spread the second time.'

11 *Were hine Imake haro*
 were hi- na+M ima -ke haaro
 stir OC AUX be fat DECL+F that one+F
 vt aux vi dem

'He stirred it. "It's thick."'

12 *Faya ama ati nematamonaka*
 faya ama ati na -himata -mona -ka
 enough be say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 adj vc vt aux

'"Ok, that's good," he said.'

13 *Faya sare soki kasa wati soki*
 faya sarehe soki ka- na -kosa.LIST wati soki
 so blowgun dart tie up COMIT AUX middle arrow tie up
 conj nf vt aux nm vt
kasa kekerewe re faya hine bao na
 ka- na -kosa.LIST ke- kerewe na -ra+M faya hine bao na+F
 COMIT AUX middle DUP be slow AUX NEG so 3.REFL hurry AUX
 aux vi aux conj pron vt aux
ita tokemetemoneke
 ita+F to- ka -hemete -mone -ke
 stay away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi vi

'He tied the blowgun darts together, and tied the arrow points together. He didn't take long, but she was in a hurry, so she went out.'

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14 *Toka* *aba* *me* , *Ofimiha* *owa* *yana*
to- ka+F aba me , o- fimi+F owa yana
away go/come fish 3PL 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.O start
vi nm pron vi pron vi

kanakabote *re*
ka- na -kabote na -ra+M
COMIT AUX quickly AUX NEG
aux aux

'She went out. "I'm hungry and he isn't leaving."

15 *Maki* *fimihimatamonaka*
maki fimi -himata -mona -ka
3SG.POSS.husband be hungry FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nm vi

'Her husband was hungry.'

16 *Maki* *fimi* *ne* , *yama* *kakaba* *me* *kihara*
maki fimi.LIST na+M , yama ka- kaba me kiha -ra+F
3SG.POSS.husband be hungry AUX thing DUP eat 3PL.S have NEG
nm vi aux nf pn pron vt

me , *faya* *me* *fimihemetemoneke*
me , faya me fimi -hemete -mone -ke
3PL.S so 3PL.S be hungry FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron conj pron vi

'Her husband was hungry. They didn't have anything to eat, and they were hungry.'

17 *Me* *fimiha* *me* , *fimi* *ya* *ia* *to* *kane*
me fimi+F me , fimi ya iha too ka- na+M
3PL.S be hungry 3PL.S hunger ADJU plant sp pulverize COMIT AUX
pron vi pron nf prt nm vt aux

, *wati* *ino* *howe* *kane* *wati* *ino* *howe* *kane* *wati*
wati ino howe ka- na+M wati ino howe ka- na+M wati
arrow point+M wipe COMIT AUX arrow point+M wipe COMIT AUX arrow
nm pn vt aux nm pn vt aux nm

ino *howe* *kane* *ya* *wati* *ino* *howe* *kane* *faya*
ino howe ka- na.NOM+M ya wati ino howe ka- na+M faya
point+M wipe COMIT AUX ADJU arrow point+M wipe COMIT AUX so
pn vt aux prt nm pn vt aux conj

wati *ino* *tokanayowa*
wati ino to- ka- na- yowa.LIST , *wati* *ino*
arrow point+M away COMIT CAUS burn , wati ino
nm pn vt nm pn

kakibare , *sare* , *sare* *ini*
ka- iba -rI , sarehe , sarehe ini
COMIT set down raised surface blowgun dart blowgun dart point+F
vt nf nf pn

kakibare , *kamematamonaka*
ka- iba -rI , ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
COMIT set down raised surface go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vt vi

'They were hungry. He pulverized the poison, hungry. He spread the poison on the arrow points. He dried the arrow points by the fire. He set the arrow points next to the fire, and he set the dart points next to the fire, too. He came back.'

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18 *Kame* , *Owa* *noki* *nebona* *onehira* ?
 ka -ma+M , owa noki na -hibona ati o- na+M -ra
 go/come back 1SG.O wait for AUX INT+M say 1SG.S AUX NPQ
 vi pron vt aux nm

'He came back. "Where is she, I told her to wait for me?'"

19 *Toka* *nanoho* .
 to- ka.CONT+M na.NOM+M -no -ho
 away go/come AUX IP.N+M DUP
 vi aux

""She went off.""

20 *Owa* *noki* *nebona* *owa* *kakosa*
 owa noki na -hibona owa ka- kana -kosa.CONT+M
 1SG.O wait for AUX INT+M 1SG.O COMIT leave middle
 pron vt aux pron vt

nanoho
 na.NOM+M -no -ho
 AUX IP.N+M DUP
 aux

""I wanted her to wait for me, but she left me behind.""

21 *Haa* *ofimi* *oke* .
 haa o- fimi o- ke
 (expression of exhaustion) 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F
 interj vi prt

""Whew, I'm hungry.""

22 *Yawaha* *yawa* *towakemetemoneke* .
 yawa+F yawa to- ka- ka -hemete -mone -ke
 be upset anger away COMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi nf vt

'She was upset. She was going upset.'

23 *Faya* *yawa* *towaka* , *naba* *toaro* , *nabati*
 faya yawa to- ka- ka+F , naba to- ha -haaro , nabati
 so anger away COMIT go/come pregnant CH be IP.E+F stomach
 conj nf vt adj vc pn

weye *naro* .
 weye na -haaro
 carry AUX IP.E+F
 vt aux

'She was going upset. She was pregnant.'

24 *Nabati* *weye* *nemetemoneke* .
 nabati weye na -hemete -mone -ke
 stomach carry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pn vt aux

'She was pregnant.'

25 *Nabati* *weye* *na* , *toka* *kona* *baro* *towitha*
 nabati weye na+F , to- ka+F kona baro to- na -witI+F
 stomach carry AUX away go/come plant sp beat away AUX out
 pn vt aux vi nm vt aux

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kona , *kona* *sa* *na* , *kona* *sa* *nemetemone*
 kona , kona saa na+F , kona saa na -hemete -mone
 plant sp plant sp release AUX plant sp release AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nm nm vt aux nm vt aux

'She was pregnant. She went out and beat kona roots. She put the kona poison in the stream.'

26 *Kona* *sa* *na* *aba* *me* , *aba* *me* *yaba* , *aba*
 kona saa na+F aba me , aba me yaba+F , aba
 plant sp release AUX fish 3PL fish 3PL.O take out fish
 nm vt aux nm pron nm pron vt nm

me *yabemetemoneke*
 me yaba -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.O take out FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vt

'She put the poison in the stream. She picked up the fish.'

27 *Kamaki* , *Hoo* *ofimiha* *owa* *tiwa*
 ka -makI+M , hoo o- fimi+F owa ti- awa
 go/come following whew 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.O 2SG.S see
 vi interj vi pron vt

'He came. "Hoo, I'm really hungry."'

28 *Himata* *okobaba* ?
 himata o- kaba -haba
 what? 1SG.S eat FUT+F
 interrog vt

""What should I eat?""

29 *Hiba* *iyawa* *soke* *foyakeni* *haro*
 hiba iyawa soke foya -ke -ni haaro
 wait manioc mash residue+F be inside DECL+F IP.N+F that one+F
 interj nf pn vi dem

""Wait, there is some tapioca in the pot there.""

30 *Iyawa* *soke* *isi ni* *okobabanake*
 iyawa soke isi ni o- kaba -habana -ke
 manioc mash residue+F little bit 1SG.S eat FUT+F DECL+F
 nf pn pn vt

fati *hikakobanoho*
 fati hi- kaako -hiba -no -ho
 3SG.POSS.wife OC be angry with FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 nf vt

""I'm going to eat a little of the tapioca." His wife was angry with him later.'

31 *Fati* *hikakoba* *iyawa* *itibase*
 fati hi- kaako -hiba iyawa iti -basa+M
 3SG.POSS.wife OC be angry with FUT+M manioc mash take out edge
 nf vt nf vt

iyawa *wiko* *kane* *iyawa* *wiko* *kanehimatamona*
 iyawa wiko ka- na+M iyawa wiko ka- na -himata -mona
 manioc mash rub COMMIT AUX manioc mash rub COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nf vt aux nf vt aux

'His wife would be angry with him. He took half of the tapioca. He rubbed the tapioca between his hands.'

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32 *Iyawa* *wiko* *kane* *iyawa* *sire* *iyawa* *kabe*
 iyawa wiko ka- na+M iyawa sira+M iyawa kaba+M
 manioc mash rub COMIT AUX manioc mash toast manioc mash eat
 nf vt aux nf vt nf vt

iyawa *kabematamonaka* *fahi*
 iyawa kaba -himata -mona -ka fahi
 manioc mash eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nf vt dem

'He rubbed the tapioca between his hands. He toasted the tapioca.'

33 *Iyawa* *kabe* , *iyawa* *kabi* *hawa* *toe* ,
 iyawa kaba+M , iyawa kaba.NFIN hawa to- ha+M ,
 manioc mash eat manioc mash eat be finished CH AUX
 nf vt nf result vi aux

Totowamake *omatibe*
 to- to- awa -makI o- na -mata -be
 DUP away see following 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F
 vt aux

'He ate the tapioca. He finished eating the tapioca. "I'm going after her."'

34 *Kamine* *nimetemone* ?
 ka -ma -ne na.NOM+F -mete -mone
 go/come back CONT+F AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vi aux

'Did she come back?'

35 *Faya* *kamemetemone* *fahi*
 faya ka -ma -hemete -mone fahi
 so go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj vi dem

'Then she came back.'

36 *Kama* , *aba* *me* , *aba* *me* *tama* *kana* *waso*
 ka -ma+F aba me aba me tama ka- na+F waso
 go/come back fish 3PL fish 3PL.O hold onto COMIT AUX leaf
 vi nm pron nm pron vt aux nf

tama *kana* *hamise* *tama* *kana* , *aba* *me*
 tama ka- na+F hamise tama ka- na+F , aba me
 hold onto COMIT AUX epiphyte sp hold onto COMIT AUX fish 3PL.POSS
 vt aux nf vt aux nm pron

tafowebone , *faya* *kama* , *aba* *me* *aba* *me* *tafa*
 tafowe -bone , faya ka -ma+F , aba me aba me tafa+F
 wrapped INT+F so go/come back fish 3PL fish 3PL.O wrap
 pn conj vi nm pron nm pron vt

aba *me* *yokemetemoneke*
 aba me yoka -hemete -mone -ke
 fish 3PL.O roast on coals FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron vt

'She came back. She had fish in her hands, also leaves and hamise aerial roots, for wrapping the fish. She came, and wrapped the fish, and roasted the fish.'

37 *Aba* *me* *yokaha* *aba* *me* , *iyawa* *iyawa*
 aba me yoka+F aba me , iyawa iyawa
 fish 3PL.O roast on coals fish 3PL manioc mash manioc mash
 nm pron vt nm pron nf nf

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aawa **nabone** **Iyawa** **ibe** **oko** **oka**
a- awa na -habone iyawa ibe o- ka o- ka
DUP see AUX INT+F manioc mash piece 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS
vt aux nf pn prt prt
yibote **iyawa** **ibe** **hikaba** **ama** , **hikabani** **amani**
yibote iyawa ibe hi- kaba+F ama , hi- kaba -hani ama -ni
husband manioc mash piece OC eat SEC OC eat IP.N+F SEC BKG+F
nm nf pn vt sec vt sec
, **ati** **rabanihi**
ati na -ra -haba -ni -hi
say AUX NEG FUT+F IP.N+F DUP
vt aux

'She roasted the fish. She took a look at the tapioca. "My husband has eaten half of the tapioca," she said, unhappy.'

38 **Oka** **iyawa** , **ibe** **tikabani** ?
o- ka iyawa , ibe ti- kaba -hani
1SG.POSS POSS manioc mash piece 2SG.S eat IP.N+F
prt pn vt

"Did you eat half of my tapioca?"

39 **Owa** **nonoki** **tirani** **oko** **iyawa**
owa no- noki ti- na -ra -hani o- ka iyawa
1SG.O DUP wait for 2SG.S AUX NEG IP.N+F 1SG.POSS POSS manioc mash
pron vt aux prt nf
ibe **tikabine** **tiwenihi** , **ati**
ibe ti- kaba -ne ti- we -ni -hi , ati
piece 2SG.S eat CONT+F 2SG.S IP.N+F DUP say
pn vt prt vt
nemetemoneke
na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux

"You didn't wait for me. You ate half of my tapioca," she said.'

40 **Yawa** , **yawa** **ya** **ati** **saihemetemoneni**
yawa+F , yawa ya ati sai -hemete -mone -ni
be upset anger ADJU voice be heard FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
vi nf prt pn vi

'She was angry. She was speaking angrily.'

41 **Te** **ka** **yibote** **me** **tafe** **te** **kabi** **nofara** **te**
tee ka yibote me tafe tee kaba nofa -ra+F tee
2PL POSS wife 3PL.POSS food+F 2PL.S eat recently NEG 2PL.S
pron prt nf pron pn pron vt prt pron
amani , **iyawa** **ihi** **yawabanihi**
ama -ni , iyawa ihi yawa -haba -ni -hi
SEC BKG+F manioc mash because of+F be upset FUT+F IP.N+F DUP
sec nf post vi

"Why don't you find other wives to give you food?" She was upset because of the tapioca.'

42 **Yaweba** , **Iyawa** **isi ni** **okobarake**
yawa -hiba , iyawa isi ni o- kaba -hara -ke
be upset FUT+M manioc mash little bit 1SG.S eat IP.E+F DECL+F
vi nf pn vt

'He was going to be upset. "I ate a little of the tapioca."'

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43 *Iyawa* , *tikababa* *awineke*
 iyawa ti- kaba -haba awine -ke
 manioc mash 2SG.S eat FUT+F seem+F DECL+F
 nf vt sec

"You can still eat tapioca."

44 *Faya aba me yoka aba me yamama*
 faya aba me yoka+F aba me yama -ma
 so fish 3PL.O roast on coals fish 3PL.O remove from fire DUP
 conj nm pron vt nm pron vt

nia , *aba me so tonihemetemoneke*
 niha- na+F aba me soo to- niha- na -hemete -mone -ke
 CAUS AUX fish 3PL.O lie CH CAUS AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux nm pron vi aux

'She roasted the fish. She took the fish off the fire. She put the fish on the ground.'

45 *Aba me so toniha iyawa soke ibe wiko*
 aba me soo to- niha- na+F iyawa soke ibe wiko
 fish 3PL.O lie CH CAUS AUX manioc mash residue+F piece rub
 nm pron vi aux nf pn pn vt

kanaha , *iyawa siremetemoneke*
 ka- na+F iyawa sira -hemete -mone -ke
 COMMIT AUX manioc mash toast FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux nf vt

'She put the fish on the ground. She rubbed the piece of tapioca between her hands. She toasted the tapioca.'

46 *Iyawa sira iyawa siremetemoneke ahi*
 iyawa sira+F iyawa sira -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 manioc mash toast manioc mash toast FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf vt nf vt dem

'She toasted the tapioca.'

47 *Oko yibote fimihi awane*
 o- ka yibote fimi+M awa -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS husband be hungry seem+M BKG+M
 prt nm vi sec

'She didn't say, "My husband is hungry."'

48 *Iyawa isi ni kaba nanoho ati*
 iyawa isi ni kaba.CONT+M na.NOM+M -no -ho ati
 manioc mash little bit eat AUX IP.N+M DUP say
 nf pn vt aux

re ati rimakoni ihi
 na -ra+M ati na -ra -makoni ihi
 AUX NEG say AUX NEG for this reason+F because of+F
 aux vt aux post

yawehemetemoneke
 yawa -hemete -mone -ke
 be upset FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

"Let him eat a little of the tapioca." She was upset because of it.¹³⁴

49 *Afa tiweheneni amani ? ati na Owehene*
 afa ti- ehene -ni ama -ni ati na+F o- ehene
 this+F 2SG.POSS deed IP.N+F be BKG+F say AUX 1SG.POSS deed
 dem pn vt aux pn

134 The verb *ati re* is a false start.

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amake **ati** **nematamonaka**
 ama -ke ati na -himata -mona -ka
 be DECL+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vc vt aux
 'She said, "Did you do that?" He said, "I did that."'

50 **Owehene** **amake**
 o- ehene ama -ke
 1SG.POSS deed be DECL+F
 pn vc
 "'I did that.'"

51 **Iyawa** **isi ni** **ibe** **otibasa**
 iyawa isi ni ibe o- iti -basa+F
 manioc mash little bit piece 1SG.S take out edge
 nf pn pn vt

okobarake
 o- kaba -hara -ke
 1SG.S eat IP.E+F DECL+F
 vt
 "'I took a little piece of the tapioca and ate it.'"

52 **Yawe** **yawa** **kawinematamonaka**
 yawa+M yawa ka- wina -himata -mona -ka
 be upset anger COMIT lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi nf vt
 'He lay in his hammock, upset.'

53 **Yawa** **kawine** , **Te** **ka** **yibote** **me** **ka** **iyawa**
 yawa ka- wina+M tee ka yibote me ka iyawa
 anger COMIT lie in hammock 2PL POSS wife 3PL POSS manioc mash
 nf vt pron prt nf pron prt nf

yokana **te** **kakaba** **nofara** **te** **amani** **ati**
 yokana tee ka- kaba na nofa -ra+F tee ama -ni ati
 true 2PL.S DUP eat AUX recently NEG 2PL.S SEC BKG+F say
 adj pron vt prt pron sec vt

nari **na** **rama** **ahi**
 na -haari na+F rama ahi
 AUX wrongly AUX unusual then
 aux aux prt dem
 'He lay in his hammock, upset. It's wrong to say, "You should find other wives to give you food.'"

54 **Hine** **ati** **tohara** **rama**
 hine ati to- ha -ra+F rama
 only voice CH be NEG unusual
 pron pn vc prt
 'Why did she say that?'

55 **Faya** **yawa** **kawinematamona**
 faya yawa ka- wina -himata -mona
 so anger COMIT lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M
 conj nf vt
 'He lay in his hammock, upset.'

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56 *Yawa kawine iyawa siri hawa toha*
 yawa ka- wina+M iyawa sira.NFIN hawa to- ha+F
 anger COMMIT lie in hammock manioc mash toast be finished CH AUX
 nf vi nf vt vi aux

, *Tikamini*
 ti- ka -ma -ni
 2SG.S go/come back BKG+F
 vi

'He lay in his hammock, upset. She finished toasting the tapioca. "Come here."'

57 *E tafibeya*
 ee tafa -be -ya
 1IN.S eat IMMED+F now
 pron vi

""Let's eat.""

58 *E tafibe*
 ee tafa -be
 1IN.S eat IMMED+F
 pron vi

""Let's eat.""

59 *Tikamahi*
 ti- ka -ma -hi
 2SG.S go/come back IMP+F
 vi

""Come here.""

60 *Yawahi yawa kawine , yawa*
 yawa+M yawa ka- wina+M yawa
 be upset anger COMMIT lie in hammock anger
 vi nf vt nf

kawinematamonaka
 ka- wina -himata -mona -ka
 COMMIT lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'He was upset. He lay in his hammock, upset.'

61 *Bai abematamona amaka hari*
 bahi ahaba -himata -mona ama -ka haari
 sun end FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M that one+M
 nm vi sec dem

'The sun went down.'

62 *Yawa kawine , tafehemetemoneke*
 yawa ka- wina+M tafa -hemete -mone -ke
 anger COMMIT lie in hammock eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vt vi

'He lay in his hammock, upset. She ate.'

63 *Tafaha hikatafebona hikatafebona*
 tafa+F hi- ka- tafa -hibona hi- ka- tafa -hibona
 eat OC COMMIT eat INT+M OC COMMIT eat INT+M
 vi vt vt

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kamaramako
ka -ma -ra -mako , **aba me one hasi**
go/come back NEG for this reason+M fish 3PL.O other+F be left
vi nm pron adj vi

nimetemoneke
niha- na -hemete -mone -ke
CAUS AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux

'She ate. She wanted to eat with him, but he didn't come. She saved some of the fish.'

64 **Aba me hasi** , **hinaka iyawa bitebone hasi**
aba me hasi , hinaka iyawa bite -bone hasi
fish 3PL.O be left 3SG.POSS manioc mash small+F INT+F be left
nm pron vi pron nf adj vi

hiniha , **yawematamona fahi**
hi- niha- na+F , yawa -himata -mona fahi
OC CAUS AUX be upset FP.N+M REP+M then
aux vi dem

'She saved some fish. She saved a little tapioca for him, too. He was upset.'

65 **Yawe** , **yawe yawa kawine fati ha**
yawa+M , yawa+M yawa ka- wina+M fati haa
be upset be upset anger COMMIT lie in hammock 3SG.POSS.wife call
vi vi nf vt nf vt

kabote hine , **Aba me tikababone kakama**
na -kabote hi- na+M , aba me ti- kaba -habone ka- ka -ma
AUX quickly OC AUX fish 3PL.O 2SG.S eat INT+F DUP go/come DUP
aux aux nm pron vt vi

tira
ti- na -ra+F
2SG.S AUX NEG
aux

'He was upset. He lay in his hammock, upset. His wife called him. "You didn't come to eat fish."'

66 **Otafara** , **oke**
o- tafa -hara o- ke
1SG.S eat IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
vi prt

""I already ate.""

67 **Oko** , **yibote me tafe okobara oke**
o- ka yibote me tafe o- kaba -hara o- ke
1SG.POSS POSS wife 3PL.POSS food+F 1SG.S eat IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
prt nf pron pn vt prt

""I ate my wives' food.""

68 **Oko** , **yibote tafe okobarawara oni**
o- ka yibote tafe o- kaba -rawa -hara o- ni
1SG.POSS POSS wife food+F 1SG.S eat F.PL IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F
prt nf pn vt prt

""I ate my wives' food.""

69 **Titafabisahi** , **ati nematamonaka**
ti- tafa -bisa -hi , ati na -himata -mona -ka
2SG.S eat also IMP+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi vt aux

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"You go ahead and eat," he said.'

70 *Oko* *yibote* *me* *tafe* *okobara* *oni*
 o- ka yibote me tafe o- kaba -hara o- ni
 1SG.POSS POSS wife 3PL.POSS food+F 1SG.S eat IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 prt nf pron pn vt prt

"I ate my wives' food."

71 *Titafabisahi*
 ti- tafa -bisa -hi
 2SG.S eat also IMP+F
 vi

"You eat."

72 *Faya* *yawe* *yawa* *kawiname* *sina* *hisi*
 faya yawe+M yawa ka- wina -ma+M sina hisi
 so be upset anger COMMIT lie in hammock back snuff sniff
 conj vi nf vt ha ne , *Abi* ,
 na -hibona bati bati haa na+M , abi ,
 AUX INT+M 3SG.POSS.father 3SG.POSS.father call AUX father
 aux nm nm vt aux nm

abi *oko* *sinabana*
 abi o- ka sina -bana
 father 1SG.POSS POSS snuff FUT
 nm prt nf

'He was upset. He lay in his hammock again, upset. He wanted to take snuff and he called his father. "Father, I want snuff."

73 *Sina* *hisi* *obeya*
 sina hisi o- na -be -ya
 snuff sniff 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 nf vt aux

"I want to take snuff."

74 *Tafebona* *sina* *ini* *hiri* *nane*
 tafa -hibona sina ini hiri na.CONT+M -ne
 eat INT+M snuff name+F say AUX BKG+M
 vi nf pn vt aux

"He hasn't eaten, and he is asking for snuff."

75 *Faya* *sina* *hisi* *ne* , *sina* *hisi* *nematamonaka*
 faya sina hisi na+M , sina hisi na -himata -mona -ka
 so snuff sniff AUX snuff sniff AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj nf vt aux nf vt aux

'So he took snuff.'

76 *Sina* *hisi* *ne* *kame* , *fa* *fawematamonaka*
 sina hisi na+M ka -ma+M , faha fawa -himata -mona -ka
 snuff sniff AUX go/come back water drink FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf vt aux vi nf vt

'He took snuff. He came back and drank water.'

77 *Fa* *fawematamonaka*
 faha fawa -himata -mona -ka
 water drink FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf vt

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'He drank water.'

78 *Fa fawe* , *fa fawematamonaka* *yawa amo*
 faha fawa+M , faha fawa -himata -mona -ka yawa amo
 water drink water drink FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M anger sleep
 nf vt nf vt nf vi

kanebana

ka- na -hibana
 COMIT AUX FUT+M
 aux

'He drank water. He drank water so he could go to sleep, upset.'

79 *Tefebona fati ha kanakabote hikana* ,
 tefe -bona fati haa ka- na -kabote hi- ka -na
 food+M INT+M 3SG.POSS.wife call COMIT AUX quickly OC DECL+M IRR+M
 pn nf vi aux prt

ati re yawahi hinaka aba mebone me me
 ati na -ra+M yawa+M , hinaka aba me -bone me me
 say AUX NEG be upset 3SG.POSS fish 3PL INT+F 3PL.O 3PL.S
 vt aux vi pron nm pron pron pron

hikanawinemetemone

hi- ka- na- wina -hemete -mone
 OC COMIT CAUS hang FP.N+F REP+F
 vt

'His wife called him many times to eat, but it had no effect. He was upset, and they hung up some fish for him.'

80 *Aba mebone me hikanawina hinaka iyawa* ,
 aba me -bone me hi- ka- na- wina+F , hinaka iyawa
 fish 3PL INT+F 3PL.S OC COMIT CAUS hang 3SG.POSS manioc mash
 nm pron pron vt pron nf

kaibone foya yawe yama we
 kaha.NFIN -bone foya+F , yawa+M , yama wehe
 be toasted INT+F be inside be upset thing light+F
 vi vi vi nf pn

kamakietemone

ka -maki -hemete -mone ama -ni
 go/come following FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
 vi sec

'They hung up fish for him. There was also toasted manioc mash for him in the pot. He was upset. Morning came.'

81 *Yama we kamakia yama we kamakia* ,
 yama wehe ka -makI+F , yama wehe ka -makI+F
 thing light+F go/come following thing light+F go/come following
 nf pn vi nf pn vi

me yana tonematamona
 me , yana to- na -himata -mona
 3PL start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 pron vi aux

'Morning came. He got going.'

82 *Yana tone Okabone ama oke* .
 yana to- na+M , o- to- ka -habone ama o- ke
 start CH AUX 1SG.S away go/come INT+F SEC 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi aux vi sec prt

'He got going. "I'm going out into the forest."'

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- 83 *Okabone* *ama*
 o- to- ka -habone ama
 1SG.S away go/come INT+F SEC
 vi sec
 "I'm going out."
- 84 *Sire* *sire* *sire* *owatibanara*
 sire sire sire o- wata+F -bana -hara
 river turtle river turtle river turtle 1SG.S catch FUT IP.E+F
 nf nf nf vt
oke
 o- ke
 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt
 "I'm going to catch a river turtle."
- 85 *Otefeba* *tikawatiyahi*
 o- tefe -ba ti- ka- wata -yahi
 1SG.POSS food FUT 2SG.S COMIT be located DIST.IMP+F
 pn vt
 "Keep some food for me."
- 86 *Owa* *te* *kiyoriyahi*
 owa tee kiyo -ra -yahi
 1SG.O 2PL.S chase NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron pron vt
 "Don't come after me."
- 87 *Asima* , *asima*
 asima asima
 younger sister younger sister
 nf nf
 "Sister."
- 88 *Haa* ?
 haa
 huh?
 interj
 "Huh?"
- 89 *Asima* *oko* *iyawaba* *te*
 asima o- ka iyawa -ba tee
 younger sister 1SG.POSS POSS manioc mash FUT put inside
 nf prt nf vt
tikanahi
 ti- ka- na -hi
 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMP+F
 aux
 "Sister, put some manioc mash in a container for me."
- 90 *Faya* *yana* *tonematamonaka* *ahi*
 faya yana to- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj vi aux dem
 'So he left.'

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91 *Yana tone* , *tokematamonaka*
 yana to- na+M , to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 start CH AUX away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux vi

'He left. He went out.'

92 *Toke wabori* , *fawa tonakose*
 to- ka+M wabori , fawa to- na -kosa+M
 away go/come 3SG.POSS brother-in-law disappear CH AUX middle
 vi nm vi aux

yifari , *fatara ya yifari kakitino* , *yifari te*
 yifari fatara ya yifari ka- iti -hino yifari tee
 banana garden ADJU banana COMIT take out IP.N+M banana put inside
 nf nf prt nf vt nf vt

kaneno me hiwasimaki , *hinaka aba me*
 ka- na -hino me hi- to- wasi -makI+M , hinaka aba me
 COMIT AUX IP.N+M 3PL.S OC away find following 3SG.POSS fish 3PL.S
 aux pron vt pron nm pron

kaibonehe me fati , *Te ka owa ka aba*
 kaha.NFIN -bone -he me , fati , tee ka owa ka aba
 be toasted INT+F DUP 3PL 3SG.POSS.wife 2PL POSS man POSS fish
 vi pron nf pron prt nm prt nm

me kaiba te tama kanahi
 me kaha.NFIN -ba tee tama ka- na -hi
 3PL.S be toasted FUT 2PL.S hold onto COMIT AUX IMP+F
 pron vi pron vt aux

'He went out. He disappeared into the forest. The others came upon his brother-in-law, who had taken some ripe bananas off the stalk, and had put them in a basket. They were taking roasted fish for him. "You take along roasted fish for that man," his wife said.'

93 *Aba me kai tama okana otefe*
 aba me kaha.NFIN tama o- ka- na+F o- tefe
 fish 3PL.S be toasted hold onto 1SG.S COMIT AUX 1SG.POSS food
 nm pron vi vt aux vi pn

nofebana ?
 nofa -hibana
 want FUT+M
 vt

"If I take the roasted fish, is he going to want my food?"

94 *Aawa tire* ?
 a- awa ti- na -ra+M
 DUP see 2SG.S AUX NEG
 vt aux

"Didn't you see him?"

95 *Otefe nofareba amaka*
 o- tefe nofa -ra -hiba ama -ka
 1SG.POSS food want NEG FUT+M SEC DECL+M
 pn vt sec

"He isn't going to want my food."

96 *Aba me kai tama okariyahi*
 aba me kaha.NFIN tama o- ka- na -ra -yahi
 fish 3PL.S be toasted hold onto 1SG.S COMIT AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F
 nm pron vi vt aux

"I shouldn't take the roasted fish."

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97 *Me te tatama kana nahi*
 me tee ta- tama ka- na na -hi
 3PL.O 2PL.S DUP hold onto COMMIT AUX AUX IMP+F
 pron pron vt aux aux

"Take a little."

98 *Hinaka iyawabone ama haro ya ahi*
 hinaka iyawa -bone ama haaro ya ahi
 3SG.POSS manioc mash INT+F be that one+F ADJU here
 pron nf vc dem prt dem

"Here is manioc mash for him."¹³⁵

99 *Me towakamakia me towakamakia*
 me to- ka- ka -makI+F me to- ka- ka -makI+F
 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come following 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come following
 pron vi pron vi

, *me me towakamakia yifari te*
 me me to- ka- ka -makI+F yifari tee
 3PL.S 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come following banana put inside
 pron pron vi nf vt

kaneno weno me hiwasimaki me
 ka- na -hino waa -hino me hi- to- wasi -makI+M me
 COMMIT AUX IP.N+M stand IP.N+M 3PL.S OC away find following 3PL.S
 aux vi pron vt pron

hiwasimaki Oof yifari te te kanahi
 hi- to- wasi -makI+M oof yifari tee tee ka- na -hi
 OC away find following hoo banana 2PL.S put inside COMMIT AUX IMP+F
 vt interj nf pron vt aux

yama kakawibana
 yama ka- kawii -bana
 thing DUP eat with something FUT
 nf pn

"They went. As they went, they came upon the one who had put bananas in a basket, standing there. "Whew, put the bananas in, to eat with the fish."

100 *Faya yana tonematamonaka fahi*
 faya yana to- na -himata -mona -ka fahi
 so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj vi aux dem

'He started out.'

101 *Me yana tona me hiwasimaki me yaka*
 me yana to- na+F me hi- to- wasi -makI+M me yaka
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S OC away find following 3PL.S walk
 pron vi aux pron vt pron vi

nemetemoneke fahi
 na -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux dem

'He started out. They came upon him as they were walking.'

102 *Me yaka na faya bani me fora*
 me yaka na+F faya bani me fora
 3PL.S walk AUX so animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun
 pron vi aux conj nm pron vt

135 The word *ya* is a mistake.

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nematamonaka *fahi* .
na -himata -mona -ka fahi
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
aux dem
'They walked. He shot animals with his blowgun.'

103 *Bani me me fora nemetemone fahi* .
bani me me fora na -hemete -mone fahi
animal 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
nm pron pron vt aux dem
'They shot animals with their blowguns.'

104 *Me toka me toka me tokaha me*
me to- ka+F me to- ka+F me to- ka+F me
3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S
pron vi pron vi pron vi pron

kobo na me , me kobo na me , me kobo
kobo na+F me , me kobo na+F me , me kobo
arrive AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive
vi aux pron pron vi aux pron pron vi

nemetemoneke
na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux

'They went. They arrived.'

105 *Me kobo na me , Yama , yama e yete nibana*
me kobo na+F me , yama , yama ee yete na+F -bana
3PL.S arrive AUX 3PL.S thing thing 1IN.S hunt AUX FUT
pron vi aux pron nf nf pron vt aux

?

'They arrived. "Shall we go hunting?"'

106 *Yama e yete nahi* .
yama ee yete na -hi
thing 1IN.S hunt AUX IMP+F
nf pron vt aux

'"Let's go hunting."'

107 *Yama , yama e yete nibeya e amo niba*
yama , yama ee yete na -be -ya ee amo na.NOM+F -ba
thing thing 1IN.S hunt AUX IMMED+F now 1IN.S sleep AUX FUT
nf nf pron vt aux pron vi aux

bani e kabeba .
bani ee kaba -hiba
animal 1IN.S eat FUT+M
nm pron vt

'"Let's go hunting. We will sleep and eat meat."'

108 *Me tokemetemoneke* .
me to- ka -hemete -mone -ke
3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron vi

'They went.'

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109 *Me toka bani me , me toka bani me*
 me to- ka+F bani me , me to- ka+F bani me
 3PL.S away go/come animal 3PL 3PL.S away go/come animal 3PL.O
 pron vi nm pron pron vi nm pron

me wasiha bani me me fora na me ,
 me wasi+F bani me me fora na+F me ,
 3PL.S find animal 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun AUX 3PL.S
 pron vt nm pron pron vt aux pron

bani me me fora nemetemoneke fahi .
 bani me me fora na -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nm pron pron vt aux dem

'They went. They found animals. They shot the animals with their blowguns.'

110 *Faya bani me me fora na me , bani*
 faya bani me me fora na+F me , bani
 so animal 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun AUX 3PL.S animal
 conj nm pron pron vt aux pron nm

me me kakama me , bani me me
 me me ka- ka -ma+F me , bani me me
 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S animal 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron pron vi pron nm pron pron

tokama bani me me , kabehemetemone fahi .
 toka -ma+F bani me me , kaba -hemete -mone fahi
 partially burn back animal 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F then
 vt nm pron pron vt dem

'They shot the animals. They brought the animals back. They burned the hair off the animals. They ate the animals.'

111 *Faya bani me me kaba me , bani me me*
 faya bani me me kaba+F me , bani me me
 so animal 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S animal 3PL.O 3PL.S
 conj nm pron pron vt pron nm pron pron

kabemetemoneke
 kaba -hemete -mone -ke
 eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'They ate the animals.'

112 *Bani me me kaba me , tabasi na bani*
 bani me me kaba+F me , tabasi na+F bani
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S roast on grill AUX animal
 nm pron pron vt pron vt aux nm

me me kaba me , me yana tonabone mati .
 me me kaba+F me , me yana to- na -habone mati
 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.S start CH AUX INT+F 3PL.S
 pron pron vt pron pron vi aux pron

'They ate the animals. They roasted the animals on a grill. They ate the animals. Then they started out.'

113 *Me amo nabone , me yana tonabone ,*
 me amo na -habone , me yana to- na -habone ,
 3PL.S sleep AUX INT+F 3PL.S start CH AUX INT+F
 pron vi aux pron vi aux

wabori , aba biti me , aba biti me ,
 wabori , aba biti me , aba biti me
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law fish small+M 3PL fish small+M 3PL.O
 nm nm adj pron nm adj pron

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120 *Sire* *me* *me* *watabone* *me* *tafa* *me* , *Yama*
 sire me me wata -habone me tafa+F me , yama
 river turtle 3PL.O 3PL.S catch INT+F 3PL.S eat 3PL.S thing
 nf pron pron vt pron vi pron nf

e *yete* *namataba* *ereke* *mata*
 ee yete na -mata -haba ere -ke mata
 1IN.S hunt AUX short time FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F for now
 pron vt aux pron prt

"They ate. They were going to catch river turtles. "Let's go hunting first."

121 *Yama* *e* *yete* *ni* *ya* *bani* *me* *e* *tabasi*
 yama ee yete na.NOM+F ya bani me ee tabasi
 thing 1IN.S hunt AUX ADJU animal 3PL.O 1IN.S roast on grill
 nf pron vt aux prt nm pron pron vt

naro , *sire* *me* *e* *wataba* *ere*
 na -haaro sire me ee wata -haba ere
 AUX PFUT+F river turtle 3PL.O 1IN.S catch FUT+F 1IN.S
 aux nf pron pron vt pron

"When we have hunted, and when we have roasted the animals, we will catch river turtles."

122 *Sire* *me* *me* *watabone* *me* , *yama* *me* *yete*
 sire me me wata -habone me , yama me yete
 river turtle 3PL.O 3PL.S catch INT+F 3PL.S thing 3PL.S hunt
 nf pron pron vt pron nf pron vt

namina *bani* *me* *me* *fora*
 na -mina+F bani me me fora
 AUX morning animal 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun
 aux nm pron pron vt

nemetemoneni
 na -hemete -mone -ni
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 aux

'They were going to catch river turtles. First they went hunting the next day. They shot animals with their blowguns.'

123 *Bani* *me* *me* *fora* *na* *me* *wafa*
 bani me me fora na+F me wafa
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun AUX 3PL.S woolly monkey
 nm pron pron vt aux pron nm

mati *yowi* *mati* , *bani* *me* *me* *fora* *na*
 mati yowi mati , bani me me fora na+F
 3PL brown capuchin 3PL animal 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun AUX
 pron nm pron nm pron pron vt aux

me *bani* *me* *me* *kakama* *bani* *me* , *me* *me*
 me bani me me ka- ka -ma+F bani me , me me
 3PL.S animal 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come back animal 3PL 3PL 3PL.O
 pron nm pron pron vi nm pron pron pron

me *tokamemetemoneke*
 me toka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S partially burn back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vt

'They shot animals. Woolly monkeys, brown capuchins. They shot the animals, and brought the animals back, and burned the hair off the animals.'

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124 *Bani me toka me , bani me toki*
 bani me toka+F me , bani me toka.NFIN
 animal 3PL.S partially burn 3PL.S animal 3PL.S partially burn
 nm pron result pron nm pron result

abi ya me bani me bobi ne , Tana te yama
 ahaba+F ya me bani me bobi na+M , tana tee yama
 end ADJU 3PL animal 3PL.O slit AUX grill 2PL.S make
 vi prt pron nm pron vt aux nf pron vt

nahi
 na -hi
 AUX IMP+F
 aux

'They burned the hair off the animals. When they were done burning the hair off the animals, they cut the animals up. "You make a grill."'

125 *Faya tana me yama na , tana me yama*
 faya tana me yama na+F , tana me yama
 so grill 3PL.S make AUX grill 3PL.S make
 conj nf pron vt aux nf pron vt

nemetemoneke
 na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'They made a grill.'

126 *Tana me yama na me , tana me hawa*
 tana me yama na+F me , tana me hawa
 grill 3PL.S make AUX 3PL.S grill 3PL.S be finished
 nf pron vt aux pron nf pron vi

toniha bani me me so niria
 to- niha- na+F bani me me soo niha- na -rI+F ,
 CH CAUS AUX animal 3PL.O 3PL.S lie CAUS AUX raised surface
 aux nm pron pron vi aux

bani me me so niria , yifo me
 bani me me soo niha- na -rI+F , yifo me
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S lie CAUS AUX raised surface firewood 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vi aux nf pron

tafa nemetemoneke
 tafa na -hemete -mone -ke
 split AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux

'They made a grill. They finished making the grill. They lay the animals on top. They cut firewood.'

127 *Yifo , yifo ini yifo ini me baka na*
 yifo , yifo ini yifo ini me baka na+F
 firewood firewood branch+F firewood branch+F 3PL.S break AUX
 nf nf pn nf pn pron vt aux

yifo ini me , iso na me , yifo me afo
 yifo ini me , iso na+F me , yifo me afo
 firewood branch+F 3PL.S carry off AUX 3PL.S fire 3PL.S light
 nf pn pron vt aux pron nf pron vt

kana bani me me tabasi nemetemoneke
 ka- na+F bani me me tabasi na -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT AUX animal 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux nm pron pron vt aux

'They broke the branches of fallen trees. They carried off the branches. They lit the firewood. They roasted the animals.'

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128 *Me me tabasi na E*
 me me tabasi na+F ee
 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX 1IN.S
 pron pron vt aux pron

tokomaminaba ere
 to- ka -ma -mina -haba ere
 away go/come back morning FUT+F 1IN.S
 vi pron
 "They roasted them. "Let's go home tomorrow."

129 *E awaraba hiba*
 ee awa -ra -haba hiba
 1IN.S see NEG FUT+F wait
 pron vt interj
 "I don't know, wait."

130 *Sire me e awamata*
 sire me ee awa -mata
 river turtle 3PL.O 1IN.S see short time
 nf pron pron vt
 "First let's look at the river turtles."

131 *Sire me e awamata mata sire*
 sire me ee awa -mata mata sire
 river turtle 3PL.O 1IN.S see short time for now river turtle
 nf pron pron vt prt nf
 "Let's look at the river turtles."

132 *Faya me yana na me tokemetemoneke*
 faya me yana na+F me to- ka -hemete -mone -ke
 so 3PL.S get up AUX 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj pron vi aux pron vi
 "They got up and went."

133 *Me toka me hife kamoha itehemetemoneke*
 me to- ka+F me hife kamo+F ita -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S egg+F bury sit FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi pron pn vt vi

ahi
 ahi
 there
 dem

"They went. It was burying its eggs."

134 *Amoamosa nemete awine makoni he weye*
 amo- amosa na -hemete awine makoni hee weye
 DUP be good AUX FP.N+F seem+F for this reason 3SG.O carry
 vi aux sec conj pron vt

nine nimete
 na -ne na.NOM+F -mete
 AUX CONT+F AUX FP.N+F
 aux aux

'Because it was really big, it carried him.'

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135 *Wara haro*
 waa -ra+F haaro
 stand NEG that one+F
 vi dem

'It didn't stay there.'

136 *Tokisami forima tinahi*
 to- ka -risa -ma.NFIN forima ti- na -hi
 away go/come down back do properly 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi vi aux

'Go down the ladder carefully.'¹³⁶

137 *Faya toke mati Te towakabisa ahi*
 faya to- ka+M mati tee to- ka- ka -bisa ahi
 so away go/come 3PL 2PL.S away COMIT go/come also there
 conj vi pron pron vi dem

""You two go that way.""¹³⁷

138 *Ota towakiba ahi ati nematamonaka*
 otaa to- ka- ka.NOM+F -ba ahi , ati na -himata -mona -ka
 1EX.S away COMIT go/come FUT here say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vi dem vt aux

""The two of us will go this way," he said.'

139 *Hiba me totowaka na sire*
 hiba me to- to- ka- ka na+F sire
 wait 3PL.S DUP away COMIT go/come AUX river turtle
 interj pron vi aux nf

naorawemetemoneke ahi
 naho -rawa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 stand F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F there
 vi dem

'They had just gone. The river turtles were on the beach.'

140 *Sire naorawa sire naorawa sire*
 sire naho -rawa+F sire naho -rawa+F sire
 river turtle stand F.PL river turtle stand F.PL river turtle
 nf vi nf vi nf

wati kane sire wati kane
 wati ka- na+M sire wati ka- na+M
 plan against COMIT AUX river turtle plan against COMIT AUX
 vt aux nf vt aux

sire watebona fito towitimatamonaka ahi
 sire wata -hibona fito to- na -witI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 river turtle catch INT+M rush away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nf vt vi aux dem

sire bete hikawehibanoho ahi
 sire bete hi- ka- na -waha -hiba -no -ho ahi
 river turtle run OC COMIT AUX change FUT+M IP.N+M DUP then
 nf vi aux dem

'The river turtles were on the beach. He wanted to get a river turtle. He ran to catch a turtle, and the turtle carried him.'

136 Siko said this to his wife, Amoro.

137 The words *toke mati* are a false start.

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141 *Sire* *ebotemetemoneke* *ahi*
 sire ehebote -mete -mone -ke ahi
 river turtle big FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F this
 nf adj dem

'It was a big turtle.'

142 *Sire* *wateba* *sire* *hikasawari*
 sire wata -hiba sire hi- ka- sawari+M
 river turtle catch FUT+M river turtle OC COMIT frustrate
 nf vt nf vt

sire *weye* *ni* *hikisame* *sire*
 sire weye na.NFIN hi- to- ka -risa -ma+M sire
 river turtle carry AUX OC away go/come down back river turtle
 nf vt aux vi nf

wanakaba *nematamonaka* *ahi*
 wana -kaba na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 be attached without stopping AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi aux dem

'He wanted to catch the turtle but he couldn't. It carried him away. He kept holding onto the turtle.'

143 *Wanakaba* *ne* *sire* *nisori*
 wana -kaba na+M sire nisori
 be attached without stopping AUX river turtle 3SG.POSS.younger brother
 vi aux nf nm

hiwatabisa *nisori* *tama* *ha* *me*
 hi- wata -bisa+F nisori tama haa me
 OC catch also 3SG.POSS.younger brother hold onto DEM 3PL.S
 vt nm vt dem pron

towakabisa *me* *me* *hiwatikima* *faya*
 to- ka- ka -bisa+F me me hi- wata -kima+F faya
 away COMIT go/come also 3PL.O 3PL.S OC catch two so
 vi pron pron vt conj

towakamemetemone *ahi*
 to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi
 away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then
 vt dem

'He kept holding onto it. His younger brother also grabbed one. The two of them went and grabbed them. It was taking him.'¹³⁸

144 *Inohowe* *me* *inohowe* *me* *kawita* *me*
 inohowe me inohowe me ka- ita+F me
 alligator sp 3PL alligator sp 3PL.S COMIT sit 3PL.S
 nm pron nm pron vi pron

kawita *me* *ati* *kosi* *karemete*
 ka- ita+F me ati kosi ka- na -rI -hemete
 COMIT sit 3PL.POSS voice be heard COMIT AUX raised surface FP.N+F
 vi pron pn vi aux

he *me* *nabowaba* *mati*
 hee me na- aboha -haba mati
 3SG.O 3PL.S CAUS die FUT+F 3PL.S
 pron pron vt pron

'There were alligators there. They were calling, and they were going to kill him.'

¹³⁸ The object pronoun *fe* is missing before *towakamemetemone*, cf. (146) below.

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ati nematamonaka

ati na -himata -mona -ka
say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vt aux

'He didn't let go of the turtle," he said.'

150 *Ati ne ya , faya inohowe me*
ati na.NOM+M ya , faya inohowe me
say AUX ADJU so alligator sp 3PL.S
vt aux prt conj nm pron

hikabematamonaka

hi- kaba -himata -mona -ka fahi
OC eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
vt dem

'The alligators ate him.'

151 *Ati saihemetemoneke ahi obe*
ati sai -hemete -mone -ke ahi obe
voice be heard FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then (call of alligator)
pn vi dem sound

obe obe obe
obe obe obe
(call of alligator) (call of alligator) (call of alligator)
sound sound sound

obe obe , he me kaba mati
obe obe , hee me kaba+F mati
(call of alligator) (call of alligator) 3SG.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S
sound sound pron pron vt pron

ahi

ahi
then
dem

'They could be heard, "Obe, obe," as they ate him.'¹³⁹

152 *Faya yawe tokomake mera , wabori*
faya yawa+M to- ka -makI mera , wabori
so be upset away go/come following 3PL.O 3SG.POSS brother-in-law
conj vi vi pron nm

me towaka me ni ya tokomake , E
me to- ka- ka+F me ni ya to- ka -makI , ee
3PL away COMIT go/come 3PL.S to ADJU away go/come following 1IN.S
pron vi pron prt prt vi pron

tokomabone

to- ka -ma -habone ere -ke
away go/come back INT+F 1IN.S DECL+F
vi pron

'He was upset. He went to his two brothers-in-law, who had gone off. "Let's go back."

153 *E tokomabone ereni*
ee to- ka -ma -habone ere -ni
1IN.S away go/come back INT+F 1IN.S BKG+F
pron vi pron

'Let's go back.'

139 The pronominal *me* referencing the possessor of *ati* is missing at the beginning of the sentence.

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"We will go home tomorrow."

167 *Hinaka bani me me tabasi*
 hinaka bani me me tabasi
 3SG.POSS animal 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill
 pron nm pron pron vt

hinamemetemone

hi- na -ma -hemete -mone
 OC AUX back FP.N+F REP+F
 aux

"They roasted his animals again."

168 *Faya , bani me me tabasi na Bani me*
 faya , bani me me tabasi na+F bani me
 so animal 3PL.S 3PL.S roast on grill AUX animal 3PL.S
 conj nm pron pron vt aux nm pron

bani me , kabamaraba me amake
 bani me , kaba -ma -ra -haba me ama -ke
 animal 3PL.O eat back NEG FUT+F 3PL.O SEC DECL+F
 nm pron result pron sec

"They roasted the animals. "Animals will not be eaten anymore."

169 *Bani me e kababa bani me , e weye*
 bani me ee kaba -haba bani me , ee weye
 animal 3PL.O 1IN.S eat FUT+F animal 3PL.O 1IN.S carry
 nm pron pron vt nm pron pron vt

nahi

na -hi
 AUX IMP+F
 aux

"Let's carry the animals so we can eat the animals."

170 *Bani me e weye nahi*
 bani me ee weye na -hi
 animal 3PL.S 1IN.S carry AUX IMP+F
 nm pron pron vt aux

"Let's carry the animals."

171 *Ene e kabamareba amaka*
 ehene ee kaba -ma -ra -hiba ama -ka
 victim of+M 1IN.S eat back NEG FUT+M SEC DECL+M
 pn pron vt sec

"We won't eat what he kills anymore."

172 *Yama kabarawineke*
 yama kaba -rawa -ne -ke
 thing eat F.PL CONT+F DECL+F
 nf vt

"The animals are eating him."

173 *Faya hinaka bani me me , te*
 faya hinaka bani me me , tee
 so 3SG.POSS animal 3PL.O 3PL.S put inside
 conj pron nm pron pron vt

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hinemetemoneke

hi- na -hemete -mone -ke
 OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'They put his animals in a basket.'

174 *Bani me me te na me , baro ya baro*
 bani me me tee na+F me , baro ya baro
 animal 3PL.S 3PL.O put inside AUX 3PL.O basket ADJU basket
 nm pron pron vt aux pron nf prt nf

ya hinaka bani me te hinemetemone ahi
 ya hinaka bani me tee hi- na -hemete -mone ahi
 ADJU 3SG.POSS animal 3PL.O put inside OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 prt pron nm pron vt aux dem

'They put the animals in a big basket.'

175 *Faya baro ya bani me te ne , bani me*
 faya baro ya bani me tee na+M , bani me
 so basket ADJU animal 3PL.O put inside AUX animal 3PL.O
 conj nf prt nm pron vt aux nm pron

te nematamona
 tee na -himata -mona
 put inside AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vt aux

'He put the animals in the basket.'

176 *Bani me te ne bani me weye*
 bani me tee na+M bani me weye
 animal 3PL.O put inside AUX animal 3PL.O carry
 nm pron vt aux nm pron vt

nematamonaka ahi , wabori ehene
 na -himata -mona -ka ahi , wabori ehene
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then 3SG.POSS brother-in-law victim of+M
 aux dem nm pn

kabi oharibonaha
 kaba.NFIN ohari -hibona -ha
 eat be one INT+M DUP
 vt vi

'He carried the animals. He was going to eat all the animals his brother-in-law killed.'

177 *Faya yana ne me banemetemone fahi*
 faya yana na+M me bana -hemete -mone fahi
 so get up AUX 3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj vi aux pron vi dem

'He got up. They left.'

178 *Hima e tokomahi*
 hima ee to- ka -ma -hi
 let's go 1IN.S away go/come back IMP+F
 interj pron vi

'Come on, let's go.'

179 *Me kamemetemoneke*
 me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They came back.'

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180 *Me kama me , kamehemetemone me*
 me ka -ma+F me , ka -ma -hemete -mone me
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.O go/come back FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi pron

ma tokaha mati
 maa to- ka- ha+F mati
 be tired CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S
 vi aux pron
 'They came back, tired.'

181 *Bani me me weye nemetemoneni*
 bani me me weye na -hemete -mone -ni
 animal 3PL.S 3PL.S carry AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 nm pron pron vt aux
 'They carried the animals.'

182 *Ene kahi ene kahi wabori*
 ehene kaha.NFIN ehene kaha.NFIN wabori
 victim of+M be toasted victim of+M be toasted 3SG.POSS brother-in-law
 pn vi pn vi nm

me weye hinematamonaka , hinakasima
 me weye hi- na -himata -mona -ka , hinaka asima
 3PL.S carry OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS younger sister
 pron vt aux nf

naba toaro
 naba to- ha -haaro
 pregnant CH be IP.E+F
 adj vc
 'His brothers-in-law carried what he had killed, which was roasted. His younger sister was pregnant.'

183 *Naba toaha , faya naba toa*
 naba to- ha+F , faya naba to- ha+F ,
 pregnant CH be so pregnant CH be
 adj vc conj adj vc

kamemetemoneke ahi
 ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem
 'She was pregnant. They came back.'¹⁴⁰

184 *Kama , faya wabori wati nawe*
 ka -ma+F , faya wabori wati na -waha+M
 go/come back so 3SG.POSS brother-in-law remember AUX change
 vi conj nm vt aux

ohi ne ohi ni kame , oi ni
 ohi na+M ohi na.NFIN ka -ma+M , ohi na.NFIN
 cry AUX cry AUX go/come back cry AUX
 vi aux vi aux vi aux

kamematamonaka
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi
 'They came back. He remembered his brother-in-law and cried. He came back crying.'

140 It should be *me kamemetemoneke*.

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185 *Oi ni kame , hibaka ya , ati saiba*
 ohi na.NFIN ka -ma+M , hibaka ya , ati sai -haba
 cry AUX go/come back where ADJU voice be heard FUT+F
 vi aux vi interrog prt pn vi

amaka

ama -ka
 SEC DECL+M
 sec

'He came back crying. Where? Its voice is going to be heard [on the tape].'¹⁴¹

186 *Faya me kama me kama me ohi ni*
 faya me ka -ma+F me ka -ma+F me ohi na.NFIN
 so 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S cry AUX
 conj pron vi pron vi pron vi aux

kamehi ra me fito kanemetemoneni
 ka -ma+M ra me fito ka- na -hemete -mone -ni
 go/come back O 3PL.S rush COMMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi prt pron vi aux

'They came back. He came back crying, and they ran to him.'

187 *Ahabake hiba*
 ahaba -ke hiba
 end DECL+F wait
 vi interj

'It's over, wait.'¹⁴²

188 *Faya me kamemetemoneni*
 faya me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni
 so 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 conj pron vi

'They came back.'

189 *Me kama me kame fito kati*
 me ka -ma+F me ka -ma+M fito ka- na -tee.NOM
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S go/come back rush COMMIT AUX HAB
 pron vi pron vi vi aux

me , tokome oi ni kame me fito
 me to- ka -ma+M , ohi na.NFIN ka -ma+M me fito
 3PL.S away go/come back cry AUX go/come back 3PL.S rush
 pron vi vi aux vi pron vi

hikane hinakasima hinakasima
 hi- ka- na+M , hinaka asima , hinaka asima
 OC COMMIT AUX 3SG.POSS younger sister 3SG.POSS younger sister
 aux nf nf

itebona ati ne karaboa ya hitabone hina
 ita -hibona ati na+M karaboha ya hi- ita -habone ati hi- na+F ,
 pierce INT+M say AUX blowgun ADJU OC sit INT+F say OC AUX
 vt vt aux nf prt vt vt

nabati , nabati weye naro
 nabati , nabati weye na -haaro
 stomach stomach carry AUX IP.E+F
 pn pn vt aux

'They came back. He came back, and they ran to him. He went. He came back crying, and they ran to him. He wanted to pierce his sister with his blowgun. He wanted to pierce her. She was pregnant.'¹⁴³

141 An animal interrupted Siko, and he reacted.

142 Siko was talking to someone present about the story.

THE ALLIGATORS KILLED THE MAN

190 *Nabati weye nemetemoneke*
 nabati weye na -hemete -mone -ke
 stomach carry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pn vt aux

'She was pregnant.'

191 *Nabati weye na hinakasima nabowebona ati*
 nabati weye na+F , hinaka asima na- aboha -hibona ati
 stomach carry AUX 3SG.POSS younger sister CAUS die INT+M say
 pn vt aux nf vt vt

ne awati me kana ni
 na+M , awa -tee.NOM me kana na.NFIN
 AUX see HAB 3PL.S run AUX
 aux vt pron vi aux

tokometemone

to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi

'She was pregnant. He wanted to kill his sister. They saw him and went running.'

192 *Me kana ni tokometemoneke*
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S run AUX away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux vi

'They went running.'

193 *Me kana ni tokoma me kobo*
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma+F me , kobo
 3PL.S run AUX away go/come back 3PL.S arrive
 pron vi aux vi pron vi

tonama me kamaki baro weye ne ohi
 to- na -ma+F , me ka -makI+M baro weye na+M ohi
 away AUX back 3PL.S go/come following basket carry AUX cry
 aux pron vi nf vt aux vi

nematamonaka baro wabori ehene
 na -himata -mona -ka baro wabori ehene
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M basket 3SG.POSS brother-in-law because of+M
 aux nf nm post

'They went running. They arrived. He was carrying the basket and crying because of his brother-in-law.'

194 *Faya kamaki kobo namaki mera katomebona*
 faya ka -makI+M kobo na -makI+M , mera katoma -hibona
 so go/come following arrive AUX following 3PL.O attack INT+M
 conj vi vi aux pron vt

ati ne nisori me one
 ati na+M , nisori me one ,
 say AUX 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.S other+F
 vt aux nm pron adj

nisori me one naoha nisori
 nisori me one naho+F nisori
 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.S other+F stand 3SG.POSS.younger brother
 nm pron adj vi nm

me hiwatematamonaka ahi mera katomebonaha
 me hi- wata -himata -mona -ka ahi , mera katoma -hibona -ha
 3PL.S OC catch FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then 3PL.O attack INT+M DUP
 pron vt dem pron vt

143 The verb *tokome* is a mistake.

THE ALLIGATORS KILLED THE MAN

'He came and arrived. He wanted to hit them. His other younger brothers were there in the plaza, and they restrained him, because he wanted to hit them.'

195 *Nisori* *me hiwate ati me*
 nisori me hi- wata+M , ati me
 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.S OC catch voice 3PL.S
 nm pron vt pn pron

hinihawe , *ati me hinihawe*
 hi- to- niha- ha -waha+M , ati me hi- to- niha- ha -waha+M
 OC CH CAUS be change voice 3PL OC CH CAUS be change
 vt pn pron vt

mati *ati me hinihawe* , *faya oi*
 mati ati me hi- to- niha- ha -waha+M , faya ohi
 3SG.POSS.mother voice 3PL.S OC CH CAUS be change so cry
 nf pn pron vt conj vi

ni fawa ne ka bani me , *Oko* *wabo*
 na.NFIN fawa na+M ka bani me , oko ka wabo
 AUX stop AUX which animal 3PL 1SG.POSS POSS brother-in-law
 aux vi aux prt nm pron prt nm

oko wabo , *tiwati watari*
 o- ka wabo , ti- ati wata -ra.NFIN
 1SG.POSS POSS brother-in-law 2SG.POSS voice exist NEG
 prt nm pn vi

oko wabo tikatafi tinofara ama
 o- ka wabo ti- ka- tafa ti- nofa -ra+F ama
 1SG.POSS POSS brother-in-law 2SG.S COMIT eat 2SG.S recently NEG SEC
 prt nm vt prt sec

tini ohi ni ati nematamonaka
 ti- ni ohi na.NFIN ati na -himata -mona -ka
 2SG.S BKG+F cry AUX say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 prt vi aux vt aux

hinakasima nabowebonaha
 hinaka asima na- aboha -hibona -ha
 3SG.POSS younger sister CAUS die INT+M DUP
 nf vt

'His younger brothers restrained him. They calmed him down. His mother and the others calmed him down. He stopped crying. "You didn't eat quietly with my brother-in-law," he said, crying.'

196 *Hinakasima nabowebona ati ne*
 hinaka asima na- aboha -hibona ati na+M
 3SG.POSS younger sister CAUS die INT+M say AUX
 nf vt aux

hinakasima , *nisori me*
 hinaka asima , nisori me
 3SG.POSS younger sister 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.S
 nf nm pron

hiwatibainari hasi nemetemoneke
 hi- wata -baha -naari hasi na -hemete -mone -ke
 OC catch before ? escape AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt vi aux

'He wanted to kill his sister. His younger brothers restrained him, and she escaped.'

197 *Faya bani me me* , *tanebone me yama na bani*
 faya bani me me , tane -bone me yama na+F bani
 so animal 3PL.S 3PL.O grill+F INT+F 3PL.S make AUX animal
 conj nm pron pron pn pron vt aux nm

THE ALLIGATORS KILLED THE MAN

me me so niriemetemoneke
 me me soo niha- na -rI -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.O 3PL.S lie CAUS AUX raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pron vi aux

'They made a gill for the animals, and they put the animals on top.'

198 *Bani me me tabasi na me me tabasi*
 bani me me tabasi na+F me me tabasi
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX 3PL.O 3PL.O roast on grill
 nm pron pron vt aux pron pron vt

nemetemoneke ahi
 na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux dem

'They roasted the animals.'

199 *Oko me te tabasi na*
 o- ka me te tabasi na+F
 1SG.POSS POSS 3PL.S 2PL.S roast on grill AUX
 prt pron pron vt aux

""You roast mine.""

200 *Faya bani me me tabasi na bani me me*
 faya bani me me tabasi na+F , bani me me
 so animal 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX animal 3PL.O 3PL.S
 conj nm pron pron vt aux nm pron pron

kabemetemone fahi
 kaba -hemete -mone fahi
 eat FP.N+F REP+F then
 vt dem

'They roasted the animals. They ate the animals.'

201 *Bani me me kaba me bani me*
 bani me me kaba+F me , bani me
 animal 3PL.S 3PL.S eat 3PL.S animal 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt pron nm pron

abemetemone fahi
 ahaba -hemete -mone fahi
 end FP.N+F REP+F then
 vi dem

'They ate the animals. The animals were all gone.'

THE YIMA

Free Translation

A Jarawara went to another village and stayed there. A Yima came. He lived in Santana. He was hunting, and was carrying his blowgun. He came carrying a blowgun. As the Jarawara was coming back, he met up with him in the forest.

"Huh?! Whew, what are you doing?"

"I'm hunting. And what are you doing?"

"I'm hunting, too."

"Here we are both hunting, and we didn't see each other."

They were hunting and they met up with each other, and they were talking.

"Who are you?"

"I'm Yima Yana."

"Look at Yima Yana."

I know his name, I had forgotten it.

They listened to each other's names and spoke them and stood there.

"Well, I'm going."

"Let's go together."

He didn't have a spear. He had a blowgun. He walked behind the Jarawara, threatening him with his blowgun like it was a spear. He was threatening him with the blowgun. They came on.

"What stream is that?"

"I don't know. That stream doesn't have a name. It's Barara Fa, there are *barara* trees there. Didn't you see the *barara* trees? It's Barara Fa."

They came on.

"What stream is that?"

"That stream doesn't have a name. It's Bitamaro. There is a *bitama* fish there, look. It's Bitamaro."

They came on.

"What stream is that?"

"That stream doesn't have a name. It's Kanari Fa."

They came on.

"Here, I'm going to drink. What is its name?"

"It doesn't have a name. It's Siki Fa."

They came on. He drank some water, and it tasted so good he clicked his tongue.

"Wow, he drank really cold water."

They came on.

"What about this one?"

"It doesn't have a name. It's Base Kabi. Base Kabi goes upstream that way. It's Base Kabi."

They came on. They were walking fast. They came on. They came on another stream.

"What stream is that?"

"They didn't give that stream a name. There are miriti palms there. The miriti fruits we eat, the palms are there. You don't know the name of the stream. It's Kiribote Owini Kaboki. There are miriti palms on the Kiribote Owini Kaboki," he said.

THE YIMA

They came on.

"Let's go."

They came on.

"There, what stream is that?"

"That stream doesn't have a name, either. It's Yawana Fa. There are *yawana* palms there. You are going to say Yawana Fa when you tell your children years from now. It's Yawana Fa."

They came on.

"What about this one? What's the name of this stream?"

"It doesn't have a name. It's Sawa Mete."

They came on. They arrived. He wanted to drink water.

"What stream is this? Should I drink it?"

"Yes, drink it. It's good to drink."

"I'm going to drink some water."

He made a cup out of a leaf so he could drink water. He got some water and drank it.

"Whew, that is really good water to drink," he said. "What's the name? What's the name of the stream?"

"It doesn't have a name. It's Maka Ha Ne. That stream is Maka Ha Ne. The name of the stream is Maka Ha Ne. It's Maka Ha Ne."

They came on.

"What about that one, that goes into the other one?"

"Yes, it goes into the other one. It's Bina. Haven't you seen Bina? It's Bina."

They came on. They arrived again.

"What stream is that?"

"It's Awa Tano Bere. Awa Tano Bere is there. Don't you see it? It's Awa Tano Bere. That one comes in on the other side, and this one comes in on this side."

"What is its name?"

"It doesn't have a name. It's Bote Fa. That is Bote Fa."

They came on. They came past Awa Tano Bere. They came on.

"What about this one?"

"That one is Sawa Koto Nariwai. There is a *sawa* tree branch lying across it. Don't you see it? That one is Sawa Koto Nariwai," he said.

Then it wasn't far. When it wasn't far, he spoke. "The woman you married, does she have any relatives?"

"Yes, she has a relative."

"Do you think she will like me, the relative of the one you married? Do you think she will like me?"

They came on. When it wasn't far, a little ways away, they wanted to take a bath. They came on.

"What about this one? What is the name of this one?"

"That's Fa Mawara."

"Right, so it's Fa Mawara."

"Don't you know? It's Fa Mawara. We passed by Tano Bere, and Yati Kerewe."

"Let's take a bath here."

"Is that them that I hear nearby? They can be heard over there."

"Let's take a bath."

They were going to take a bath.

"Where is the snuff?"

THE YIMA

"The snuff is in there."

"Let's take some snuff."

The Jarawara put some snuff on a leaf. He held it out for him.

"The sniffing tube is packed away there."

He didn't let him take snuff.

"Oh, you're not going take the snuff with this tube. Sick people took snuff with that tube.

Did you use that tube? Do you want to take snuff with it?"

"Yikes," he said. "My grandfather died of that sickness."

He left right away. He jumped up and went running away. He hit on the buttress root of a tree far away [to make a sound that would scare people]. At that moment there was thunder.

"Teoo," went the thunder as the Yima went away. The people talked about the thunder.

He told about the stranger that had left and arrived back. "I was bringing the stranger, but he left, afraid of sickness, the Yima. The Yima went away. The Yima was a young one. If I had brought him, you would have seen him. I was going to bring him, and we were going to take a bath. He asked for snuff, and I took out the tube so I could give him snuff. 'You take snuff with the tube that sick people have used,' I said, and when he heard me he laughed really loud. He said, 'Haha,' and got right up, and said, 'That's what my grandfather died of.' He jumped and went running away. That was the sound of him far away."

Interlinear Presentation

1	Yima	,	tokomakebisahi		tosawimaki		me
	yima		to- ka	-makI -bisa+M	to- sawi	-makI+M	me
	Yima		away go/come	following also	away be present	following	3PL
	npropm		vi		vi		pron

one	ni	ya	sawi	amo	ne	,	yima	yima
one	ni	ya	sawi+M	amo	na+M		yima	yima
other+F	to	ADJU	be present	sleep	AUX		Yima	Yima
adj	prt	prt	vi	vi	aux		npropm	npropm

kakematamonaka

ka	-kI	-himata	-mona	-ka
go/come	coming	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M
vi				

'A Jarawara went to another village and stayed there. A Yima came.'

2	Yima	kakematamona		--	Satana	amake	ahi	--
	yima	ka	-kI -himata -mona		Satana	ama -ke	ahi	
	Yima	go/come	coming FP.N+M	REP+M	Santana	be DECL+F	there	
	npropm	vi			npropf	vc	dem	

yima	yama	yete	nebonaha		karaboa	tiwa	kanari
yima	yama	yete	na -hibona -ha	,	karaboha	tiwa	ka- na -haari
Yima	thing	hunt	AUX INT+M DUP		blowgun	carry	COMIT AUX IP.E+M
npropm	nf	vt	aux		nf	vt	aux

ahi

ahi
then
dem

'The Yima was coming. He lived in Satana. He was hunting, and was carrying his blowgun.'

THE YIMA

3 *Karaboa tiwa kane kake kake*
 karaboha tiwa ka- na+M ka -kI , ka -kI
 blowgun carry COMIT AUX go/come coming go/come coming
 nf vt aux vi vi

kamabisahi ra kobo nematamonane
 ka -ma -bisa+M ra kobo na -himata -mona -ne
 go/come back also O meet AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi prt vt aux

'He came carrying a blowgun. As the Jarawara was coming back, he met up with him in the forest.'

4 *Kobo nane , Aa , oof , ota , himata ebe*
 kobo na.CONT+M -ne , aa , oof , otaa , himata ebe
 arrive AUX BKG+M huh? hoo 1EX what? purpose
 vi aux interj interj pron interrog vt

tinani ahi ?
 ti- na -hani ahi
 2SG.S AUX IP.N+F here
 aux dem

""Huh?! Whew, what are you doing?""

5 *Yama yete one o*
 yama yete o- na -ne o-
 thing hunt 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S
 nf vt aux prt

""I'm hunting.""

6 *Yama yete one oni*
 yama yete o- na -ne o- ni
 thing hunt 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 nf vt aux prt

""I'm hunting.""

7 *Himata ebe tibisa ?*
 himata ebe ti- na -bisa
 what? purpose 2SG.S AUX also
 interrog vt aux

""And what are you doing?""

8 *Yama yete obisine oke*
 yama yete o- na -bisa -ne o- ke
 thing hunt 1SG.S AUX also CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 nf vt aux prt

""I'm hunting, too.""

9 *Hoo , yama e yete na hinama toa , yama e*
 hoo , yama ee yete na+F hinama to- ha+F , yama ee
 humph thing 1IN.S hunt AUX all CH be thing 1IN.S
 interj nf pron vt aux adj vc nf pron

yete na , yama e yete na hinama toha awineke
 yete na+F , yama ee yete na+F hinama to- ha+F awine -ke
 hunt AUX thing 1IN.S hunt AUX all CH be seem+F DECL+F
 vt aux nf pron vt aux adj vc sec

""Here we are both hunting, and we didn't see each other.""

THE YIMA

10 *Yama me yete na me abe kobo na me abe*
 yama me yete na+F me abe kobo na+F me abe
 thing 3PL.S hunt AUX 3PL.POSS RECIP meet AUX 3PL.POSS RECIP
 nf pron vt aux pron pn vt aux pron pn

hiyara me , me abe hiyaremetemoneke
 hiyara+F me , me abe hiyara -hemete -mone -ke
 speak to 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS RECIP speak to FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt pron pron pn vt

'They were hunting and they met up with each other, and they were talking.'

11 *Me abe hiyara me , me Ibake ama tiri ?*
 me abe hiyara+F me , me ibake ama ti- ri ?
 3PL.POSS RECIP speak to 3PL.POSS 3PL who+M be 2SG.S CQ+F
 pron pn vt pron pron interrog vc prt

'They talked. "Who are you?"'

12 *Aa , Yima Yana Yima Yana ama oke , Yima Yana*
 aa , Yima Yana Yima Yana ama o- ke , Yima Yana
 (pause) (man's name) (man's name) be 1SG.S DECL+F (man's name)
 interj npropm npropm vc prt npropm

'"I'm Yima Yana."'

13 *Yima Yana tiwa*
 Yima Yana ti- awa
 (man's name) 2SG.S see
 npropm vt

'"Look at Yima Yana."'

14 *Yima Yana tiwa ha*
 Yima Yana ti- awa haa
 (man's name) 2SG.S see DEM
 npropm vt dem

'"Look at Yima Yana."'

15 *Ino wawato raba ore ino fawa*
 ino wa- wato na -raba o- na -ra+M ino fawa
 name+M DUP know AUX a bit 1SG.S AUX NEG name+M disappear
 pn vt aux aux pn vi

namako amaka
 na -mako ama -ka
 AUX for this reason+M SEC DECL+M
 aux sec

'I know his name, I had forgotten it.'

16 *Me abe ini mita me , me abe ini*
 me abe ini mita+F me , me abe ini
 3PL.POSS RECIP name+F hear 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS RECIP name+F
 pron pn pn vt pron pron pn pn

hora kana me yoro na me , Hima
 hora ka- na+F me yoro na+F me , hima
 exclaim COMMIT AUX 3PL.S stand AUX 3PL.S let's go
 vi aux pron vi aux pron interj

okomibone ahi
 o- to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone ahi
 1SG.S away go/come back INT+F there
 vi dem

THE YIMA

'They listened to each other's names and spoke them and stood there. "Well, I'm going."

17 *E famahi* .
 ee fama -hi
 1IN.S be two IMP+F
 pron vi

"Let's go together."

18 *E famahi* .
 ee fama -hi
 1IN.S be two IMP+F
 pron vi

"Let's go together."

19 *Wabise tama rematamonaka* .
 wabise tama na -ra -himata -mona -ka
 spear hold onto AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf vt aux

'He didn't have a spear.'

20 *Karaboa karaboa tama ne , karaboa ya , ne*
 karaboha karaboha tama na+M , karaboha ya , nee
 blowgun blowgun hold onto AUX blowgun ADJU threaten
 nf nf vt aux nf prt vt

hinamakehitematamona ahi .
 hi- to- na -makI -hitI -himata -mona ahi
 OC away AUX following along the way FP.N+M REP+M then
 aux dem

'He had a blowgun. He walked behind the Jarawara, threatening him with his blowgun like it was a spear.'

21 *Karaboa ya ne hine kakama me*
 karaboha ya nee hi- na+M ka- ka -ma+F me
 blowgun ADJU threaten OC AUX COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 nf prt vt aux vi pron

kakamemetemone ahi .
 ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then
 vi dem

'He was threatening him with the blowgun. They came on.'

22 *Me kakama me , me kakama me* ,
 me ka- ka -ma+F me , me ka- ka -ma+F me ,
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

Himata , himata faha amari haro ?
 himata , himata faha ama -ri haaro
 what? what? stream be CQ+F that one+F
 interrog interrog nf vc dem

'They came on. "What stream is that?"'

23 *E awari* .
 ee awa -ra.NOM+F
 1IN.S see NEG
 pron vi

"I don't know."

THE YIMA

24 *Fa ini watatera amake*
 faha ini wata -tee -ra+F ama -ke
 stream name+F exist HAB NEG SEC DECL+F
 nf pn vi sec

"That stream doesn't have a name."

25 *Barara Fa amaka , Barara Fa*
 Barara Fa ama -ka , Barara Fa
 (name of stream) be DECL+M (name of stream)
 npropm vc npropm

"It's Barara Fa."

26 *Barara Fa ama ha , barara watahari*
 barara faha ama haa , barara wata -haari
 tree sp stream be DEM tree sp stand IP.E+M
 nm nf vc dem nm vi

"It's Barara Fa, there are *barara* trees there."

27 *Tiware awa hari , barara watahari ?*
 ti- awa -ra+M awa haari , barara wata -haari
 2SG.S see NEG seem+M that one+M tree sp grow IP.E+M
 vt sec dem nm vi

"Didn't you see the *barara* trees?"

28 *Barara Fa ama ha*
 Barara Fa ama haa
 (name of stream) be DEM
 npropm vc dem

"It's Barara Fa."

29 *Me kakamemetemoneke*
 me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

"They came on."

30 *Me kakama me kakama me me*
 me ka- ka -ma+F me ka- ka -ma+F me me
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi pron pron
kakami ya , kakama Himata fa
 ka- ka -ma.NOM+F ya , ka- ka -ma+F , himata faha
 COMIT go/come back ADJU COMIT go/come back what? stream
 vi prt vi interrog nf

amari ha ?
 ama -ri haa
 be CQ+F DEM
 vc dem

"They came on. "What stream is that?"

31 *Fa ini wataterawara amake*
 faha ini wata -tee -rawa -ra+F ama -ke
 stream name+F exist HAB F.PL NEG be DECL+F
 nf pn vi vc

"That stream doesn't have a name."

THE YIMA

32 *Bitamaro* *ama* *Bitamaro*
 Bitamaro ama -ke Bitamaro
 (name of stream) be DECL+F (name of stream)
 npropf vc npropf

"It's Bitamaro."

33 *Bitama* *waine* *haro* *bitama* *haro* , *tiwa*
 bitama waa -ne haaro bitama haaro , ti- awa
 fish sp stand CONT+F that one+F fish sp that one+F 2SG.S see
 nf vi dem nf dem vt

"There is a *bitama* fish there, look."

34 *Bitama* *waineke* *haro*
 bitama waa -ne -ke haaro
 fish sp stand CONT+F DECL+F that one+F
 nf vi dem

"There is a *bitama* fish there."

35 *Bitamaro* *ama* *haro*
 Bitamaro ama haaro
 (name of stream) be that one+F
 npropf vc dem

"It's Bitamaro."

36 *Bitamaro* *ama* *haro*
 Bitamaro ama -ke haaro
 (name of stream) be DECL+F that one+F
 npropf vc dem

"It's Bitamaro."

37 *Faya* *me* *kakama* *me*
 faya me ka- ka -ma+F me
 so 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron

kakamemetemoneke

ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

"They came on."

38 *Me* *kakama* *me* , *kakami* *ya*
 me ka- ka -ma+F me , ka- ka -ma.NOM+F ya
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S COMIT go/come back ADJU
 pron vi pron vi prt

kakami *ya* , *Himata* *fa* *amari* ?
 ka- ka -ma.NOM+F ya , himata faha ama -ri
 COMIT go/come back ADJU what? stream be CQ+F
 vi prt interrog nf vc

"They came on. "What stream is that?"

39 *Himata* *fa* , *fa* *fa* *ini* *wataterawara*
 himata faha , faha faha ini wata -tee -rawa -ra+F
 what? stream stream stream name+F exist HAB F.PL NEG
 interrog nf nf nf pn vi

THE YIMA

amake

ama -ke
be DECL+F
vc

"That stream doesn't have a name."

40 **Fa ini wataterawara amani**
faha ini wata -tee -rawa -ra+F ama -ni
stream name+F exist HAB F.PL NEG SEC BKG+F
nf pn vi sec

"That stream doesn't have a name."

41 **Kanari Fa ama Kanari Fa**
Kanari Fa ama Kanari Fa
(name of stream) be (name of stream)
npropf vc npropf

"It's Kanari Fa."

42 **Kanari Fa amake haro Kanari Fa fa**
Kanari Fa ama -ke haaro Kanari Fa faha
(name of stream) SEC DECL+F that one+F (name of stream) stream
npropf sec dem npropf nf

Kanari Fa

Kanari Fa
(name of stream)
npropf

"It's Kanari Fa."

43 **Kakamaha me kakamemetemoneke**
ka- ka -ma+F me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
COMIT go/come back 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vi pron vi

'They came on.'

44 **Kakamaha me kakami ya me**
ka- ka -ma+F me ka- ka -ma.NOM+F ya me
COMIT go/come back 3PL.S COMIT go/come back ADJU 3PL
vi pron vi prt pron

Haro

haaro , **ofamatibe**
o- fawa -mata -be
that one+F 1SG.S drink short time IMMED+F
dem vt

"They came on. "Here, I'm going to drink."

45 **Ofamatibeya mata**
o- fawa -mata -be -ya mata
1SG.S drink short time IMMED+F now for now
vt prt

"I'm going to drink."

46 **Inira** ?
ini -ra
name+F NPQ
pn

"What is its name?"

THE YIMA

47 *Ini watatera amake*
 ini wata -tee -ra+F ama -ke
 name+F exist HAB NEG be DECL+F
 pn vi vc

"It doesn't have a name."

48 *Siki Fa amake*
 Siki Fa ama -ke
 (name of stream) SEC DECL+F
 npropf sec

"It's Siki Fa."

49 *Siki Fa ama hari*
 Siki Fa ama haari
 (name of stream) be that one+M
 npropf vc dem

"It's Siki Fa."

50 *Siki Fa ama ha*
 Siki Fa ama haa
 (name of stream) be DEM
 npropf vc dem

"It's Siki Fa."

51 *Faya me kakama me fa fawe mata*
 faya me ka- ka -ma+F me faha fawa+M mata
 so 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S water drink click one's tongue
 conj pron vi pron nf vt vi

tonematamonaka

to- na -himata -mona -ka
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'They came on. He drank some water, and it tasted so good he clicked his tongue.'

52 *Hii sisiri na fawatinoho*
 hii si- siri na+F fawa -tee.NOM -no -ho
 wow! DUP be cold AUX drink HAB IP.N+M DUP
 interj vi aux vt

"Wow, he drank really cold water."

53 *Me kakami ya me*
 me ka- ka -ma.NOM+F ya me
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back ADJU 3PL.S
 pron vi prt pron

kakamemetemoneke

ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'They came on.'

54 *Me kakama me kakamawaha me*
 me ka- ka -ma+F me ka- ka -ma -waha+F me
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S COMIT go/come back change 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi pron

THE YIMA

Haro ?
 haaro
 that one+F
 dem
 "They came on. "What about this one?"

55 **Ini** **watatera** **amake**
 ini wata -tee -ra+F ama -ke
 name+F exist HAB NEG be DECL+F
 pn vi vc
 "It doesn't have a name."

56 **Base Kabi** **amake**
 Base Kabi ama -ke
 (name of stream) SEC DECL+F
 npropf sec
 "It's Base Kabi."

57 **Base Kabi** **ama haro**
 Base Kabi ama haaro
 (name of stream) be that one+F
 npropf vc dem
 "It's Base Kabi."

58 **Base Kabi** **towakatimine** **haro**
 Base Kabi to- ka- ka -tima -ne haaro
 (name of stream) away COMIT go/come upstream CONT+F that one+F
 npropf vi dem
 "Base Kabi goes upstream that way."

59 **Base Kabi** **ama ha**
 Base Kabi ama haa
 (name of stream) be DEM
 npropf vc dem
 "It's Base Kabi."

60 **Me** **kakamemetemoneke**
 me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi
 "They came on."

61 **Me** **kakama** **me me , me yayaka kana**
 me ka- ka -ma+F me me , me ya- yaka ka- na
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL 3PL.S DUP walk COMIT AUX
 pron vi pron pron pron vi aux

remetemoneke
 na -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux
 "They came on. They were walking fast."

62 **Me** **kakama** **me me**
 me ka- ka -ma+F me me
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron

THE YIMA

kakamemetemoneke

ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi
 'They came on.'

63 **Me kakama me me kakami ya** ,
 me ka- ka -ma+F me me ka- ka -ma.NOM+F ya
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S COMIT go/come back ADJU
 pron vi pron pron vi prt
ee , **fa one me wasimatasa me** , **Himata**
 ee faha one me wasi -ma -tasa+F me himata
 (pause) stream other+F 3PL.S find back again 3PL.S what?
 interj nf adj pron vt pron interrog
himata fa amari ha ?
 himata faha ama -ri haa
 what? stream be CQ+F DEM
 interrog nf vc dem
 "They came on. They came on another stream. "What stream is that?"

64 **Fa ini me ta terawara amake**
 faha ini me taa na -tee -rawa -ra+F ama -ke
 stream name+F 3PL.S give AUX HAB F.PL NEG be DECL+F
 nf pn pron vt aux vc
 ""They didn't give that stream a name.""

65 **Yifo wataka yifo**
 yifo wata -ka yifo
 miriti stand DECL+M miriti
 nm vi nm
 ""There are miriti palms.""

66 **Yifo wata hari**
 yifo wata.CONT+M haari
 miriti stand that one+M
 nm vi dem
 ""There are miriti palms there.""

67 **Yifo ota komo te wata hari**
 yifo otaa komo na -tee wata.CONT+M haari
 miriti 1EX.S eat AUX HAB stand that one+M
 nm pron vt aux vi dem
 ""The miriti fruits we eat, the palms are there.""

68 **Fa ini tiwatora awineke**
 faha ini ti- wato -ra+F awine -ke
 stream name+F 2SG.S know NEG seem+F DECL+F
 nf pn vt sec
 ""You don't know the name of the stream.""

69 **Kiribote Owini Kaboki amake haro**
 Kiribote Owini Kaboki ama -ke haaro
 (name of stream) be DECL+F that one+F
 npropf vc dem
 ""It's Kiribote Owini Kaboki.""

THE YIMA

70 **Kiribote Owini Kaboki** **amake** **haro**
 Kiribote Owini Kaboki ama -ke haaro
 (name of stream) SEC DECL+F that one+F
 npropf sec dem

"It's Kiribote Owini Kaboki."

71 **Kiribote Owini Kaboki** **ya** **yifo** **wata** **ne** **ati**
 Kiribote Owini Kaboki ya yifo wata.LIST na+M , ati
 (name of stream) ADJU miriti stand AUX say
 npropf prt nm vi aux vt

nematamonane

na -himata -mona -ne
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 aux

"There are miriti palms on the Kiribote Owini Kaboki," he said.'

72 **Kakama** **me** **Hima**
 ka- ka -ma+F me , hima
 COMIT go/come back 3PL.S let's go
 vi pron interj

"They came on. "Let's go."

73 **Kakama** **me** **kakamemetemoneke**
 ka- ka -ma+F me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT go/come back 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi pron vi

"They came on.'

74 **Me** **kakama** **me** **kakami** **ya**
 me ka- ka -ma+F me , ka- ka -ma.NOM+F ya
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S COMIT go/come back ADJU
 pron vi pron vi prt

Haro **himata** **fa** **amari** **ha** ?
 haaro himata faha ama -ri haa
 that one+F what? stream be CQ+F DEM
 dem interrog nf vc dem

"They came on. "There, what stream is that?"

75 **Fa** **ini** **watawata** **tera** **na**
 faha ini wata- wata na -tee -ra+F na
 stream name+F DUP exist AUX HAB NEG AUX
 nf pn vi aux aux

"That stream doesn't have a name, either."

76 **Yawana Fa** **amaka**
 Yawana Fa ama -ka
 (name of stream) be DECL+M
 npropm vc

"It's Yawana Fa."

77 **Yawana** **wataka** **hari**
 yawana wata -ka haari
 palm sp stand DECL+M that one+M
 nm vi dem

"There are yawana palms there."

THE YIMA

78 *Yawana wata hari*
 yawana wata.CONT+M haari
 palm sp stand that one+M
 nm vi dem

"There are *yawana* palms there."

79 *Yawana Fa titebana tike*
 Yawana Fa ati ti- na -tee -habana ti- ke
 (name of stream) say 2SG.S AUX HAB FUT+F 2SG.S DECL+F
 npropm vt prt

"You are going to say 'Yawana Fa' when you tell your children years from now."

80 *Yawana Fa ama ha*
 Yawana Fa ama haa
 (name of stream) be DEM
 npropm vc dem

"It's Yawana Fa."

81 *Me kakama me*
 me ka- ka -ma+F , me
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 pron vi pron

kakamemetemoneke
 ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

"They came on."

82 *Me kakama me kakami ya me*
 me ka- ka -ma+F , me ka- ka -ma.NOM+F ya me
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S COMIT go/come back ADJU 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi prt pron

kakamemetemoneke
 ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

"They came on."

83 *Haro ?*
 haaro
 that one+F
 dem

"What about this one?"

84 *Faha ini ?*
 faha ini
 stream name+F
 nf pn

"What's the name of this stream?"

85 *Ini watatera amake*
 ini wata -tee -ra+F ama -ke
 name+F exist HAB NEG SEC DECL+F
 pn vi sec

"It doesn't have a name."

THE YIMA

86 *Sawa Mete* *amaka* *hari* *Sawa Mete* ,
 Sawa Mete ama -ka haari Sawa Mete
 (name of stream) be DECL+M that one+M (name of stream)
 npropm vc dem npropm

Sawa Mete *ahi* .
 Sawa Mete ahi
 (name of stream) then
 npropm dem

"It's Sawa Mete."

87 *Sawa Mete* *ama* *ha* .
 Sawa Mete ama haa
 (name of stream) be DEM
 npropm vc dem

"It's Sawa Mete."

88 *Me* *kakama* *me* *kakama* , *me*
 me ka- ka -ma+F me ka- ka -ma+F , me
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi pron

kakamemetemoneke *ahi* .
 ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

'They came on.'

89 *Me* *kakama* *me* *kakami* *ya* *me*
 me ka- ka -ma+F me ka- ka -ma.NOM+F ya me
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S COMIT go/come back ADJU 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi prt pron

kobo *kanama* , *fa* , *fawebona* , *me*
 kobo ka- na -ma+F , faha , fawa -hibona , me
 arrive COMIT AUX back water drink INT+M 3PL.S
 vi aux nf vt pron

kakama *me* *Himata* *fa* *amari* *haro* ?
 ka- ka -ma+F me himata faha ama -ri haaro ?
 COMIT go/come back 3PL.S what? stream be CQ+F that one+F
 vi pron interrog nf vc dem

'They came on. They arrived. He wanted to drink water. "What stream is this?"

90 *Ofibana* ?
 o- fawa+F -bana
 1SG.S drink FUT
 vt

"Should I drink it?"

91 *Tifahi* .
 ti- fawa -hi
 2SG.S drink IMP+F
 vt

"Yes, drink it."

92 *Fawate* *amake* .
 fawa -tee ama -ke
 drink HAB SEC DECL+F
 result sec

"It's good to drink."

THE YIMA

93 *Fa ofamateya*
 faha o- fawa -mate -ya
 water 1SG.S drink short time.IMP+F now
 nf vt

"I'm going to drink some water."

94 *Faya fa fawebona fa faso keho kane fa*
 faya faha fawa -hibona faha faso keho ka- na+M faha
 so water drink INT+M water leaf wrap around COMIT AUX water
 conj nf vt nf nf vt aux nf

kabi kane fa fawematamonaka
 kabi ka- na+M faha fawa -himata -mona -ka
 dip out COMIT AUX water drink FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux nf vt

'He made a cup out of a leaf so he could drink water. He got some water and drank it.'

95 *Fa fawa , Oof hoo , fa fawi amoamosa , ati*
 faha fawa , oof hoo , faha fawa.NFIN amo- amosa , ati
 water drink hoo whew water drink DUP be good say
 nf vt interj interj nf result vi vt

nematamonane
 na -himata -mona -ne
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 aux

'He drank some water. "Whew, that is really good water to drink," he said.'

96 *Ini ?*
 ini
 name+F
 pn

"What's the name?"

97 *Ini , faha ?*
 ini faha
 name+F stream
 pn nf

"What's the name of the stream?"

98 *Ini watatera amake*
 ini wata -tee -ra+F ama -ke
 name+F exist HAB NEG be DECL+F
 pn vi vc

"It doesn't have a name."

99 *Maka Ha Ne amaka*
 Maka Ha Ne ama -ka
 (name of stream) be DECL+M
 npropm vc

"It's Maka Ha Ne."

100 *Maka Ha Ne amane*
 Maka Ha Ne ama -ne
 (name of stream) be BKG+M
 npropm vc

"It's Maka Ha Ne."

THE YIMA

101 *Maka Ha Ne* *ama* *hari* , *faha* .
 Maka Ha Ne ama haari , faha
 (name of stream) be that one+M stream
 npropm vc dem nf

"That stream is Maka Ha Ne."

102 *Fa* , *fa* *ini* *Maka Ha Ne* *tohineke*
 faha , faha ini Maka Ha Ne to- ha -ne -ke
 stream stream name+F (name of stream) CH be CONT+F DECL+F
 nf nf pn npropm vc

"The name of the stream is Maka Ha Ne."

103 *Maka Ha Ne* *ama* *ha*
 Maka Ha Ne ama haa
 (name of stream) be DEM
 npropm vc dem

"It's Maka Ha Ne."

104 *Faya* *me* *kakami* *ya* *me*
 faya me ka- ka -ma.NOM+F ya me
 so 3PL.S COMIT go/come back ADJU 3PL.S
 conj pron vi prt pron

kakamemetemoneke

ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

"They came on."

105 *Me* *kakami* *ya* *me* *kakami*
 me ka- ka -ma.NOM+F ya me ka- ka -ma.NOM+F
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back ADJU 3PL.S COMIT go/come back
 pron vi prt pron vi

ya *ahi* *Haro* *ha* *kawanaro* *haro* ?
 ya ahi haaro haa ka- wana -haaro haaro
 ADJU here that one+F DEM COMIT be attached IP.E+F that one+F
 prt dem dem dem vi dem

"They came on. "What about that one, that goes into the other one?"

106 *Ee* *kawana* *Bina* *ama* *Bina*
 ee ka- wana+F Bina ama -ke Bina
 yes COMIT be attached (name of stream) be DECL+F (name of stream)
 interj vi npropf vc npropf

"Yes, it goes into the other one. It's Bina."

107 *Bina* *Bina* *Bina* *ama* *Bina*
 Bina Bina Bina ama -ke
 (name of stream) (name of stream) (name of stream) be DECL+F
 npropf npropf npropf vc

"It's Bina."

108 *Bina* *ama* *Bina*
 Bina ama -ke
 (name of stream) be DECL+F
 npropf vc

"It's Bina."

THE YIMA

109	Bina	wina	tiwara	tiwara	tiwara	tiwa
	Bina	wina+F	ti- awa -ra+F	ti- awa -ra+F	ti- awa -ra+F	tiwa
	(name of stream)	be inside	2SG.S see NEG	2SG.S see NEG	2SG.S see NEG	2SG.S
	npropf	vi	vt	vt	vt	pron

awine ti ?
awine ti-
seem+F 2SG.S
sec prt

"Haven't you seen Bina?"

110	Bina	ama ha
	Bina	ama haa
	(name of stream)	be DEM
	npropf	vc dem

"It's Bina."

111	Me kakamawaha	me kakami	ya
	me ka- ka -ma -waha+F	me ka- ka -ma.NOM+F	ya
	3PL.S COMIT go/come back change	3PL.S COMIT go/come back	ADJU
	pron vi	pron vi	prt

me kakamemetemoneke
me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron vi

'They came on.'

112	Me kakama	me kakama	me kobo
	me ka- ka -ma+F	me ka- ka -ma.LIST	me kobo
	3PL.S COMIT go/come back	3PL.S COMIT go/come back	3PL.S arrive
	pron vi	pron vi	pron vi

kanamatasi ya Himata himata fa amari ha ?
ka- na -ma -tasa.NOM+F ya himata himata faha ama -ri haa
COMIT AUX back again ADJU what? what? stream be CQ+F DEM
aux prt interrog interrog nf vc dem

"They came on. They arrived again. "What stream is that?"

113	Awa Tano Bere	amake
	Awa Tano Bere	ama -ke
	(name of stream)	be DECL+F
	npropf	vc

"It's Awa Tano Bere."

114	Awa Tano Bere	ama ha
	Awa Tano Bere	ama haa
	(name of stream)	be DEM
	npropf	vc dem

"It's Awa Tano Bere."

115	Awa Tano Bere	nineke	haro
	Awa Tano Bere	na -ne -ke	haaro
	(name of stream)	exist CONT+F DECL+F	that one+F
	npropf	vi	dem

"Awa Tano Bere is there."

THE YIMA

138 *Haha* *haha* *ini* *haro* ?
 haaha haaha ini haaro
 this+F this+F name+F that one+F
 dem dem pn dem

"What is the name of this one?"

139 *Hahi* *Fa Mawara* *amake*
 haahi Faa Mawara ama -ke
 this one+M (name of stream) be DECL+F
 dem npropf vc

"That's Fa Mawara."

140 *Ee* , *Fa Mawara* *ama* *ninihi*
 ee , Faa Mawara ama na.NOM+F -ni -hi
 yes (name of stream) be AUX IP.N+F DUP
 interj npropf vc aux

"Right, so it's Fa Mawara."

141 *Yama* *tiwatora* *awine* *ti* ?
 yama ti- wato -ra+F awine ti-
 thing 2SG.S know NEG seem+F 2SG.S
 nf vt sec prt

"Don't you know?"

142 *Fa* *Fa Mawara* *ama* *haro*
 faha Faa Mawara ama haaro
 stream (name of stream) be that one+F
 nf npropf vc dem

"It's Fa Mawara."

143 *Awa Tano Bere* *e* *fiya* *nama* *ahi* , *Yati Kerewe*
 Awa Tano Bere ee fiya na -ma+F ahi , Yati Kerewe
 (name of stream) 1IN.S pass AUX back here (name of stream)
 npropf pron vt aux dem npropf
e *fiya* *kana* , *Yati Kerewe* *e* *fiya* *kana*
 ee fiya ka- na.LIST , Yati Kerewe ee fiya ka- na.LIST
 1IN.S pass COMIT AUX (name of stream) 1IN.S pass COMIT AUX
 pron vt aux npropf pron vt aux
 , *narake*
 na -hara -ke
 AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 aux

"We passed by Tano Bere, and Yati Kerewe."

144 *Faya* *E* *afi* *kana* *ahi*
 faya ee afi ka- na ahi
 so 1IN.S bathe COMIT AUX here
 conj pron vi aux dem

"Let's take a bath here."

145 *Me* *ati* *yaborini* ?
 me ati yabo -ra -ni
 3PL.POSS voice be far NEG BKG+F
 pron pn vi

"Is that them that I hear nearby?"

THE YIMA

154 *Hiwa sina hisi neba hiwarematamona*
 hiwa sina hisi na -hiba hi- awa -ra -himata -mona
 only.M snuff sniff AUX FUT+M OC see NEG FP.N+M REP+M
 pron nf vt aux vt

'He didn't let him take snuff.'

155 *Aa firi hisi tikibarani*
 aa firi hisi ti- ka- na+F -barani
 oh yes snuff tube sniff 2SG.S COMIT AUX only
 interj nm vt aux

"Oh, you're not going take the snuff with this tube."

156 *Yama me kiha firi me hisi hikane hisi*
 yama me kiha+F firi me hisi hi- ka- na+M hisi
 thing 3PL.S have snuff tube 3PL.S sniff OC COMIT AUX sniff
 nf pron vt nm pron vt aux vt

tikini ?

ti- ka- na -ni
 2SG.S COMIT AUX BKG+F
 aux

"Sick people took snuff with that tube. Did you use that tube?"

157 *Hisi tikabana* ?
 hisi ti- ka- na+M -bana
 sniff 2SG.S COMIT AUX FUT
 vt aux

"Do you want to take snuff with it?"

158 *Haha ati nematamonaka ahi*
 haha ati na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 yikes say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 interj vt aux dem

"Yikes," he said.'

159 *Yama ihi , yama ihi okiti*
 yama ihi yama ihi o- ka iti
 thing result of+F thing result of+F 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
 nf pn nf pn nm

hihemetemone ini ama fardo
 hi- iha -hemete -mone ini ama faaro
 OC have FP.N+F REP+F name+F be that+F
 vt pn vc dem

"My grandfather died of that sickness."

160 *Warematamonane*
 waa -ra -himata -mona -ne
 stand NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi

'He left right away.'

161 *Yora nariwe kana ni*
 yora na -riwaha+M kana na.NFIN
 jump AUX across run AUX
 vi aux vi aux

THE YIMA

tokomematamonaka **ahi**
to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi
away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
vi dem
'He jumped and went running away.'

162 **Kana ni tokome ikeike ya awa**
kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma+M ike- ike ya awa
run AUX away go/come back DUP far ADJU tree
vi aux vi nf prt nf

waba na habi faya tokome , **awa**
waa -baa na+F habi faya to- ka -ma.NOM+M awa
stand at a distance AUX root+F so away go/come back tree
vi aux pn conj vi nf

habi teo nematamona hike ya
habi teo na -himata -mona hike ya
root+F hit AUX FP.N+M REP+M far ADJU
pn vt aux nf prt

'He went running away. He hit on the buttress root of a tree far away.'

163 **Faya kasoimatamona** , **foforo toha ka bahi**
faya ka- sona -himata -mona fo- foro to- ha ka bahi
so COMIT fall FP.N+M REP+M DUP fall CH AUX which thunder
conj vi vi aux prt nm

'At that moment there was thunder.'

164 **Teeoo bai sonematamona amaka ahi yima**
teeoo bahi sona -himata -mona ama -ka ahi yima
(sound of thunder) thunder fall FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M then Yima
sound nm vi sec dem npropm

tokome ya
to- ka -ma+M ya
away go/come back ADJU
vi prt

""Teeoo," went the thunder as the Yima went away.'

165 **Bai sone** , **faya bahi sone** , **ehene me**
bahi sona+M faya bahi sona+M ehene me
thunder fall so thunder fall because of+M 3PL.S
nm vi conj nm vi post pron

hora nemetemoneke
hora na -hemete -mone -ke
exclaim AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vi aux

'The people talked about the thunder.'

166 **Hinamati tokome kobo toname**
hinamati to- ka -ma+M kobo to- na -ma+M
someone away go/come back arrive away AUX back
nm vi vi aux

hikaminematamonaka
hi- kamina -himata -mona -ka
OC tell FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vt

'He told about the stranger that had left and arrived back.'

THE YIMA

167 *Hinamati tokome owakamebona ito* ,
 hinamati to- ka -ma+M o- ka- ka -ma -hibona ito
 someone away go/come back 1SG.S COMIT go/come back INT+M cold
 nm vi vt nf

yima

yima
 Yima
 npropm

"I was bringing the stranger, but he left, afraid of the flu, the Yima."

168 *Yima tokomaka ahi*
 yima to- ka -ma -ka ahi
 Yima away go/come back DECL+M then
 npropm vi dem

"The Yima went away."

169 *Yima tokome ahi*
 yima to- ka -ma+M ahi
 Yima away go/come back then
 npropm vi dem

"The Yima went away."

170 *Yima yetene amaka*
 yima yetene ama -ka
 Yima teenage boy be DECL+M
 npropm adj vc

"The Yima was a young one."

171 *Owakame ya te awena amane*
 o- ka- ka -ma.NOM+M ya tee awa -hina ama -ne
 1SG.S COMIT go/come back ADJU 2PL.S see IRR+M SEC BKG+M
 vt prt pron vt sec

"If I had brought him, you would have seen him."

172 *Owakamebona ota afi kanabone sina*
 o- ka- ka -ma -hibona otaa afi ka- na -habone sina
 1SG.S COMIT go/come back INT+M 1EX.S bathe COMIT AUX INT+F snuff
 vt pron vi aux nf

ini hiri ne sina ya hisisi onihebona
 ini hiri na+M sina ya hisi -si o- niha- na -hibona
 name+F say AUX snuff ADJU sniff DUP 1SG.S CAUS AUX INT+M
 pn vt aux nf prt vt aux

firi otihara oke
 firi o- iti -hara o- ke
 snuff tube 1SG.S take out IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 nm vt prt

"I was going to bring him, and we were going to take a bath. He asked for snuff, and I took out the tube so I could give him snuff."

173 *Firi otiha Firi yama me kiha* ,
 firi o- iti+F firi yama me kiha+F
 snuff tube 1SG.S take out snuff tube thing 3PL.S have
 nm vt nm nf pron vt

firi me hisi hikane hisi tikibana
 firi me hisi hi- ka- na+M hisi ti- ka- na+F -bana
 snuff tube 3PL.S sniff OC COMIT AUX sniff 2SG.S COMIT AUX FUT
 nm pron vt aux vt aux

THE YIMA

tike **ona** **owati** **miteno** **haha**
ti- ke ati o- na+F o- ati mita -hino haha
2SG.S DECL+F say 1SG.S AUX 1SG.POSS voice hear IP.N+M yikes
prt vt pn vt interj

tonakosareka **ahi**
to- na -kosa -hare -ka ahi
CH AUX middle IP.E+M DECL+M then
aux dem

"I took out the tube. 'You take snuff with the tube that sick people have used,' I said, and when he heard me he laughed really loud."

174 **Haha** **ati** **ne** **yana** **kanibote** **ne** **yama** **ihi**
haha ati na+M yana ka- na -bote na+M yama ihi
yikes say AUX start COMIT AUX quickly AUX thing result of+F
interj vt aux vi aux aux nf pn

okiti **hihemetemone** **amani** **ati**
o- ka iti hi- iha -hemete -mone ama -ni ati
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather OC have FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F say
nm vt sec vt

narene
na -hare -ne
AUX IP.E+M BKG+M
aux

"He said, 'Haha,' and got right up, and said, 'That's what my grandfather died of.'"

175 **Ati** **ne** **yora** **nariwe** **kana** **ni**
ati na+M yora na -riwaha+M kana na.NFIN
say AUX jump AUX across run AUX
vt aux vi aux vi aux

tokomareka **ahi**
to- ka -ma -hare -ka ahi
away go/come back IP.E+M DECL+M then
vi dem

"He jumped and went running away."

176 **Moni** **yana** **tonamareka** **hike** **ya**
moni yana to- na -ma -hare -ka hike ya
sound start away AUX back IP.E+M DECL+M far ADJU
pn vi aux nf prt

"That was the sound of him far away."

177 **Moni** **yana** **toname**
moni yana to- na -ma+M
sound start away AUX back
pn vi aux

"That was the sound of him."

MAYAWARI (1)

Free Translation

Mayawari was going to wait for game at a *ko* tree, and he came along singing. He was with his son, who was very small. He was singing as he came along slowly. His son was singing with him.

"Whew."

He was going along singing a song. He went to the water, and he saw something. There was a Yima woman lying there with her legs spread. Her vagina was completely exposed.

"Yikes, child, there is someone lying there."

He came back quickly to where he had been.

When his father came by him, the boy cried out. "Ee, ee, ee, Father, Father, Father," the child said.

He came back quickly. The Yima missed him with his spear. The Yima hit a *wakaro* tree. It is in the water. They cut it down a long time ago. The Yima's spear hit the tree.

"Oh no, my game got away."

There was another one hidden, and he came running and hit him with a spear.

"Aya."

He would have kept on running away, but he didn't. He grabbed his son, who was crying out. When he was coming back with his son, the Yima speared him. He cried out. They caught his son. They ate him with his son.

They had an idea. It was getting dark. "Mayawari hasn't come back. Mayawari and his son have disappeared. I'm going to look at them out there. He should have take his bow and arrows." He hadn't take bow and arrows.

He came there alone. Mayawari's intestines were draped on broken off saplings, Mayawari's intestines that they had draped. He came. The sweat bees were all in a line. The sweat bees were all in a line.

"They ate Mayawari. Mayawari's intestines are draped there. That's why he disappeared," he said," they said.

"Mayawari's son-in-law is here. Kill me, too," Mayawari's son-in-law said, calling out.

Because he heard him, the Yima said, "Hii."

"If the Yima didn't see them, one of them who was waiting for him would shoot him with an arrow," [the Jarawaras back at the village said].

The Yima came back and came out right away, but after Mayawari's son-in-law had gone running home.

"He called out."

They went running home. They went after arrows and got arrows. They came running back. The Yima disappeared.

"Watch out. Look every way at the buttress roots."

They came after him. They called to him, but he didn't call. They went home. They disappeared into the forest. They came back.

"They got away. He went home after eating Mayawari. He took Mayawari away [in his

MAYAWARI (1)

stomach]," he said. He stood there. He brought him home.

The Yima draped Mayawari's intestines. There were signs of the ones who had draped Mayawari's intestines. They were afraid of him.

"When you see them, hold onto him. When he lies down with you, grab him and hold on."

The Yima men spoke to the Yima woman, and then she spread her legs apart.

"I would shoot her vagina with an arrow," Boniwa used to say.

They came back. They arrived home.

"Should we go look at them?"

"Let's go look at them."

"Let's not go look at them. I don't know."

"They went there. They went running there. When they heard us calling, they ran. Because the sun set we came back. They will be seen tomorrow."

"Let's not look at them tomorrow. Let them live there," they said.

They came back and slept back at the village. Then they moved away. They went somewhere upstream. They went and lived there.

Then they said they would wait for game at a *ko* tree. "Let's wait for game at the *ko* tree. Older brother, tie two wooden seats for us. I will sit here, and you will sit there."

They were ready to wait for game at the *ko* tree. He was with his older brother. There were two of them. There was a small fire that his younger brother lit. The fire was there, burning low.

"You go up first. Don't grasp the air instead of the seat. Hold onto the seat firmly. Go up there and sit. Pull your blowgun up, and turn the blowgun around, and sit."

The older brother went up into the tree. Their fire had a flame, before dawn. Before dawn, as their fire burned, some kinkajous came. The kinkajous picked *ko* fruits. They drank the *ko* fruits. *Fai toko*. The kinkajou cried out. He hit the kinkajous with darts.

A spirit came and started speaking. "Hohohohoho, hohohohoho." He was cold, since it was a cold spell. "Hohohohoho, hohohohoho."

"Older brother."

"What?"

"Brother, listen. Something is speaking below us. Someone is moaning there. He came here and is moaning because he doesn't have a house."

As he was moaning, he was over the little fire, and his voice could be heard. He warmed himself by the fire.

"Here younger brother."

"What?"

"Don't go down yet. I will go first."

The older brother came down. "I'm going to pick up my kinkajous."

He was sitting on the ground, bent over the fire's heat.

The older brother came down. He set the end of the blowgun on the ground. He also hung up the package of darts.

"Stay sitting there. What did you come here for? I didn't touch you."

He waited for his younger brother. His brother came down. He helped his brother.

"Stand there."

He also helped his brother stand on the ground.

"Go that way."

He held his hand.

"There is a spirit sitting there. Go that way."

MAYAWARI (1)

"We didn't mess with you. Stay sitting there."

They went around. The lit a resin torch and went by the light of the torch. Their "grandfather" sat there by himself.

"Don't come here, spirit. Just sit there. Tend the fire. Don't come here."

They commanded him, and he sat there by himself. They left him sitting there and went back. They arrived back.

"The two of them came back."

"Whew, we came back, but we didn't bring the kinkajous. There was a spirit sitting there. He was warming himself in the fire, and we heard him speak. I came down from the tree. I had my younger brother come on ahead, and I brought him home. It was a spirit. It's someone's spirit. He was sitting there. I told him to not come after us. He won't come. He would kill us. I don't think he will kill us. If you see him sitting in the heat of the fire, step on him. He wanted the heat of the fire. He wasn't fierce. If he had been fierce, he would have attacked us, but I warned him. I warned him, and we left him behind. He was ready to leave."

Interlinear Presentation

1 *Mayawari* , *Mayawari* *ko* *karayawahebona* , *ko*
 Mayawari , Mayawari koo karayawaha -hibona , koo
 (man's name) (man's name) tree sp wait at INT+M tree sp
 npropm npropm nf vt nf
karayawahebona *ayaki* *kamakimatamona*
 karayawaha -hibona ayaka.NFIN ka -makI -himata -mona
 wait at INT+M sing go/come following FP.N+M REP+M
 vt vi vi
 'Mayawari was going to wait for game at a *ko* tree, and he came along singing.'

2 *Ayaki* *kamaki* *biti* *famematamona*
 ayaka.NFIN ka -makI+M biti fama -himata -mona
 sing go/come following 3SG.POSS.son be two FP.N+M REP+M
 vi vi nm vi
biti , *iisi* *kabote* *nari*
 biti i- isi na -kabote na -haari
 3SG.POSS.son DUP be small AUX quickly AUX IP.E+M
 nm vi aux aux
 'He came along singing. He was with his son, who was very small.'

3 *Biti* *iisi* *kabote* *ne* *ayaki*
 biti i- isi na -kabote na+M ayaka.NFIN
 3SG.POSS.son DUP be small AUX quickly AUX sing
 nm vi aux aux vi
kamaki , *ayaka* *hihiri* *tosi* *ne*
 ka -makI+M , ayaka hi- hiri to- na -sii na+M
 go/come following song DUP sing CH AUX slowly along the way AUX
 vi nf v aux aux
ayaki *kamaki* , *yima* , *ayaki* *kamaki*
 ayaka.NFIN ka -makI+M , yima , ayaka.NFIN ka -makI+M
 sing go/come following Yima sing go/come following
 vi vi npropm vi vi
biti *ayaki* *wara* *tona* *hinematamonaka*
 biti ayaka.NFIN wara to- na hi- na -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS.son sing respond to CH AUX OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vi vt aux aux

MAYAWARI (1)

'His son was very small. He came along singing. He was singing as he came along slowly. He came along singing. His son sang with him.'

4 *Biti* *ayaki* *wara* *tona* *hine* ,
 biti ayaka.NFIN wara to- na hi- na+M
 3SG.POSS.son sing respond to CH AUX OC AUX
 nm vi vt aux aux

kamaki , *Hoo* .
 ka -makI+M , hoo
 go/come following whew
 vi interj
 'His son was singing with him. "Whew."

5 *Tokomake* *tokomake* *tokomake*
 to- ka -makI to- ka -makI to- ka -makI.NOM
 away go/come following away go/come following away go/come following
 vi vi vi

ya , *ayaka* *towakamaki*
 ya ayaka to- ka- ka -makI+M
 ADJU song away COMIT go/come following
 prt nf vi

tokifiwamaki , *noko* *awematamonaka*
 to- ka -fI -waha -makI+M , noko awa -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come water change following eye+M see FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi pn vi

'He went. He was going along singing a song. He went to the water, and he saw something.'

6 *Yima* *fana* *yima* *fana* *homemetemoneke*
 yima fana yima fana homa -hemete -mone -ke
 Yima female Yima female lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 npropm nf npropm nf vi

tere *tonikimaro* *ahi* .
 tere to- na -kima -haaro ahi
 be spread open CH AUX two IP.E+F then
 vi aux dem

'There was a Yima woman lying there with her legs spread.'

7 *Hinaka* *yama noko* *wanakosematamonaka* *ahi* .
 hinaka yama noko wana -kosa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 3SG.POSS vagina be attached middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 pron nm vi dem

'Her vagina was completely exposed.'

8 *Ami* , *inamate* *inamate* *yama* *homini* .
 ami , inamate inamate yama homa -ni
 yikes child child thing lie on ground BKG+F
 interj nm nm nf vi

""Yikes, child, there is someone lying there.""

9 *Wete* *kabote* *ne* *taboro* , *hiba* , *faya* *wete* *kabote*
 wete na -kabote na+M taboro , hiba , faya wete na -kabote
 return AUX quickly AUX place+M wait so return AUX quickly
 vi aux aux pn interj conj vi aux

MAYAWARI (1)

me , **yama** **sokirisemetemoneke**
 me yama soki -risa -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.POSS thing be dark down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron nf vi
 'They had an idea. It was getting dark.'

23 **Yama** **sokirisa** **Mayawari** , **Mayawari** , **kakama**
 yama soki -risa+F Mayawari , Mayawari , ka- ka -ma
 thing be dark down (man's name) (man's name) DUP go/come back
 nf vi npropm npropm vi

reya
 na -ra+M -ya
 AUX NEG now
 aux

'It was getting dark. "Mayawari hasn't come back."'

24 **Mayawari** **kamakara**
 Mayawari ka -ma -ka -ra
 (man's name) go/come back DECL+M NEG+M
 npropm vi

""Mayawari hasn't come back.""

25 **Mayawari** , **biti** **ya** **me** **fama** **me** **fawa**
 Mayawari , biti ya me fama+F me fawa
 (man's name) 3SG.POSS.son ADJU 3PL.S be two 3PL.S disappear
 npropm nm prt pron vi pron vi

kineke
 ka- na -ne -ke
 COMIT AUX CONT+F DECL+F
 aux

""Mayawari and his son have disappeared.""

26 **Me** **totowamake** **omatibe**
 me to- to- awa -makI o- na -mata -be
 3PL.O DUP away see following 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F
 pron vt aux

""I'm going to look at them out there.""

27 **Hibati** **wati** **tama** **kanehimanaha**
 hibati wati tama ka- na -himanaha
 already arrow hold onto COMIT AUX HYPOTH+M
 nf nm vt aux

""He should have take his bow and arrows.""

28 **Wati** **tama** **karematamonaka**
 wati tama ka- na -ra -himata -mona -ka
 arrow hold onto COMIT AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vt vt

'He hadn't take bow and arrows.'

29 **Hinita** **kamaki** **kamaki** , **kamaki**
 hinita ka -makI+M ka -makI+M , ka -makI+M
 alone go/come following go/come following go/come following
 pn vi vi vi

MAYAWARI (1)

Mayawari	Mayawari	yoto		me	sawi	nani		me	ka
Mayawari	mayawari	yoto		me	sawi	na -hani		me	ka
(man's name)	titi	intestines+M		3PL.S	drape	AUX IP.N+F		3PL	POSS
npropm	nm	pn		pron	vt	aux		pron	prt
Mayawari	yoto		sawi	nematamona		ahi		awa	baka
Mayawari	yoto		sawi	na -himata -mona		ahi		awa	baka
(man's name)	intestines+M		drape	AUX FP.N+M REP+M		there		tree	break
npropm	pn		result	aux		dem		nf	result
na	ya	ahi							
na+F	ya	ahi							
AUX	ADJU	then							
aux	prt	dem							

'He came there alone. Mayawari's intestines were draped on broken off saplings, Mayawari's intestines that they had draped.'

30	Kamaki		taha		me	tokemetemone			
	ka	-makI+M	taha		me	to- ka		-hemete	-mone
	go/come	following	sweat bee sp		3PL.S	away go/come		FP.N+F	REP+F
	vi		nm		pron	vi			
	amake		ahi						
	ama -ke		ahi						
	SEC DECL+F		there						
	sec		dem						

'He came. The sweat bees were all in a line.'

31	Taha		me	toka		me		Mayawari		me
	taha		me	to- ka+F		me		Mayawari		me
	sweat bee sp		3PL.S	away go/come		3PL.S		(man's name)		3PL.S
	nm		pron	vi		pron		npropm		pron
	kabakeni									
	kaba -ke		-ni							
	eat		DECL+F	IP.N+F						
	vt									

'The sweat bees were all in a line. "They ate Mayawari."'

32	Mayawari		me	kabinihi					
	Mayawari		me	kaba.NOM+F		-ni		-hi	
	(man's name)		3PL.S	eat		IP.N+F		DUP	
	npropm		pron	vt					

""They ate Mayawari.""

33	Mayawari		yoto		sawi	nari		hari		e
	Mayawari		yoto		sawi	na -haari		haari		ee
	(man's name)		intestines+M		drape	AUX look+M		that one+M		be similar
	npropm		pn		result	aux		dem		vi
	namako		fawa		na	nanoho				ati
	na -mako		fawa		na.CONT+M	na.NOM+M		-no -ho		ati
	AUX for this reason+M		disappear		AUX	AUX		IP.N+M		say
	aux		vi		aux	aux		DUP		vt
	nematamona		me	ati	nemetemoneke					
	na -himata -mona		me	ati	na -hemete -mone -ke					
	AUX FP.N+M REP+M		3PL.S	say	AUX FP.N+F REP+F	DECL+F				
	aux		pron	vt	aux					

""Mayawari's intestines are draped there. That's why he disappeared,' he said," they said.'"

MAYAWARI (1)

34 *Mayawari* , *Mayawari* *ka* *koma* *owa* *na* *haro*
 Mayawari , Mayawari ka koma owa na haaro
 (man's name) (man's name) POSS son-in-law 1SG.S exist that one+F
 npropm npropm prt nm pron vi dem

ha ni ati nematamona
 haa na.NFIN ati na -himata -mona
 call AUX say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi aux vt aux

"Mayawari's son-in-law is here. Kill me, too," he said, calling out.'

35 *Ha ni himitamako* *Hii bati* , *ati*
 haa na.NFIN hi- mita -mako hii bati , ati
 call AUX OC hear for this reason+M yoohoo 3SG.POSS.father say
 vi aux vt interj nm vt

nematamonaka ahi yima
 na -himata -mona -ka ahi yima
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then Yima
 aux dem npropm

'Because he heard him, the Yima said, "Hii."

36 *Hinamati noki hine ya sa*
 hinamati noki hi- na.NOM+M ya saa
 someone wait for OC AUX ADJU shoot with arrow
 nm vt aux prt vt

hikanena me hiwaremete
 hi- ka- na -hina me hi- awa -ra -hemete
 OC COMIT AUX IRR+M 3PL.O OC see NEG FP.N+F
 aux pron vt

"If he didn't see them, one of them who was waiting for him would shoot him with an arrow."

37 *Kamehino hibati ya tasi*
 ka -ma -hino hibati ya tasi
 go/come back IP.N+M right away ADJU emerge
 vi nf prt vi

namematamonaka kana ni tokome nowati
 na -ma -himata -mona -ka kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma+M nowati
 AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M run AUX away go/come back after
 aux vi aux vi pn

ya ahi
 ya ahi
 ADJU then
 prt dem

'He came back and came out right away, but after he had gone running home.'

38 *Ha nareka ahi*
 haa na -hare -ka ahi
 call AUX IP.E+M DECL+M there
 vi aux dem

"He called out."

39 *Me kana ni tokomemetemoneke*
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S run AUX away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux vi

'They went running home.'

MAYAWARI (1)

40 *Me kana ni tokoma me wati me*
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma+F me , wati me ,
 3PL.S run AUX away go/come back 3PL.S arrow 3PL.S
 pron vi aux vi pron nm pron
tonakama wati me kayaba me kana ni
 to- na- ka -ma+F wati me ka- yaba+F me kana na.NFIN
 away CAUS go/come back arrow 3PL.S COMIT take out 3PL.S run AUX
 vt nm pron vt pron vi aux

kamemetemone
 ka -ma -hemete -mone
 go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
 vi

'They went running home. They went after arrows and got arrows. They came running back.'

41 *Faya fawa nematamonaka fahi*
 faya fawa na -himata -mona -ka fahi
 so disappear AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj vi aux dem

'He disappeared.'

42 *Tiwa tekatomahi*
 tiwa ti- ka- katoma -hi
 2SG.O 2SG.S COMIT look at IMP+F
 pron vt

'''Watch out.'''

43 *Tinoko totokikima nahi awa mate ya*
 ti- noko to- to- ka -kima na -hi awa mate ya
 2SG.POSS eye DUP away go/come two AUX IMP+F tree base+F ADJU
 pn vi aux nf pn prt

'''Look every way at the buttress roots.'''

44 *Me hinakamaki me*
 me hi- na- ka -makI+M me
 3PL.S OC CAUS go/come following 3PL.S
 pron vt pron

hinakamakimatamona
 hi- na- ka -makI -himata -mona
 OC CAUS go/come following FP.N+M REP+M
 vt

'They came after him.'

45 *Me hinakamaki ha hinamake*
 me hi- to- na- ka -makI+M , haa hi- to- na -makI
 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following call OC away AUX following
 pron vt vt aux

ha rematamonaka
 haa na -ra -himata -mona -ka
 call AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'They came after him. They called to him, but he didn't call.'

46 *Me tokometemoneke*
 me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They went home.'

MAYAWARI (1)

47 *Me tokoma me me tokoma me* ,
 me to- ka -ma+F me me to- ka -ma+F me
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

tokometetemoneni

to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi
 'They went home.'

48 *Me tokoma me fawa tosama me*
 me to- ka -ma+F me fawa to- na -kosa -ma+F me
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S disappear CH AUX middle back 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi aux
 , *kama Tokotokoma raba ri*
 ka -ma+F , toko- to- ka -ma na -raba na -ra.NOM+F
 go/come back DUP away go/come back AUX a bit AUX NEG
 vi vi aux aux

'They went home. They disappeared into the forest. They came back. "They got away."

49 *Mayawari kabeno tokoma ne*
 Mayawari kaba -hino to- ka -ma.CONT+M na+M
 (man's name) eat IP.N+M away go/come back AUX
 npropm vt vi aux

'"He went home after eating Mayawari."

50 *Mayawari towakama ne ati*
 Mayawari to- ka- ka -ma.CONT+M na+M , ati
 (man's name) away COMIT go/come back AUX say
 npropm vt aux vt

nematamonaka

na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'"He took Mayawari away," he said.'

51 *Ati ne faya towame*
 ati na+M , faya to- waa -ma+M ,
 say AUX so away stand back
 vt aux conj vi

hiwakamematamonaka

hi- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 OC COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'He stood there. He brought him home.'

52 *Mayawari yoto sawi nematamonaka ahi*
 Mayawari yoto sawi na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 (man's name) intestines+M drape AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 npropm pn vt aux dem

'He draped Mayawari's intestines.'

53 *Mayawari yoto me sawi na me me*
 Mayawari yoto me sawi na+F me , me
 (man's name) intestines+M 3PL.S drape AUX 3PL.S 3PL.POSS
 npropm pn pron vt aux pron pron

MAYAWARI (1)

ihi watehemetemone
 ihi wata -hemete -mone
 result of+F be located FP.N+F REP+F
 pn vi
 'There were signs of the ones who had draped Mayawari's intestines.'

54 **Me hinakomehematamonaka**
 me hi- na- komeha -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.S OC CAUS be fearsome FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt
 'They were afraid of him.'

55 **Me tiwi ya , tama tiyaho**
 me ti- awa.NOM+F ya , tama ti- na -yaho
 3PL.O 2SG.S see ADJU hold onto 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+M
 pron vt prt vt vt
 "'When you see them, hold onto him.'"

56 **Toforimaki ya tiwate tama**
 to- forI -makI.NOM ya ti- wata+M tama
 away lie on top following ADJU 2SG.S catch hold onto
 vi prt vt vt

tiya ahi
 ti- na -yahi ahi
 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F then
 aux dem
 "'When he lies down with you, grab him and hold on.'"

57 **Narabi me nima hina tere tonikima**
 narabi me nima hi- na+F tere to- na -kima+F
 ear+F 3PL.S communicate to OC AUX be spread open CH AUX two
 pn pron vt aux vi aux

rama ahi
 rama ahi
 unusual then
 prt dem
 'They spoke to her, and then she spread her legs apart.'

58 **Hinaka yama noko sa okani toe**
 hinaka yama noko saa o- ka- na to- ha
 3SG.POSS vagina shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX CH AUX
 pron nm vt aux aux

omata Boniwa aati toemari amake
 o- -mata Boniwa a- ati to- ha -himari ama -ke
 1SG.S FP.N+M (man's name) DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+F
 prt npropm vt aux sec

"I would shoot her vagina with an arrow," Boniwa used to say.'

59 **Faya me kama me , me kama me kobo**
 faya me ka -ma+F me me ka -ma+F me kobo
 so 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive
 conj pron vi pron pron vi pron vi

nama me , Me e towamakibana ?
 na -ma+F me me ee to- awa -makI -bana
 AUX back 3PL.S 3PL.O 1IN.S away see following FUT
 aux pron pron pron vt

'They came back. They arrived home. "Should we go look at them?'"

MAYAWARI (1)

60 *Me e towamake*
 me ee to- awa -makI
 3PL.O 1IN.S away see following
 pron pron vt

"Let's go look at them."

61 *Me e towamakene*
 me ee to- awa -makI -hene
 3PL.O 1IN.S away see following IRR+F
 pron pron vt

"Let's not go look at them."

62 *E awakere*
 ee awa -ke -re
 1IN.S see DECL+F NEG+F
 pron vt

"I don't know."

63 *Me tokomake ahi*
 me to- ka -makI ahi
 3PL.S away go/come following there
 pron vi dem

"They went there."

64 *Me tokomara ahi*
 me to- ka -ma -hara ahi
 3PL.S away go/come back IP.E+F there
 pron vi dem

"They went there."

65 *Me kana ni tokomani ahi*
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma -hani ahi
 3PL.S run AUX away go/come back IP.N+F there
 pron vi aux vi dem

"They went running there."

66 *Ha ota ha ni me miti ka me bete*
 haa otaa haa na.NFIN me mita.NOM+F ka me bete
 DEM 1EX.S call AUX 3PL.S hear because 3PL.S run
 dem pron vi aux pron vt prt pron vi

nawahanike

na -waha -hani -ke
 AUX change IP.N+F DECL+F
 aux

"When they heard us calling, they ran."

67 *Me kana ni tokomi ahi*
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma.NOM+F ahi
 3PL.S run AUX away go/come back there
 pron vi aux vi dem

"They went running there."

68 *Bai tokamako ota wete*
 bahi to- ka -mako otaa wete
 sun away go/come for this reason+M 1EX.S return
 nm vi pron vi

MAYAWARI (1)

namineke

na -ma -ne -ke
 AUX back CONT+F DECL+F
 aux

"Because the sun set we came back."

69 Me me awaminabanake

me me awa -mina -habana -ke
 3PL 3PL.S see morning FUT+F DECL+F
 pron pron result

"They will be seen tomorrow."

70 Me awamina

me awa -mina
 3PL.S see morning
 pron result

"They will be seen tomorrow."

71 Me e awaminehene

me ee awa -mina -hene
 3PL.O 1IN.S see morning IRR+F
 pron pron vt

"Let's not look at them tomorrow.'

72 Hine me winake , me ati na me kama me
 hine me wina -ke , me ati na+F me ka -ma+F me
 only 3PL.S live DECL+F 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S
 pron pron vi pron vt aux pron vi pron

me amo nama me , me amo nama me
 me amo na -ma+F me , me amo na -ma+F me
 3PL.S sleep AUX back 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX back 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron pron vi aux pron

banabani mati
 bana -haba -ni mati
 move away FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S
 vi pron

'Let them live there,' they said. They came back and slept back at the village. Then they moved away.'

73 Me bana me tokomimetemone amake
 me bana+F me to- ka -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F
 pron vi pron vi vc

nakani ka ya
 nakani ka ya
 upstream LOC ADJU
 nf prt prt

'They moved away. They went somewhere upstream.'

74 Me tokoma me , totowinama toha ,
 me to- ka -ma+F me , to- to- wina -ma to- ha+F ,
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S DUP away live back CH AUX
 pron vi pron vi aux

me , ko me karayawahabone , me ati yana
 me koo me karayawaha -habone , me ati yana
 3PL.S tree sp 3PL.S wait at INT+F 3PL.POSS voice start
 pron nf pron vt pron pn vi

MAYAWARI (1)

tonemetemone

to- na -hemete -mone
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 aux

'They went and lived there. Then they said they would wait for game at a *ko* tree.'

75 *Ko e karayawahahi*
 koo ee karayawaha -hi
 tree sp 1IN.S wait at IMP+F
 nf pron vt

'''Let's wait for game at the *ko* tree.'''

76 *Ko ko e karayawahahi*
 koo , koo ee karayawaha -hi
 tree sp tree sp 1IN.S wait at IMP+F
 nf nf pron vt

'''Let's wait for game a the *ko* tree.'''

77 *Ayo ayo e ka awaba wete*
 ayo , ayo , ee ka awa -ba wete
 older brother older brother 1IN POSS wood FUT tie
 nm nm pron prt nf vt

tikanikimahi ahi
 ti- ka- na -kima -hi ahi
 2SG.S COMIT AUX two IMP+F there
 aux dem

'''Older brother, tie two wooden seats for us.'''

78 *Aya owitare aya tiwitare*
 aya o- ita -rI.LIST aya ti- ita -rI
 here 1SG.S sit raised surface here 2SG.S sit raised surface
 dem vi dem vi

tinabana tike
 ti- na -habana ti- ke
 2SG.S AUX FUT+F 2SG.S DECL+F
 aux prt

'''I will sit here, and you will sit there.'''

79 *Ko me karayawahabone me yana tona me*
 koo me karayawaha -habone me yana to- na+F me ,
 tree sp 3PL.S wait at INT+F 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S
 nf pron vt pron vi aux pron

me yana tokanemetemoneke
 me yana to- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

'They were ready to wait for game at the *ko* tree.'

80 *Me famemetemone anoti ya*
 me fama -hemete -mone anoti ya
 3PL.S be two FP.N+F REP+F 3SG.POSS older brother ADJU
 pron vi nm prt

'He was with his older brother.'

MAYAWARI (1)

81 *Me fama me , yifo , yifo bite yifo bite*
 me fama+F me , yifo , yifo bite yifo bite
 3PL.S be two 3PL.S fire fire small+F fire small+F
 pron vi pron nf nf adj nf adj

nisori afo hikana
 nisori afo hi- ka- na+F
 3SG.POSS.younger brother light OC COMIT AUX
 nm vt aux

kawitemetemoneke ahi
 ka- ita -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 COMIT sit FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

'There were two of them. There was a small fire that his younger brother lit.'

82 *Yifo kawita , yifo hime tonemetemoneke*
 yifo ka- ita+F , yifo hime to- na -hemete -mone -ke
 fire COMIT sit fire smolder CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi nf vi aux

'The fire was there. The fire was burning low.'

83 *Yifo hime tona kawita , Tai*
 yifo hime to- na+F ka- ita+F , tai
 fire smolder CH AUX COMIT sit be ahead
 nf vi aux vi vi

tiwamisawitehi
 ti- to- ha -misa -witI -hi
 2SG.S CH be up out IMP+F
 aux

'The fire was there, burning low. "You go up first."'

84 *Awa tabori wara tibe*
 awa tabori wara ti- to- na -be
 wood place+F grab 2SG.S CH AUX IMMED+F
 nf pn vt aux

'"Don't grasp the air instead of the seat."'

85 *Awa tabori wara tiriyahi*
 awa tabori wara ti- to- na -ra -yahi
 wood place+F grab 2SG.S CH AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F
 nf pn vt aux

'"Don't grasp the air instead of the seat."'

86 *Awa , tama ni tikita*
 awa , tama na.NFIN ti- kita+F
 wood hold onto AUX 2SG.S be strong
 nf vt aux vi

tikamisawite
 ti- to- ka -misa -witI
 2SG.S away go/come up out
 vi

tiwitaremisawawite
 ti- to- ita -rI -misa -waha -witI
 2SG.S away sit raised surface up change out
 vi

'"Hold onto the seat firmly. Go up there and sit."'

MAYAWARI (1)

87 **Tika** **karaboa** , **horo** **timisa** **karaboa**
 ti- ka karaboha , horo ti- na -misa+F karaboha
 2SG.POSS POSS blowgun drag 2SG.S AUX up blowgun
 prt nf vt aux nf

tinanokomisa , **tiwitare**
 ti- to- na- noko -misa+F , ti- ita -rI
 2SG.S away CAUS point up 2SG.S sit raised surface
 vt vi

"Pull your blowgun up, and turn the blowgun around, and sit."

88 **Anoti** **anoti** **tokomise** ,
 anoti anoti to- ka -misa+M ,
 3SG.POSS older brother 3SG.POSS older brother away go/come up
 nm nm vi

anoti **tokomise** **me** **ka** **yifo** **hiri**
 anoti to- ka -misa+M me ka yifo hiri
 3SG.POSS older brother away go/come up 3PL POSS firewood catch fire
 nm vi pron prt nf vi

ni **kawitemetemoneke** , **yama** **tasiri**
 na.NFIN ka- ita -hemete -mone -ke , yama tasiri
 AUX COMIT sit FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F thing be before dawn
 aux vi nf vi

tokani **ya**
 to- ka- na.NOM+F ya
 CH COMIT AUX ADJU
 aux prt

'His older brother went up into the tree. Their fire had a flame, before dawn.'

89 **Yama** **tasiri** **tokani** **ya** , **me** **ka** **yifo**
 yama tasiri to- ka- na.NOM+F ya , me ka yifo
 thing be before dawn CH COMIT AUX ADJU 3PL POSS fire
 nf vi aux prt pron prt nf

hiri **ni** **kawita** , **kokosi** **me**
 hiri na.NFIN ka- ita+F , kokosi me
 catch fire AUX COMIT sit kinkajou 3PL.S
 vi aux vi nm pron

kamemetemoneke
 ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'Before dawn, as their fire burned, some kinkajous came.'

90 **Kokosi** **koho** **me** , **ko** **me** **kakakitibasa**
 kokosi koo me , koo me ka- ka- iti -basa+F
 kinkajou tree sp 3PL tree sp 3PL.S DUP COMIT take out edge
 nm nf pron nf pron vt

ko **me** **fawehemetemoneke** **ahi**
 koo me fawa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 tree sp 3PL.S drink FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf pron vt dem

'The kinkajous picked *ko* fruits. They drank the *ko* fruits.'

91 **Fai toko**
 fai toko
 (sound of blowgun dart)
 sound

'Fai toko.'

MAYAWARI (1)

92 *Kokosi kiya kanematamonaka ahi*
 kokosi kiya ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 kinkajou yell COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm vi aux dem

'The kinkajou cried out.'

93 *Kokosi me fora nematamona ahi*
 kokosi me fora na -himata -mona ahi
 kinkajou 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 nm pron vt aux dem

fai saki , *kokosi me fora ne*
 fai saki kokosi me fora na.NOM+M
 (sound of blowgun arrow) kinkajou 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX
 sound nm pron vt aux

ya
 ya
 ADJU
 prt

'He hit the kinkajous with darts.'

94 *Kokosi me fora nematamona*
 kokosi me fora na -himata -mona
 kinkajou 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm pron vt aux

'He hit the kinkajous with darts.'

95 *Kokosi me fora ne inamati inamati*
 kokosi me fora na+M inamati inamati
 kinkajou 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX spirit spirit
 nm pron vt aux nm nm

kamakino , *ati yana tonematamona*
 ka -makI -hino , ati yana to- na -himata -mona
 go/come following IP.N+M voice start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi pn vi aux

Hohohohoho , *hohohoho* , *hohohohoho*
 hohohohoho hohohoho hohohohoho
 (sound of shivering) (sound of shivering) (sound of shivering)
 interj interj interj

'He hit the kinkajous with darts. A spirit came and started speaking. "Hohohohoho, hohohohoho."'

96 *Siri tokahematamonane sire yama*
 siri to- ka- ha -himata -mona -ne sire yama
 be cold CH COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M cold spell thing
 vi aux nf nf

tohi ya
 to- ha.NOM+F ya
 CH be ADJU
 vc prt

'He was cold, since it was a cold spell.'

97 *Hohohoho hohohoho hohohoho*
 hohohoho hohohoho hohohoho
 (sound of shivering) (sound of shivering) (sound of shivering)
 interj interj interj

MAYAWARI (1)

hohoho

hohoho

(sound of shivering)

interj

"Hohohohoho, hohohohoho."

98 **Ayo**

ayo

older brother

nm

, **ayo**

ayo

older brother

nm

"Older brother."

99 **Haa**

haa

huh?

interj

"What?"

100 **Ayo**

ayo

older brother

nm

tinarabo

ti-

narabo

2SG.POSS ear

pn

hawihi

hawi -hi

work IMP+F

vi

"Brother, listen."

101 **Yama**

yama

thing

nf

ati

ati

voice

pn

saineke

sai

be heard

vi

-ne

CONT+F

-ke

DECL+F

e

ee

1IN.POSS

pron

bofe

bofe

below

pn

karo

karo

LOC

prt

"Something is speaking below us."

102 **Inamati**

inamati

someone

nm

sokoko

sokoko

moan

vi

naka

na.CONT+M

AUX

aux

-ka

DECL+M

fari

faari

that one+M

dem

"Someone is moaning there."

103 **Taboro**

taboro

place+M

pn

wataramako

wata -ra -mako

exist NEG for this reason+M

vi

sokoko

sokoko

moan

vi

namakine

na -makI

AUX following

aux

-ne

"He came here and is moaning because he doesn't have a house."

104 **Fare**

fare

same+M

dem

sokoko

sokoko

moan

vi

ne

na.NOM+M

AUX

aux

ya

ya

ADJU

prt

yifo

yifo

fire

nf

yifo

yifo

fire

nf

bite

bite

small+F

adj

kawita

ka-

COMIT sit

vi

yafa

yafa

be on top of

vt

kane

ka-

COMIT AUX

aux

ati

na+M

voice

pn

saimatamonane

ati

be heard

vi

sai

-himata

REP+M

vi

-mona

BKG+M

-ne

'As he was moaning, he was over the little fire, and his voice could be heard.'

105 **Yifo**

yifo

fire

nf

hiwa

hiwa

heat oneself in

vt

ne

na+M

AUX

aux

,

yifo

yifo

fire

nf

hiwa

hiwa

heat oneself in

vt

MAYAWARI (1)

nematamonaka

na -himata -mona -ka
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

aux

'He warmed himself by the fire.'

106 **Yifo hiwa ne , yifo hiwa ne , yifo**
 yifo hiwa na+M , yifo hiwa na+M , yifo
 fire heat oneself in AUX fire heat oneself in AUX fire
 nf vt aux nf vt aux nf

hiwa ne , yifo hiwa nematamonaka
 hiwa na+M , yifo hiwa na -himata -mona -ka
 heat oneself in AUX fire heat oneself in AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux nf vt aux

ahi

ahi
then
dem

'He warmed himself by the fire.'

107 **Hiya , niso**
 hiya niso
 come on younger brother
 interj nm

""Here younger brother.""

108 **Haa ?**
 haa
 huh?
 interj

""What?""

109 **Tikisamariyahi mata**
 ti- to- ka -risa -ma -ra -yahi mata
 2SG.S away go/come down back NEG DIST.IMP+F for now
 vi prt

""Don't go down yet.""

110 **Ha owa ta tai oamamate**
 haa owa taa tai o- to- ha -ma -mate
 DEM 1SG contrast be ahead 1SG.S CH AUX back short time.IMP+F
 dem pron prt vi aux

""I will go first.""

111 **Anoti kisame Oko kokosi**
 anoti ka -risa -ma+M o- ka kokosi
 3SG.POSS older brother go/come down back 1SG.POSS POSS kinkajou
 nm vi prt nm

me oyababone

me o- yaba -habone
 3PL.O 1SG.S pick up INT+F
 pron vt

'His older brother came down. "I'm going to pick up my kinkajous."'

MAYAWARI (1)

Tiwarisahi

ti- waa -risa -hi
 2SG.S stand down IMP+F
 vi

'He waited for his younger brother. His brother came down. He helped his brother. "Stand there."

119 *Nisori* *nawarisa* , *Ha ya*
 nisori na- waa -risa.LIST haa ya
 3SG.POSS.younger brother CAUS stand down DEM ADJU
 nm vt dem prt

tikama

ti- to- ka -ma
 2SG.S away go/come back
 vi

'He also helped his brother stand on the ground. "Go that way."

120 *Mano tama hine* , *Inamati ita hari*
 mano tama hi- na+M inamati ita.CONT+M haari
 arm+M hold onto OC AUX spirit sit that one+M
 pn vt aux nm vi dem

'He held his hand. "There is a spirit sitting there."

121 *Tikama* *ha ya ahi*
 ti- to- ka -ma haa ya ahi
 2SG.S away go/come back DEM ADJU there
 vi dem prt dem

"Go that way."

122 *Tiwa ota ahi kere*
 tiwa otaa ahi na -ke -re
 2SG.O 1EX.S mess with AUX DECL+F NEG+F
 pron pron vt aux

"We didn't mess with you."

123 *Iita karama tinahi*
 i- ita na -karahama ti- na -hi
 DUP sit AUX only do 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux aux

"Stay sitting there."

124 *Faya me towakitikosawa me me wami*
 faya me to- ka- iti -kosa -waha+F me me wami
 so 3PL.S CH COMIT go around middle change 3PL.S 3PL tree sp
 conj pron vi pron pron nf

me sari kana me towakama faya yama
 me sari ka- na+F me to- ka- ka -ma+F faya yama
 3PL.S burn COMIT AUX 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back so thing
 pron vt aux pron vi conj nf

wami me sari kana wami hiri ni ya me
 wami me sari ka- na+F wami hiri na.NOM+F ya me
 tree sp 3PL.S burn COMIT AUX tree sp catch fire AUX ADJU 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux nf vi aux prt pron

towakama me
 to- ka- ka -ma+F me
 away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 vi pron

MAYAWARI (1)

towakamemetemoneke

to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'They went around. They lit a resin torch and went. The lit a resin torch and went by the light of the torch. They went.'

125 *Me towakama me , me ka iti*
 me to- ka- ka -ma+F me , me ka iti
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL POSS grandfather
 pron vi pron prt nm

towitakosa , Tikamakeriyahi inamati
 to- ita -kosa.LIST , ti- ka -makI -ra -yahi inamati
 CH sit middle 2SG.S go/come following NEG DIST.IMP+F spirit
 vi vi nm

'They went. Their grandfather sat there by himself. "Don't come here, spirit."'

126 *Hine tiwiti tiwitiya*
 hine ti- ita ti- ita -yahi
 only 2SG.S sit 2SG.S sit DIST.IMP+F
 pron vi vi

'"Just sit there."'

127 *Yifo afo tikanahi*
 yifo afo ti- ka- na -hi
 fire light 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMP+F
 nf vt aux

'"Tend the fire."'

128 *Tikamakeriyahi*
 ti- ka -makI -ra -yahi
 2SG.S go/come following NEG DIST.IMP+F
 vi

'"Don't come here."'

129 *Inamati narabo me nima hine*
 inamati narabo me nima hine
 spirit ear+M 3PL.S communicate to OC AUX
 nm pn pron vt aux

towitakosematamona

to- ita -kosa -himata -mona
 CH sit middle FP.N+M REP+M
 vi

'They commanded him, and he sat there by himself.'

130 *Towitakose ni ya me , towakama me*
 to- ita -kosa+M ni ya me , to- ka- ka -ma+F me
 CH sit middle to ADJU 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 vi prt prt pron vi pron

kobo tokanama me , Me kakamake
 kobo to- ka- na -ma+F me , me ka- ka -ma -ke
 arrive away COMIT AUX back 3PL.S 3PL.S COMIT go/come back DECL+F
 vi aux pron pron vi

'They left him sitting there and went back. They arrived back. "The two of them came back."'

MAYAWARI (1)

131 *Hoo* , *ota* *kakama* *kokosi* *me* *ota*
 hoo , otaa ka- ka -ma+F kokosi me otaa
 whew 1EX.S COMIT go/come back kinkajou 3PL.O 1EX.S
 interj pron vi nm pron pron

kakami

ka- ka -ma.NOM+F
 COMIT go/come back
 vt

"Whew, we came back, but we didn't bring the kinkajous."

132 *Inamati* *ite* *ahi* *yifo* *hiwa* *nen* *ati* , *ota*
 inamati ita+M ahi yifo hiwa na -hino ati , otaa
 spirit sit there fire heat oneself in AUX IP.N+M voice 1EX.S
 nm vi dem nf vt aux pn pron

mite

mita+M *ota* , *okisama* , *okaniso*
 otaa o- ka -risa -ma+F o- ka niso
 hear 1EX 1SG.S go/come down back 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother
 vt pron vi nm

tai

onihame *owakamine*
 tai o- to- niha- ha -ma+M o- ka- ka -ma -ne
 be ahead 1SG.S CH CAUS AUX back 1SG.S COMIT go/come back CONT+F
 vi aux vt

oke

o- ke
 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt

"There was a spirit sitting there. He was warming himself in the fire, and we heard him speak. I came down from the tree. I had my younger brother come on ahead, and I brought him home."

133 *Inamati* *amaka* *inamati*
 inamati ama -ka inamati
 spirit be DECL+M spirit
 nm vc nm

"It was a spirit."

134 *E* *korimari* *amake*
 ee korimari ama -ke
 1IN.POSS spirit be DECL+F
 pron pn vc

"It's someone's spirit."

135 *Itahareka*
 ita -hare -ka
 sit IP.E+M DECL+M
 vi

"He was sitting there."

136 *Kamakirebona* *onarene*
 ka -makI -ra -hibona ati o- na -hare -ne
 go/come following NEG INT+M say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+M BKG+M
 vi vt

"I told him to not come after us."

137 *Kamakireba* *amaka*
 ka -makI -ra -hiba ama -ka
 go/come following NEG FUT+M SEC DECL+M
 vi sec

MAYAWARI (1)

"He won't come."

138 *Era waka naba*
 era waka na -ba
 1IN.O kill AUX IMMED+M
 pron vt aux

"He would kill us."

139 *Era waka reba awaka*
 era waka na -ra -hiba awa -ka
 1IN.O kill AUX NEG FUT+M seem+M DECL+M
 pron vt aux sec

"I don't think he will kill us."

140 *Yifo hiwe yifo hiwe ya itamake tiwe ya*
 yifo hiwe yifo hiwe ya ita -makI ti- awa.NOM+M ya
 fire heat+F fire heat+F ADJU sit following 2SG.S see ADJU
 nf pn nf pn prt vi vt prt

tai tiwitiya
 tai ti- to- na -witI -yaho
 be ahead 2SG.S away AUX out DIST.IMP+M
 vi aux

"If you see him sitting in the heat of the fire, step on him."

141 *Yifo hiwe nofareka*
 yifo hiwe nofa -hare -ka
 fire heat+F want IP.E+M DECL+M
 nf pn vt

"He wanted the heat of the fire."

142 *Hamarareka*
 hama -ra -hare -ka
 be mean NEG IP.E+M DECL+M
 vi

"He wasn't fierce."

143 *Hamarare*
 hama -ra -hare
 be mean NEG IP.E+M
 vi

"He wasn't fierce."

144 *Hamemanaha otara , otara fito kanebona hora*
 hama -himanaha otara otara fito ka- na -hibona hora
 be mean HYPOTH+M 1EX.O 1EX.O rush COMIT AUX INT+M scold
 vi pron pron vi aux vt

onarene
 o- na -hare -ne
 1SG.S AUX IP.E+M BKG+M
 aux

"If he had been fierce, he would have attacked us, but I warned him."

145 *Hora one , ota kakosare*
 hora o- na+M otaa ka- kana -kosa -hare
 scold 1SG.S AUX 1EX.S COMIT leave middle IP.E+M
 vt aux pron vt

"I warned him, and we left him behind."

MAYAWARI (1)

146 *Faya yana tone* .
faya yana to- na+M
so start CH AUX
conj vi aux
"He was ready to leave."

KIWI

Free Translation

Kiwi was always having sex with one who was not his wife, who was to be the wife of another. The other man who she was to marry lived somewhere else. Kiwi didn't have any hair. He just had a little hair on the side of his head. His head was all bald. He always had sex with the vagina.

The one who he always had sex with spoke. She spoke. "Who is it, I always say? Who is it that is always having sex with me?" she said.

"She doesn't hold onto him. He always is having sex with her," another woman said.

She heard what the other woman said. She said, "I'll grab him now. It will be tonight. I'm going to hold onto him. When I have held onto him, when dawn has come, I will see him."

Kiwi came after her.

"Who are you?"

"She has seen me. I'm always having sex with you because people say we should get married," he said.

"Bother me a lot, so I can go to sleep."

She slept. Her husband-to-be had sex with her all night long. He had sex with her, and dawn came.

When dawn came, she held onto him. Daylight came. He was apprehensive as he saw the daylight. He was ready to leave.

"Come on, I'll let you go."

She let go of him, and he stood there. He took away the door. She went right after him, to see him leaving.

He went around another way. He didn't come from the direction in which he and his people lived; he came from the other direction [i.e. the direction of the girl's fiancé's village]. He went out onto the village plaza. His head shone from far away.

"Isn't it Kiwi who is always bothering me?" she said.

"You are just making yourself upset," a man of her village said.

"Kiwi is the one who is always having sex with me, Mother."

"Wow, you didn't see him, and he has been having sex with you," her mother said. "She never saw him, but discovered him now," she said. They could be heard talking.

Kiwi went out into the forest.

"Kiwi is always having sex with me," she said. She stopped talking.

Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Kiwi</i>	<i>Kiwi</i>	<i>Kiwi</i>	,	<i>Kiwi</i>	<i>Kiwi</i>
	Kiwi	Kiwi	Kiwi		Kiwi	Kiwi
	(man's name)	(man's name)	(man's name)		(man's name)	(man's name)
	npropm	npropm	npropm		npropm	npropm

KIWI

fati **amara** **owa** **fatibonehe** **ra** ,
 fati ama -ra+F owa fati -bone -he ra ,
 3SG.POSS.wife be NEG other+M 3SG.POSS.wife INT+F DUP O
 nf vc adj nf prt

aahi **tohe** , **owa** **fatibone** **ra**
 a- ahi to- ha+M , owa fati -bone ra
 DUP have sex with CH AUX other+M 3SG.POSS.wife INT+F O
 vt aux adj nf prt

aahi **toe** **hahi** **hitihibonaha** ,
 a- ahi to- ha+M haahi hi- iti -hibona -ha ,
 DUP have sex with CH AUX this one+M OC marry INT+M DUP
 vt aux dem vt

wina **ha** **ya** **ahi** .
 wina.CONT+M haa ya ahi
 live DEM ADJU there
 vi dem prt dem

'Kiwi was always having sex with one who was not his wife, who was to be the wife of another. The other man who she was to marry lived somewhere else.'

2 **Kiwi** , **tati** **kone** **watakara** .
 Kiwi , tati kone wata -ka -ra .
 (man's name) head hair exist DECL+M NEG+M
 npropm pn pn vi

'Kiwi didn't have any hair.'

3 **Tati** **kone** **tati** **kone** **ha** **ta** **kawana** **haro** .
 tati kone tati kone haa taa ka- wana.LIST haaro
 head hair head hair DEM contrast COMMIT be attached that one+F
 pn pn pn pn dem prt vi dem

'He just had a little hair on the side of his head.'

4 **Tati** **nafi** **kakasi** , **tati** **kakasi** **ne** **yama noko**
 tati nafi ka- kasi , tati ka- kasi na+M yama noko
 head all DUP be bald head DUP be bald AUX vagina
 pn pn vi pn vi aux nm

yoyori **tohe** , **yoyori** **hiaha** **ati** **yana**
 yo- yori to- ha+M , yo- yori hi- to- ha+F ati yana
 DUP have sex with CH AUX DUP have sex with OC CH AUX voice start
 vt aux vt aux pn vi

nemetemone .
 na -hemete -mone
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 aux

'His head was all bald. He always had sex with the vagina. The one who he always had sex with spoke.'

5 **Ati** **yana** **na** , **Hibeke** **ama** **namata** **one** **hibeke**
 ati yana na+F , hibeke ama na.NOM+M -mata ati o- na+M hibeke
 voice start AUX who+M be AUX ?+M say 1SG.S AUX who+M
 pn vi aux nm vc aux vt nm

namata **one** **owa** **aahi** **toe**
 na.NOM+M -mata ati o- na+M owa a- ahi to- ha+M
 AUX ?+M say 1SG.S AUX 1SG.O DUP have sex with CH AUX
 aux vt pron vt aux

amane ? **ati** **nemetemoneke** .
 ama -ne ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 SEC BKG+M say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 sec vt aux

KIWI

'She spoke. "Who is it, I always say? Who is it that is always having sex with me?" she said.'

6	Tatama		hire		,	tatama		hire		he
	ta- tama		hi- na -ra+M			ta- tama		hi- na -ra+M		hee
	DUP hold onto		OC AUX NEG			DUP hold onto		OC AUX NEG		3SG.O
	vt		aux			vt		aux		pron
	aahi		toa			nanoho		one		ati
	a- ahi		to- ha.CONT+M			na.NOM+M -no -ho		one		ati
	DUP have sex with		CH AUX			AUX IP.N+M DUP		other+F		say
	vt		aux			aux		adj		vt

nemetemonehe

na -hemete -mone -he
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP
aux

"She doesn't hold onto him. He always is having sex with her," another woman said.'

7	One		ati		na		ati		mita		,	Tama		onehibanane
	one		ati na+F		ati		mita+F		tama			tama		o- na -hibana -ne
	other+F		say AUX		voice		hear		hold onto			1SG.S AUX		FUT+M BKG+M
	adj		vt aux		pn		vt		vt			aux		

waha

waha
now
prt

'She heard what the other woman said. "I'll grab him now."

8	Ifa		yamaba		ama		haro
	ifa		yama -ba		ama		haaro
	this+F		time FUT		be		that one+F
	dem		nf		vc		dem

"It will be tonight."

9	Tama		onehibanane
	tama		o- na -hibana -ne
	hold onto		1SG.S AUX FUT+M BKG+M
	vt		aux

"I'm going to hold onto him."

10	Tama		onahari		kawaharisari
	tama		o- na -haari		ka- waha -risa -haari
	hold onto		1SG.S AUX PFUT+M		COMIT dawn down PFUT+M
	vt		aux		vi

owehibanane		,	ati		nemetemoneke
o- awa -hibana -ne			ati na -hemete -mone -ke		
1SG.S see FUT+M BKG+M			say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F		
vt			vt aux		

"When I have held onto him, when dawn has come, I will see him," she said.'

11	Faya		Kiwi		hinakakehani		,	Kiwi		,
	faya		Kiwi		hi- na- ka -kI -hani			Kiwi		
	so		(man's name)		OC CAUS go/come coming IP.N+F			(man's name)		
	conj		npropm		vt			npropm		

faya	,	Hibake		ama		tiri		?
faya		hibake		ama		ti- ri		
so		who+M		be		2SG.S CQ+F		
conj		interrog		vc		prt		

'Kiwi came after her. "Who are you?"'

KIWI

12 *Owa awi nofareka*
 owa awa nofa -hare -ka
 1SG.O see recently IP.E+M DECL+M
 pron vt prt

"She has seen me."

13 *Owa awi nofareka*
 owa awa nofa -hare -ka
 1SG.O see recently IP.E+M DECL+M
 pron vt prt

"She has seen me."

14 *E famabone me ati nofa tiwa*
 ee fama -habone me ati na nofa+F tiwa
 1IN.S be two INT+F 3PL.S say AUX recently 2SG.O
 pron vi pron vt prt pron

aahi ohine oke ati
 a- ahi o- to- ha -ne o- ke ati
 DUP have sex with 1SG.S CH AUX CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F say
 vt aux vt prt vt

nematamonaka
 na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

"I'm always having sex with you because people say we should get married," he said.'

15 *Ati ne Owa owa owa maika tinahi*
 ati na+M owa owa owa mahika ti- na -hi
 say AUX 1SG.O 1SG.O 1SG.O consume a lot 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vt aux pron pron pron vt aux

"Bother me a lot."

16 *Owa maika tinahi amo obana*
 owa mahika ti- na -hi amo o- na -bana
 1SG.O consume a lot 2SG.S AUX IMP+F sleep 1SG.S AUX FUT
 pron vt aux vi aux

"Bother me a lot, so I can go to sleep."

17 *Amo nemetemoneke*
 amo na -hemete -mone -ke
 sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux

'She slept.'

18 *Amo na faya makibona ahi hinahaba*
 amo na+F faya maki -bona ahi na hi- nahaba+F
 sleep AUX so 3SG.POSS.husband INT+M have sex with AUX OC at night
 vi aux conj nm vt aux

ahi hinahabemetemoneke
 ahi na hi- nahaba -hemete -mone -ke
 have sex with AUX OC at night FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux

'She slept. Her husband-to-be had sex with her all night long.'

KIWI

19 *Ahi* *hinahaba* , *ahi* *hini* *ya* ,
 ahi hi- nahaba+F , ahi hi- na.NOM+F ya
 have sex with OC at night have sex with OC AUX ADJU
 vt prt vt aux prt

yama *we* *kamakiemetemoneke*
 yama wehe ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke
 thing light+F go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf pn vi

'He had sex with her all night. He had sex with her, and dawn came.'

20 *Yama* *we* *kamakia* , *faya* *tama*
 yama wehe ka -makI+F , faya tama
 thing light+F go/come following so hold onto
 nf pn vi conj vt

hinehimatamonaka *ahi*
 hi- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'When dawn came, she held onto him.'

21 *Tama* *hine* , *tama* *hinehimatamonane*
 tama hi- na+M , tama hi- na -himata -mona -ne
 hold onto OC AUX hold onto OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vt aux vt aux

'She held onto him.'

22 *Tama* *hine* , *yama* *warisemetemoneke*
 tama hi- na+M , yama waha -risa -hemete -mone -ke
 hold onto OC AUX thing dawn down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux nf vi

'She held onto him. Daylight came.'

23 *Yama* *we* *aawawa* *nematamonaka* *ahi*
 yama wehe a- awa -wa na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 thing light+F DUP see DUP AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nf pn vt aux dem

'He was apprehensive as he saw the daylight.'

24 *Yana* *tone* *Hima* *tiwa* *sa* *osi*
 yana to- na+M hima tiwa saa o- to- na -kosa.NOM+F
 start CH AUX let's go 2SG.O release 1SG.S CH AUX middle
 vi aux interj pron vt aux

'He was ready to leave. "Come on, I'll let you go."'

25 *Sa* *hise* , *warematamonaka*
 saa hi- na -kosa+M , waa -rI -himata -mona -ka
 release OC AUX middle stand raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux vi

'She let go of him, and he stood there.'¹⁴⁴

26 *Nokobi* *kakiti* *sawikabote* *nemetemoneke*
 nokobi ka- iti+M sawi -kabote na -hemete -mone -ke
 door COMIT take out be present quickly AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vt vi aux

144 Presumably he was standing on the ground inside the longhouse, whereas the suffix *-rI* indicates he was standing on top of something, so it should be *wehimatamonaka*.

KIWI

awatibonehe , **tokomi** **tokomi**
awa -tee.NOM -bone -he , to- ka -ma.NFIN to- ka -ma.NFIN
see HAB INT+F DUP away go/come back away go/come back
vt vi

hiwehibonaha
hi- awa -hibona -ha
OC see INT+M DUP
vt

'He took away the door. She went right after him, to see him leaving.'

27 **Ha ya tokomematamona ha ya**
haa ya to- ka -ma -himata -mona haa ya
DEM ADJU away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DEM ADJU
dem prt vi dem prt

'He went around another way.'

28 **Haha me winaha me kakerihi aya**
haaha me wina+F me ka -kI -rihi , aya
this+F 3PL.S live 3PL.S go/come coming NEG.LIST this
dem pron vi pron vi dem

kakake toematamonaka
ka- ka -kI to- ha -himata -mona -ka
DUP go/come coming CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi aux

'He didn't come from the direction in which he and his people lived, either; he came from the other direction.'

29 **Faya tokofaramematamonaka ahi**
faya to- ka -fara -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi
so away go/come open space back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
conj vi dem

'He went out onto the village plaza.'

30 **Tati wawaha tosi nematamonaka**
tati wa- waha to- na -sii na -himata -mona -ka
head DUP shine CH AUX slowly along the way AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
pn vi aux aux

ahi
ahi
then
dem

'His head shone from far away.'

31 **Kiwi amare owa mamahika toha**
Kiwi ama -ra+M owa ma- mahika to- ha.CONT+M
(man's name) be NEG 1SG.O DUP consume a lot CH AUX
npropm vc pron vt aux

nanoho ? ati nemetemoneke ahi
na.NOM+M -no -ho ? ati na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
AUX IP.N+M DUP say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
aux vt aux dem

'"Isn't it Kiwi who is always bothering me?" she said.'

32 **Tiwa kasiro tinisa fahi**
tiwa kasiro ti- na -risa fahi
2SG.O a lot 2SG.S AUX down then
pron adv aux dem

KIWI

"You are just making yourself upset."

33 *Faya* , *Kiwi* *owa* *aahi* *toehinone*
 faya , Kiwi owa a- ahi to- ha -hino -ne
 so (man's name) 1SG.O DUP have sex with CH AUX IP.N+M BKG+M
 conj npropm pron vt aux

ami
 ami
 mother
 nf

"Kiwi is the one who is always having sex with me, Mother."

34 *Aawa* *tire* *tiwa* *aahi* *toa*
 a- awa ti- na -ra+M tiwa a- ahi to- ha.CONT+M
 DUP see 2SG.S AUX NEG 2SG.O DUP have sex with CH AUX
 vt aux pron vt aux

nanoho *mati* *ati* *nemetemoneke*
 na.NOM+M -no -ho , mati ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX IP.N+M DUP 3SG.POSS.mother say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux nf vt aux

"Wow, you didn't see him, and he has been having sex with you," her mother said.'

35 *Faya* , *aawa* *hinofarehino* *wasiwehino* *ati*
 faya , a- awa hi- na nofa -ra -hino wasi -waha -hino ati
 so DUP see OC AUX recently NEG IP.N+M find change IP.N+M voice
 conj vt prt vt pn

amane *ati* *nemetemoneni*
 ama -ne ati na -hemete -mone -ni
 be BKG+M say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vc vt aux

"She never saw him, but discovered him now," she said.'

36 *Faya* *me* , *ati* *saihemetemone* *fahi*
 faya me , ati sai -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3PL.POSS voice be heard FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron pn vi dem

'They could be heard talking.'

37 *Kiwi* , *Kiwi* *tokehimatamonaka*
 Kiwi , Kiwi to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 (man's name) (man's name) away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 npropm npropm vi

yama kabani *ya*
 yama kabani ya
 forest ADJU
 nf prt

'Kiwi went out into the forest.'

38 *Kiwi* *toke* , *Kiwi* *owa* *aahi*
 Kiwi to- ka+M , Kiwi owa a- ahi
 (man's name) away go/come (man's name) 1SG.O DUP have sex with
 npropm vi npropm pron vt

toenoho *ati* *na* *ati* *fawa* *na*
 to- ha -hino -ho , ati na+F ati fawa na+F
 CH AUX IP.N+M DUP say AUX voice stop AUX
 aux vt aux pn vi aux

'Kiwi went out. "Kiwi is always having sex with me," she said. She stopped talking.'

KIWI

39 *Yama* , *yabokire* *haro* .
 yama , yabo -kI -re haaro
 thing be far coming NEG+F that one+F
 nf vi dem

'This one isn't long.'

40 *Ahabake* .
 ahaba -ke
 end DECL+F
 vi

'It's done.'

41 *One* *ihabanake* .
 one iha -habana -ke
 other+F put FUT+F DECL+F
 adj result

'There will be another one.'

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

Free Translation

The old man was hungry lying in his hammock. The children were crying. The boy was this big. There were two younger brothers and their older brother. There were three of them.

"Father, my sons are there. You toast some manioc mash for my sons. There is manioc mash there in the pot. Toast some manioc mash for my sons. Feed them. I'm going to go get my bananas, to be food for my sons."

She went with her husband. Her older brother also went out hunting in the forest. "Younger sister, you come back quickly. I'm going hunting. I'm going to shoot animals with my blowgun."

"Older brother, come back quickly."

"I will not be long in coming back, if I kill an animal with my blowgun," he said.

They went to the garden. They went, and arrived. They got the bananas, also pineapples, ripe bananas. They started back.

The old man was lying in his hammock. He spoke as he lay in his hammock. He picked up a spear. "Take your baths quickly. You go on ahead. You take your baths."

He got a pot and a knife. His grandsons went.

"The two of you go upstream. Go upstream, then turn around and come back downstream here. I will stand here."

His spear was against a tree. They came back downstream.

"One of you carry the other and come downstream in the water."

They came downstream in the water. They came downstream, and he speared both of them with the spear. They died where they were. Their older brother, who was big, jumped and went running away. He went running to their parents.

Then he cut them up. He cut them in pieces, and put them in the pot. He put them in the pot, and carried them. He brought them, and cooked them. He roasted a leg of one of them stuck on a stick by the fire, for his daughter. He roasted his leg on a stick by the fire. The old man toasted manioc mash. He toasted manioc mash, and ate. He ate. He ate his grandsons, and then lay in his hammock with a full stomach.

Then they appeared. He covered the meat for his daughter. When he covered the meat, they appeared. The oldest son had gone and had arrived at the other village. He was a teenager. He was big. He went to his parents, and arrived. He told the news.

"What about my sons?"

"Don't say, 'What about my sons?' My grandfather speared your two sons. I ran away because of my grandfather, and came here."

"I came here to get food for my sons."

Then his daughter cried. She cried. She came crying. She stopped crying. She came, and appeared. She appeared. She came back crying.

"Father, you ate my sons. I went to get food for my sons, and you ate my sons," she said, crying.

"Don't cry. Don't make trouble for yourself. Yours is there in the pot. Eat yours after coming back, without saying anything. Don't cry. Eat it. I ate it. Eat them. Don't cause trouble for yourself."

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

The father of the children didn't say anything. Their father didn't say anything, but his wife cried. His brother-in-law came back, carrying animals. His brother-in-law came back, and threw down the animals. "Whew." He came upon his younger sister as she was crying.

"Why are you crying?"

It was another woman who spoke. "She is crying because your father ate her sons. Your father ate his grandsons, and he is in the hammock there."

The old man's spear was leaning against something beside the fire. He was waiting for them. When he heard what they said, he got up.

He got ready. He went to his father as he was in his hammock. He wasn't violent with him.

"Father, why did you eat my nephews? They said you ate my nephews. Didn't I bring animals?"

He was going to pick up the spear, but he grabbed his spear from him. He twisted his spear away from him, but he didn't hit him. He stomped on his spear.

"I don't want to kill you. I don't want to kill you with a piece of your own spear," he said.

He just threatened him. His brother-in-law singed the hair off the animals. He singed the hair off the animals, and cut up the animals. They ate the meat. He roasted the meat on a rack.

"Isn't your father going to eat it?"

He took out the shaman's stone. He coughed it up. He had it in his hand. He pressed it against the leg of the animal. He pressed it against the meat.

"Here, eat some. Here is some manioc mash. Eat it with some manioc mash. Even though you ate my sons, I'm not mad at you. I am giving you food."

So he gave food to his father-in-law. He gave food to his father-in-law, and he ate the meat. When he was finished eating the meat, he drank water. When it was getting dark, he started speaking, sick.

"Aya, my chest, my chest," he said. "My chest," he said. His voice was heard during the night.

Because his sons had died, he had given his father-in-law something to eat that had a spell on it to make him sick. He gave his father-in-law something to eat that had a spell on it, and his father-in-law was heard during the night.

Morning came. When morning came, they moved to another place. They moved to another place, and they didn't wait for him. He had chest pain during the night. They didn't wait for him. They moved away. They left. They went. His son didn't take care of him.

"You lie here. I'm not helping you, because you did a bad thing, eating my nephews. We are leaving."

So he left his father behind, and left. He died after they left. He lay dead in his hammock. When he rotted, the vultures ate him. The vultures ate him, the king vultures.

He came back, his son. He came back to see his father. His son looked at him.

"My father has died. Let him die. I don't want to smell him," he said.

He turned around and went back.

"Let him die."

He went back. He arrived back.

"Well?"

"You ask, 'Well?' – he died. The vultures ate him, the king vultures."

So they slept.

"He should have stayed calm. He didn't take care of his grandsons. He ate his grandsons. Now they have killed him. He was always wanting more than his share of food," one of them said. "Because he was always wanting more food, he ate his grandsons. Let him die."

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

He died.

Interlinear Presentation

1 *Iti* *bote* , *iti* *bote* *fimi* , *fimi*
 iti bote iti bote fimi+M , fimi
 grandfather old grandfather old be hungry hunger
 nm adj nm adj vi nf

kawine , *faya* *bite* , *mate* *mate* *ohi*
 ka- wina+M , faya bite , matehe matehe ohi
 COMIT lie in hammock so 3SG.POSS.daughter children children cry
 vt conj nf nf nf vi

nemetemoneke
 na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'The old man was hungry lying in his hammock. The children were crying.'

2 *Inamate* *e* *nemata* *awaka*
 inamate ee na -himata awa -ka
 child be similar AUX FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M
 nm vi aux sec

'The boy was this big.'

3 *Me* *me* *me* *me* *anoti* , *nisori*
 me me me me anoti , nisori
 3PL 3PL 3PL 3PL 3SG.POSS older brother 3SG.POSS.younger brother
 pron pron pron pron nm nm

me *fama* , *me* *ka* *ayo* *ohari* , *me* *terei* ,
 me fama+F , me ka ayo ohari+M , me terei ,
 3PL.S be two 3PL POSS older brother be one 3PL.S be three
 pron vi pron prt nm vi pron vi

toha *me* , *Abi* , *abi* , *abi* *okatao* *me* *naone*
 to- ha+F me , abi , abi , abi okatao me naone
 CH AUX 3PL.S father father father my son 3PL.S stand CONT+F
 aux pron nm nm nm nm pron vi

faro
 faaro
 that+F
 dem

'He had two two younger brothers and they had one older brother. There were three of them. "Father, my sons are there."'

4 *Okatao* *me* *ka* , *iyawa* *tisiriya*
 okatao me ka , iyawa ti- sira -yahi
 my son 3PL POSS manioc mash 2SG.S toast DIST.IMP+F
 nm pron prt nf vt

""You toast some manioc mash for my sons.""

5 *Iyawa* *kawitine* *haro*
 iyawa ka- ita -ne haaro
 manioc mash COMIT sit CONT+F that one+F
 nf vi dem

""There is manioc mash there in the pot.""

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

12 *Faya* , *Ati* *te* *kamakabote* *niya*
 faya , ati tee ka -ma -kabote na -yahi
 so older sister 2PL.S go/come back quickly AUX DIST.IMP+F
 conj nf pron vi aux

"Older sister, you come back quickly."¹⁴⁶

13 *Yama* *yete* *omatibe*
 yama yete o- na -mata -be
 thing hunt 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F
 nf vt aux

"I'm going hunting."

14 *Bani* *me* *fora* *obe*
 bani me fora o- na -be
 animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 nm pron vt aux

"I'm going to shoot animals with my blowgun."

15 *Ayo* *kamakabote* *tiyahi*
 ayo ka -ma -kabote ti- na -yahi
 older brother go/come back quickly 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F
 nm vi aux

"Older brother, come back quickly."

16 *Kami* *kerewe* *obisarabana* *oke*
 ka -ma.NFIN kerewe o- na -bisa -ra -habana o- ke
 go/come back be slow 1SG.S AUX also NEG FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi vi aux prt

bani *okaraboi* *ya* , *ati* *ne* *me* ,
 bani o- karaboha.NOM+F ya , ati na+M me ,
 animal 1SG.S shoot with blowgun ADJU say AUX 3PL.S
 nm vt prt vt aux pron

tokometemoneke *ahi* *fatara* *ya*
 to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi fatara ya
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F there garden ADJU
 vi dem nf prt

"I will not be long in coming back, if I kill an animal with my blowgun," he said. They went to the garden.'

17 *Me* *tokoma* *me* *tokoma* *me* *kobo*
 me to- ka -ma+F me to- ka -ma+F me kobo
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S arrive
 pron vi pron vi pron vi

tonama *me* , *faya* *yifari* *me* *kayaba* *yifari*
 to- na -ma+F me , faya yifari me ka- yaba+F yifari.LIST
 away AUX back 3PL.S so banana 3PL.S COMIT take out banana
 aux pron conj nf pron vt nf

sami , *yifari* *hati*
 sami.LIST , yifari hati
 pineapple banana ripe
 nf nf pn

'They went, and arrived. They got the bananas, also pineapples, ripe bananas.'

18 *Me* *kamemetemoneke*
 me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

146 Siko should have said younger sister.

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

'They came back.'

19	Me	kama		me		faya	iti		bote		iti
	me	ka	-ma+F	me	,	faya	iti		bote	,	iti
	3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S		so	grandfather		old		grandfather
	pron	vi		pron		conj	nm		adj		nm

bote winehimatamonaka
 bote wina -himata -mona -ka
 old lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 adj vi

'They came back. The old man was lying in his hammock.'

20	Wine		ati	yana		tonehimatamona
	wina+M		ati	yana	to- na -himata -mona	
	lie in hammock		voice	start	CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M	
	vi		pn	vi	aux	

'As he lay in his hammock, he spoke.'

21	Wine		ati	yana		tone		wabise		wabise		wabise
	wina+M		ati	yana	to- na+M			wabise	,	wabise	,	wabise
	lie in hammock		voice	start	CH AUX			spear		spear		spear
	vi		pn	vi	aux			nf		nf		nf

iti Te afi kabote
 iti+M tee afi na -kabote
 pick up 2PL.S bathe AUX quickly
 vt pron vi aux

'He spoke as he lay in his hammock. He picked up a spear. "Take you baths quickly."'

22	Te	afi	nibeya
	tee	afi	na -be -ya
	2PL.S	bathe	AUX IMMED+F now
	pron	vi	aux

""Take your baths.""

23	Te	tai	tohama
	tee	tai	to- ha -ma
	2PL.S	be ahead	CH AUX back
	pron	vi	aux

""You go on ahead.""

24	Te	tai	toama
	tee	tai	to- ha -ma
	2PL.S	be ahead	CH AUX back
	pron	vi	aux

""You go on ahead.""

25	Te	afi	nibe
	tee	afi	na -be
	2PL.S	bathe	AUX IMMED+F
	pron	vi	aux

""You take your baths.""

26	Yiwaha	yiwaha	tama		yimawa
	yiwaha	yiwaha	tama.LIST	,	yimawa
	pot	pot	hold onto		knife
	nf	nf	vt		nf

'He got a pot and a knife.'

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

27 *Faya hinaka noti me towaka me hinaka*
 faya hinaka noti me to- ka- ka+F me hinaka
 so 3SG.POSS grandson 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S 3SG.POSS
 conj pron nm pron vi pron pron

noti , Te ai te towakatima ahi
 noti , tee ahi tee to- ka- ka -tima ahi
 grandson 2PL there 2PL.S away COMIT go/come upstream there
 nm pron dem pron vi dem

'His grandsons went. "The two of you go upstream."'

28 *Te towakatima te*
 tee to- ka- ka -tima+M tee
 2PL.S away COMIT go/come upstream 2PL.S
 pron vi pron

kakisawama te kakisama ahi
 ka- ka -risa -waha -ma+F tee ka- ka -risa -ma ahi
 COMIT go/come down change back 2PL.S COMIT go/come down back here
 vi pron vt dem

"Go upstream, then turn around and come back downstream here."

29 *Owiba ahi*
 o- waa.NOM+F -ba ahi
 1SG.S stand FUT here
 vi dem

"I will stand here."

30 *Hinaka wabise wa , faya , mate*
 hinaka wabise waa+F , faya , matehe
 3SG.POSS spear stand so children
 pron nf vi conj nf

kakisamemetemoneke
 ka- ka -risa -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT go/come down back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'His spear was against a tree. They came back downstream.'

31 *Abe te abe weye na te kakisama*
 abe tee abe weye na+F tee ka- ka -risa -ma
 RECIP 2PL.POSS RECIP carry AUX 2PL.S COMIT go/come down back
 pn pron pn vt aux pron vt

boti ya ahi fa boti ya
 boti ya ahi faha boti ya
 way down ADJU there water inside ADJU
 nf prt dem nf pn prt

"One of you carry the other and come downstream in the water."

32 *Faya fa boti ya me kakisama me*
 faya faha boti ya me ka- ka -risa -ma me
 so water inside ADJU 3PL.S COMIT go/come down back 3PL.S
 conj nf pn prt pron vt pron

me kakisama me , me
 me ka- ka -risa -ma me me
 3PL.S COMIT go/come down back 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron vt pron pron

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

hiwakitamisetemoneke

hi-	ka-	ita	-misa	-hemete	-mone	-ke	ahi	wabise	ya	.
OC	COMIT	sit	up	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then	spear	ADJU	
vt							dem	nf	prt	

'They came downstream in the water. They came downstream, and he speared both of them with the spear.'

33 **Faya me kawi ya me ahaba , me**
 faya me ka- waa.NOM+F ya me ahaba.LIST , me
 so 3PL.S COMIT be located ADJU 3PL.S die 3PL.S
 conj pron vi prt pron vi pron

abemetemoneke

ahaba	-hemete	-mone	-ke	fahi	.
die	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then	
vi				dem	

'They died where they were. They died.'

34 **Me aba me , anoti anoti**
 me ahaba+F me , anoti anoti
 3PL.S die 3PL.S 3SG.POSS older brother 3SG.POSS older brother
 pron vi pron nm nm

nafihi	,	yora	nariwe	kana	ni	tokome		kana
nafi+M		yora	na -riwaha+M	kana	na.NFIN	to- ka	-ma+M	kana
be big		jump	AUX across	run	AUX	away go/come	back	run
vi		vi	aux	vi	aux	vi		vi

ni tokomakematamonaka

na.NFIN	to- ka	-makI	-himata	-mona	-ka	ahi	me	ka
AUX	away go/come	following	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	there	3PL	POSS
aux	vi					dem	pron	prt

abi	me	ni	ya	.
abi	me	ni	ya	
father	3PL	to	ADJU	
nm	pron	prt	prt	

'They died. His older brother, who was big, jumped and went running away. He went running to their parents.'

35 **Faya mera bobi ne , mera bobi nematamonaka**
 faya mera bobi na+M , mera bobi na -himata -mona -ka
 so 3PL.O slit AUX 3PL.O slit AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj pron vt aux pron vt aux

'Then he cut them up.'

36 **Mera bobi ne , me te hina yiwaha ya**
 mera bobi na+M , me tee hi- na+F yiwaha ya
 3PL.O slit AUX 3PL.O put inside OC AUX pot ADJU
 pron vt aux pron vt aux nf prt

'He cut them in pieces, and put them in the pot.'

37 **Yiwa ya me te hina me , tiwa hikana**
 yiwa ya me tee hi- na+F me , tiwa hi- ka- na+F
 pot ADJU 3PL.O put inside OC AUX 3PL.O carry OC COMIT AUX
 nf prt pron vt aux pron vt aux

me hiwakama

me	hi- ka-	ka	-ma+F	me	hi- ka-	waa	-rI	,
3PL.O	OC	COMIT	go/come	3PL.O	OC	COMIT	cook	raised
pron	vt		back	pron	vt		surface	

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

owa , **owa** **mete** **hikanawa** , **mati**
 owa owa mete hi- ka- na- waa.LIST , mati
 one+M one+M rear+M OC COMIT CAUS stand 3SG.POSS.mother
 adj adj pn vt nf

kabonaha
 ka -bona -ha
 POSS INT+M DUP
 prt

'He put them in the pot, and carried them. He brought them, and cooked them. He roasted a leg of one of them stuck on a stick by the fire, for his daughter.'¹⁴⁷

38 **Mete** **hikanawematamonaka**
 mete hi- ka- na- waa -himata -mona -ka
 rear+M OC COMIT CAUS stand FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pn vt

'He roasted his leg on a stick by the fire.'

39 **Mete** **hikanawe** , **faya** **iti** **bote** , **iyawa**
 mete hi- ka- na- waa+M , faya iti bote , iyawa
 rear+M OC COMIT CAUS stand so grandfather old manioc mash
 pn vt conj nm adj nf

sire **iyawa** **sirematamonaka**
 sira+M iyawa sira -himata -mona -ka
 toast manioc mash toast FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt nf vt

'He roasted his leg on a stick by the fire. The old man toasted manioc mash.'

40 **Iyawa** **sire** **tafehimatamonaka** **ahi**
 iyawa sira+M tafa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 manioc mash toast eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nf vt vi dem

'He toasted manioc mash, and ate.'

41 **Tafe** **hinaka** **noti** **me** **kabe** , **hinaka** **noti** **me**
 tafe hinaka noti me kaba+M , hinaka noti me
 food+F 3SG.POSS grandson 3PL.O eat 3SG.POSS grandson 3PL.O
 pn pron nm pron nm pron

kabematamonaka , **nabati** **kawinawebana**
 kaba -himata -mona -ka , nabati ka- wina -waha -hibana
 eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M stomach COMIT lie in hammock change FUT+M
 vt pn vt

ahi , **me** **tasi** **namibeni** **ya**
 ahi , me tasi na -ma -be -ni ya
 then 3PL.S emerge AUX back FUT+F BKG+F ADJU
 dem pron vi aux prt

'He ate. He ate his grandsons. He ate his grandsons, and then lay in his hammock with a full stomach. Then they appeared.'

42 **Ahi** **mati** **ka** , **bite** **ka** **banibona**
 ahi mati ka , bite ka bani -bona
 then 3SG.POSS.mother POSS 3SG.POSS.daughter POSS animal INT+M
 dem nf prt nf prt nm

yoto **kana**
 yoto ka- na.LIST
 cover COMIT AUX
 vt aux

¹⁴⁷ Siko should have said **bite kabonaha** 'for his daughter'.

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

'He covered the meat for his daughter.'

43 **Bani** **yoto** **kane** **ya** **me** , **tasi**
 bani yoto ka- na.NOM+M ya me , tasi
 animal cover COMMIT AUX ADJU 3PL.S emerge
 nm vt aux prt pron vi

namemetemoneke

na -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'When he covered the meat, they appeared.'

44 **Faya** , **faya** **tokomake** **kobo**
 faya , faya to- ka -makI kobo
 so so away go/come following arrive
 conj conj vi vi

tonamakebisematamona

to- na -makI -bisa -himata -mona
 away AUX following also FP.N+M REP+M
 aux

'He had gone and had arrived at the other village.'

45 **Yetenematamonaka**

yetene -mata -mona -ka
 teenage boy FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 adj

'He was a teenager.'

46 **Nafihimatamonaka**

nafi -himata -mona -ka
 be big FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He was big.'

47 **Nafi**

tokomake **bati** **me** **ni** **ya**
 nafi+M to- ka -makI bati me ni ya
 be big away go/come following 3SG.POSS.father 3PL to ADJU
 vi vi nm pron prt prt

tokomake

to- ka -makI **kobo** **tonamake**
 away go/come following arrive away AUX following
 vi vi aux

, **kobo**
 kobo
 arrive
 vi

tonamakematamonaka

to- na -makI -himata -mona -ka
 away AUX following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'He was big. He went. He went to his parents, and arrived.'

48 **Faya** **hiyara** **kaminematamonaka**

faya hiyara kamina -himata -mona -ka
 so story tell FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj nf vt

'He told the news.'

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

49 *Oko* , *okatao mera* ?
 o- ka , okatao me -ra
 1SG.POSS POSS my son 3PL NPQ
 prt nm pron

"What about my sons?"

50 *Okatao mera* ? *tina fahi* .
 okatao me -ra ati ti- na+F fahi
 my son 3PL NPQ say 2SG.S AUX then
 nm pron vt dem

"Don't say, 'What about my sons?'"

51 *Okatao tikatao me okiti* ,
 okatao tikatao me o- ka iti ,
 my son 2SG.POSS.son 3PL.O 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
 nm nm pron nm

okiti hiwakitarake
 o- ka iti hi- ka- ita -hara -ke
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather OC COMIT pierce IP.E+F DECL+F
 nm vt

"My grandfather speared your two sons."

52 *Me ihi okiti ene bete*
 me ihi o- ka iti ehene bete
 3PL.POSS because of+F 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather because of+M run
 pron post nm post vi

owa okomakine oke
 o- na -waha+F o- ka -makI -ne o- ke
 1SG.S AUX change 1SG.S go/come following CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 aux vi prt

"I ran away because of my grandfather, and came here."

53 *Okatao me tafebone onakama me*
 okatao me tafe -bone o- na- ka -ma+F me
 my son 3PL.POSS food+F INT+F 1SG.S CAUS go/come back 3PL.POSS
 nm pron pn vt pron

amani
 ama -ni
 SEC BKG+F
 sec

"I came here to get food for my sons."

54 *Faya bite ohi nemetemoneke fahi* .
 faya bite ohi na -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 so 3SG.POSS.daughter cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 conj nf vi aux dem

'Then his daughter cried.'

55 *Ohi na ohi ni kama ohi ni fawa*
 ohi na+F ohi na.NFIN ka -ma+F ohi na.NFIN fawa
 cry AUX cry AUX go/come back cry AUX disappear
 vi aux vi aux vi aux vi

niha kama tasi namemetemoneke
 niha- na+F ka -ma+F tasi na -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 CAUS AUX go/come back emerge AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux vi vi aux

'She cried. She came crying. She stopped crying. She came, and appeared.'

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

56 *Faya tasi nama* , *faya ohi nama* , *Okatao mera okatao*
 faya tasi na -ma+F , faya ohi na -ma+F , okatao mera okatao
 so emerge AUX back so cry AUX back my son 3PL.O my son
 conj vi aux conj vi aux nm pron nm
mera abi okatao me , *tikabani* *ama tini*
 mera abi okatao me , ti- kaba -hani ama ti- ni
 3PL.O father my son 3PL.O 2SG.S eat IP.N+F SEC 2SG.S BKG+F
 pron nm nm pron vt sec prt
 'She appeared. She came back crying. "Father, you ate my sons."

57 *Okatao me tikabani* *ama tini*
 okatao me ti- kaba -hani ama ti- ni
 my son 3PL.O 2SG.S eat IP.N+F SEC 2SG.S BKG+F
 nm pron vt sec prt
 "'You ate my sons."

58 *Okatao me tafebone onakama* *okatao*
 okatao me tafe -bone o- to- na- ka -ma+F okatao
 my son 3PL.POSS food+F INT+F 1SG.S away CAUS go/come back my son
 nm pron pn vt nm
me tikabine tiwenihi ohi ni ati na
 me ti- kaba -ne ti- we -ni -hi ohi na.NFIN ati na+F ,
 3PL.O 2SG.S eat CONT+F 2SG.S IP.N+F DUP cry AUX say AUX
 pron vt prt vi aux vt aux
Ohi rima tinahi
 ohi na -rima ti- na -hi
 cry AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux aux
 "I went to get food for my sons, and you ate my sons," she said, crying. "Don't cry."

59 *Tiwa tiyokoriyahi*
 tiwa ti- yoko -ra -yahi
 2SG.O 2SG.S bring misfortune on NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron vt
 "'Don't make trouble for yourself."

60 *Tikabona kawita hari*
 ti- ka -bona ka- ita.CONT+M haari
 2SG.S POSS INT+M COMMIT sit that one+M
 prt vi dem
 "'Yours is there in the pot."

61 *Tika tikabamaho tiwati watari*
 ti- ka ti- kaba -ma -ho ti- ati wata -ra.NFIN
 2SG.POSS POSS 2SG.S eat back IMP+M 2SG.POSS voice exist NEG
 prt vt pn vi
 "'Eat yours after coming back, without saying anything."

62 *Ohi rima tinahi*
 ohi na -rima ti- na -hi
 cry AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux aux
 "'Don't cry."

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

63 *Tikabaho*

ti- kaba -ho
2SG.S eat IMP+M
vt

"Eat it."

64 *Okobareka*

o- kaba -hare -ka
1SG.S eat IP.E+M DECL+M
vt

"I ate it."

65 *Me tikabahi*

me ti- kaba -hi
3PL.O 2SG.S eat IMP+F
pron vt

"Eat them."

66 *Tiwa tiyokoriyahi*

tiwa	ti-	yoko	-ra	-yahi		<i>ati</i>
2SG.O	2SG.S	bring	misfortune	on	NEG DIST.IMP+F	say
pron	vt					vt

nematamonaka

na -himata -mona -ka
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux

"Don't cause trouble for yourself."

67 <i>Yama</i>	,	<i>matehe</i>	<i>kokori</i>	,	<i>bati</i>	,
yama		matehe	kokori		bati	
thing		children	3SG.POSS.father-in-law		3SG.POSS.father	
nf		nf	nm		nm	

<i>bati</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>watarematamonane</i>			
bati	ati	wata -ra -himata -mona -ne			
3SG.POSS.father	voice	exist NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M			
nm	pn	vi			

"The father of the children didn't say anything."

68 <i>Bati</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>watare</i>	<i>fati</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ohi</i>
bati	ati	wata -ra+M	fati	taa	ohi
3SG.POSS.father	voice	exist NEG	3SG.POSS.wife	contrast	cry
nm	pn	vi	nf	prt	vi

nemetemoneke

na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux

"Their father didn't say anything, but his wife cried."

69 <i>Me</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>abi</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>watare</i>	,	<i>kokori</i>
me	ka	abi	ati	wata -ra+M		kokori
3PL	POSS	father	voice	exist NEG		3SG.POSS.father-in-law
pron	prt	nm	pn	vi		nm

kamematamonaka

<i>ka</i>	-	ma	-himata	-mona	-ka	<i>bani</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>weye</i>	<i>nari</i>	<i>ahi</i>
go/come	back	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	animal	3PL.O	carry	AUX	IP.E+M	then
vi					nm	pron	vt	aux		dem

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

fari

faari
that one+M
dem

"Your father ate his grandsons, and he is in the hammock there."

76 *Hinaka hinaka wabise wabasemetemoneke yifo beri*
hinaka hinaka wabise waa -basa -hemete -mone -ke yifo beheri
3SG.POSS 3SG.POSS spear stand edge FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F fire side
pron pron nf vi nf pn

ya ahi
ya ahi
ADJU then
prt dem

'His spear was leaning against something beside the fire.'

77 *Wabise wemetemoneke , mera mera noki nari*
wabise waa -hemete -mone -ke , mera mera noki nari -haari
spear stand FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.O 3PL.O wait for AUX IP.E+M
nf vi pron pron vt aux

'The spear was leaning against something. He was waiting for them.'

78 *Faya , faya me ati mite yana nematamonaka*
faya , faya me ati mita+M yana na -himata -mona -ka
so so 3PL.POSS voice hear get up AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
conj conj pron pn vt vi aux

'When he heard what they said, he got up.'

79 *Yana tone , bati wine ni ya*
yana to- na+M , bati wina+M ni ya
start CH AUX 3SG.POSS.father lie in hammock to ADJU
vi aux nm vi prt prt

toke , tokehimatamonane
to- ka+M , to- ka -himata -mona -ne
away go/come away go/come FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
vi vi

'He got ready. He went to his father as he was in his hammock.'

80 *Toke , hikatomarematamonane*
to- ka+M , hi- katoma -ra -himata -mona -ne
away go/come OC attack NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
vi vt

'He went. He wasn't violent with him.'

81 *Hikatomare , Abi himatabiyo oko bitimi me*
hi- katoma -ra+M , abi himatabiyo o- ka bitimi me
OC attack NEG father why 1SG.POSS POSS nephew 3PL.O
vt nm interrog prt nm pron

tikabarini
ti- kaba -ri -ni
2SG.S eat CQ+F IP.N+F
vt

'He wasn't violent with him. "Father, why did you eat my nephews?"'

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

88 *Tiwa onabowi toe ori fara*
 tiwa o- na- aboha to- ha o- na -ra.NOM+F fara
 2SG.O 1SG.S CAUS die CH AUX 1SG.S AUX NEG same+F
 pron vt aux aux dem

tika wabise kote ya , ati nematamonaka
 ti- ka wabise kote ya , ati na -himata -mona -ka
 2SG.POSS POSS spear piece ADJU say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 prt nf pn prt vt aux

'I don't want to kill you with a piece of your own spear,' he said.'

89 *Ati ne , faya , hine ya boke hinise*
 ati na+M , faya , hine ya boke hi- na -risa+M ,
 say AUX so only ADJU threaten OC AUX down
 vt aux conj pron prt vt aux

wabori bani me tokematamonaka
 wabori bani me toka -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law animal 3PL.O partially burn FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm nm pron vt

'He just threatened him. His brother-in-law singed the hair off the animals.'

90 *Bani me toke , bani me bobi ne bani me*
 bani me toka+M , bani me bobi na+M bani me
 animal 3PL.O partially burn animal 3PL.O slit AUX animal 3PL.O
 nm pron vt nm pron vt aux nm pron

me kaba me , bani me me kabemetemoneke
 me kaba+F me , bani me me kaba -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S animal 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vt pron nm pron pron vt

'He singed the hair off the animals, and cut up the animals. They ate the meat.'

91 *Bani me me kaba me , bani me tabasi*
 bani me me kaba+F me , bani me tabasi
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S animal 3PL.O roast on grill
 nm pron pron vt pron nm pron vt

ne bani me , Abi hikabarabana ?
 na+M bani me , abi hi- kaba -ra+M -bana ?
 AUX animal 3PL.O 2SG.POSS.father OC eat NEG FUT
 aux nm pron nm vt

'They ate the meat. He roasted the meat on a rack. "Isn't your father going to eat it?"'

92 *Ee yama , yama kakitimatamonaka*
 ee yama , yama ka- iti -himata -mona -ka
 (pause) thing thing COMIT take out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 interj nf nf vt

'He took out the shaman's stone.'

93 *Yama kakiti , yama ka kanise yama yama*
 yama ka- iti+M , yama kaa ka- na -risa+M yama yama
 thing COMIT take out thing spew COMIT AUX down thing thing
 nf vt nf vt aux nf nf

tama kane , bani , bani mete ya yama yoko
 tama ka- na+M , bani , bani mete ya yama yoko
 hold onto COMIT AUX animal animal rear+M ADJU thing push
 vt aux nm nm pn prt nf vt

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

natafematamonaka **fahi** .
na- tafa -himata -mona -ka fahi
CAUS eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
vt dem
'So he gave food to his father-in-law.'

102 **Kokori** **natafe** , **faya** **bani** **kabe** , **bani**
kokori na- tafa+M , faya bani kaba+M , bani
3SG.POSS.father-in-law CAUS eat so animal eat animal
nm vt conj nm vt nm

kabematamonaka .
kaba -himata -mona -ka
eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vt
'He gave food to his father-in-law, and he ate the meat.'

103 **Bani** **kabe** , **bani** **kabi** **hawa** **toe** **ya**
bani kaba+M , bani kaba.NFIN hawa to- ha.NOM+M ya
animal eat animal eat be finished CH AUX ADJU
nm vt nm result vi aux prt

fa **fawematamonaka** .
faha fawa -himata -mona -ka
water drink FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nf vt
'He ate the meat. When he was finished eating the meat, he drank water.'

104 **Fa** **fawe** , **fa** **fawematamonane** .
faha fawa+M , faha fawa -himata -mona -ne
water drink water drink FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
nf vt nf vt
'He drank water.'

105 **Fa** **fawe** , **fa** **fawe** **ama** .
faha fawa+M , faha fawa+M ama
water drink water drink SEC
nf vt nf vt sec
'He drank water.'

106 **Yama** **kayomi** **ya** , **faya** **ati** **yana**
yama kayoma.NOM+F ya , faya ati yana
thing darken ADJU so voice start
nf vi prt conj pn vi

kanematamonaka **fahi** .
ka- na -himata -mona -ka fahi
COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
aux dem
'When it was getting dark, he started speaking, sick.'

107 **Aya** **obokora** **obokora** ,
aya o- boko -ra o- boko -ra ,
(expression of pain) 1SG.S chest NPQ 1SG.S chest NPQ
interj pn pn
obokora **obokora** **obokora** **obokora** **ati**
o- boko -ra o- boko -ra o- boko -ra o- boko -ra ati
1SG.S chest NPQ 1SG.S chest NPQ 1SG.S chest NPQ 1SG.S chest NPQ say
pn pn pn pn vt

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

112 *Kokori* *tokanakabe* *kokori*
 kokori to- ka- na- kaba+M kokori
 3SG.POSS.father-in-law CH COMIT CAUS eat 3SG.POSS.father-in-law
 nm vt nm

ati sai nabematamonaka
 ati sai na nahaba -himata -mona -ka
 voice be heard AUX at night FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pn vi aux

'He gave his father-in-law food that had a spell on it. His father-in-law was heard during the night.'

113 *Ati sai nabe yama we*
 ati sai nahaba+M yama wehe
 voice be heard at night thing light+F
 pn vi prt nf pn

kamakietemone amake
 ka -makI -hemete -mone ama -ke
 go/come following FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 vi sec

'He was heard during the night. Morning came.'

114 *Yama we kamakia me*
 yama wehe ka -makI+F me
 thing light+F go/come following 3PL.S
 nf pn vi pron

banehemetemoneke ahi
 bana -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 move away FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

'When morning came, they moved to another place.'

115 *Me banehemetemoneni me noki*
 me bana -hemete -mone -ni me noki
 3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 3PL.S wait for
 pron vi pron vt

hirebanoho
 hi- na -ra -hiba -no -ho
 OC AUX NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 aux

'They moved to another place, and they didn't wait for him.'

116 *Me noki hireba bako komene awa nabe*
 me noki hi- na -ra -hiba bako komene awa nahaba+M
 3PL.S wait for OC AUX NEG FUT+M chest+M pain+M feel at night
 pron vt aux pn pn vt prt

komene awa nabematamonaka
 komene awa nahaba -himata -mona -ka
 pain+M feel at night FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pn vt prt

'They didn't wait for him. He had chest pain during the night.'

117 *Me noki hire me bana me*
 me noki hi- na -ra+M me bana+F me
 3PL.S wait for OC AUX NEG 3PL.S move away 3PL.S
 pron vt aux pron vi pron

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

tokometemoneke

to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'They didn't wait for him. They moved away. They left.'

118 **Me tokometemoneke**

me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They left.'

119 **Tokomake**

to- ka -makI	me tokomake	me faya
away go/come following	3PL.S away go/come following	3PL.S so
vi	pron vi	pron conj

biti hinofarematamonaka

biti hi- nofa -ra -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS.son OC like NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vt

'They went. His son didn't take care of him.'

120 **Biti**

biti	hinofare	Tiwiniyahi
biti hi- nofa -ra+M	ti- wina -yahi	
3SG.POSS.son OC like NEG	2SG.S lie in hammock DIST.IMP+F	
nm vt	vi	

'His son didn't take care of him. "You lie here."'

121 **Tiwinahi**

ti- wina -hi
 2SG.S lie in hammock IMP+F
 vi

""Lie here.""

122 **Tiwa**

tiwa	tiwa onarifa	okare tiwehene
tiwa tiwa o- narifa o- ka -re		ti- ehene
2SG.O 2SG.O 1SG.S help 1SG.S DECL NEG+F		2SG.POSS deed
pron pron vt prt		pn

hiyarani

hiya -ra -hani	tiwa oko	bitimi me tikabani
be bad NEG IP.N+F	2SG.S 1SG.POSS POSS ka bitimi me ti- kaba -hani	
vi	pron prt nm pron vt	

tiwa

tiwa
 2SG.S
 pron

""I'm not helping you, because you did a bad thing, eating my nephews.""

123 **Tiwehene**

ti- ehene	hiyarani	tike
2SG.POSS deed	hiya -ra -hani	ti- ke
pn	be bad NEG IP.N+F	2SG.POSS DECL+F
	vi	prt

""You did a bad thing.""

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

124 *Ota tokomibonehe*

otaa to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone -he
 1EX.S away go/come back INT+F DUP
 pron vi

"We are leaving."

125 *Faya bati kakose tokomake*

faya bati ka- kana -kosa+M to- ka -makI
 so 3SG.POSS.father COMIT leave middle away go/come following
 conj nm vt vi

tokomakematamonaka

to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'So he left his father behind, and left.'

126 *Tokomake faya me nowati ya*

to- ka -makI faya me nowati ya
 away go/come following so 3PL.POSS behind ADJU
 vi conj pron pn prt

ahabematamonaha

ahaba -himata -mona -ha
 die FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 vi

'He left. He died after they left.'

127 *Ahabe ahabematamonaka*

ahaba+M ahaba -himata -mona -ka
 die die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi

'He died.'

128 *Abohi wine abohi*

abohi wina+M abohi
 dead body lie in hammock dead body
 pn vi pn

winematamonaka

wina -himata -mona -ka fahi
 lie in hammock FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem

'He lay dead in his hammock.'

129 *Faya batarise ya boko me*

faya bata -risa.NOM+M ya boko me
 so be rotten down ADJU vulture 3PL.S
 conj vi prt nf pron

hikabematamona

hi- kaba -himata -mona
 OC eat FP.N+M REP+M
 vt

'When he rotted, the vultures ate him.'

130 *Boko me hikabematamona bokorawaha*

boko me hi- kaba -himata -mona boko -rawa -ha
 vulture 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+M REP+M vulture F.PL DUP
 nf pron vt nf

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

boko sawi

boko sawi
king vulture
nm

'The vultures ate him, the king vultures.'

131 **Boko me hikabematamonaka**
boko me hi- kaba -himata -mona -ka
vulture 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nf pron vt

'The vultures ate him.'

132 **Boko me hikabe kamematamonaka**
boko me hi- kaba+M ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
vulture 3PL.S OC eat go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nf pron vt vi

biti

biti
3SG.POSS.son
nm

'The vultures ate him. He came back, his son.'

133 **Kame bati awamebona kame**
ka -ma+M bati awa -ma -hibona ka -ma+M
go/come back 3SG.POSS.father see back INT+M go/come back
vi nm vt vi

kame biti ki hine Okobi
ka -ma+M biti kii hi- na+M o- ka abi
go/come back 3SG.POSS.son look at OC AUX 1SG.POSS POSS father
vi nm vt aux nm

abakeno

ahaba -ke -no
die DECL IP.N+M
vi

'He came back. He came back to see his father. He came back. His son looked at him. "My father has died."'

134 **Hiwa ahaba**
hiwa ahaba.NOM+M
only.M die
pron vi

""Let him die.""

135 **Mao hisi orayaho ati ne wete**
maho hisi o- na -ra -yaho ati na+M wete
smell+M sniff 1SG.S AUX NEG DIST.IMP+M say AUX return
pn vt aux vt aux vi

toname tokome tokometamonaka
to- na -ma+M to- ka -ma+M to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
away AUX back away go/come back away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux vi vi

'"I don't want to smell him," he said. He turned around and went back.'

136 **Tokome Hiwa abaka**
to- ka -ma+M hiwa ahaba -ka
away go/come back only.M die DECL+M
vi pron vi

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

'He went back. "Let him die."'

137 *Tokomematamonaka*
 to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He went back.'

138 *Tokome kobo toname , Faira ?*
 to- ka -ma+M kobo to- na -ma+M fahi -ra ?
 away go/come back arrive away AUX back that NPQ
 vi vi aux dem

'He went back. He arrived back. "Well?"'

139 *Faira ? tina abenoka*
 fahi -ra ati ti- na+F ahaba -hino -ka
 that NPQ say 2SG.S AUX die IP.N+M DECL+M
 dem aux vi

""You ask, 'Well?' -- he died.""

140 *Boko boko sawi me hikabare boko sawi , boko*
 boko boko sawi me hi- kaba -hare boko sawi boko
 vulture king vulture 3PL.S OC eat IP.E+M king vulture vulture
 nf nm pron vt nm nf

""The vultures ate him, the king vultures.""

141 *Boko hikabarawareka*
 boko hi- kaba -rawa -hare -ka
 vulture OC eat F.PL IP.E+M DECL+M
 nf vt

""The vultures ate him.""

142 *Faya me , me amo nemetemone fahi*
 faya me me amo na -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3PL 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron pron vi aux dem

'So they slept.'

143 *Me amo na me , Ati watari hinaka noti*
 me amo na+F me ati wata -ra.NFIN hinaka noti
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S voice exist NEG 3SG.POSS grandson
 pron vi aux pron pn vi pron nm

me nanarifa reno hinaka noti me kabeno ,
 me na- narifa na -ra -hino hinaka noti me kaba -hino
 3PL.O DUP help AUX NEG IP.N+M 3SG.POSS grandson 3PL.O eat IP.N+M
 pron vt aux pron nm pron vt

me katomawahineni
 me katoma -waha -ne -ni
 3PL.S attack change CONT+F BKG+F
 pron vt

'They slept. "He should have stayed calm. He didn't take care of his grandsons. He ate his grandsons. Now they have killed him."'

144 *Nakonako raba na tohe , owa ati*
 nako- nako na -raba na to- ha+M owa ati
 DUP be famished AUX a bit AUX CH AUX one+M say
 vi aux aux aux adj vt

THE HUNGRY OLD MAN

nematamona

na -himata -mona
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 aux

"He was always wanting more than his share of food," one of them said.'

145	Nakonako		raba	na	tohare		hinaka	hinaka
	nako-	nako	na	-raba	na	to- ha -ra.NOM+M	hinaka	hinaka
	DUP	be famished	AUX	a bit	AUX	CH AUX NEG	3SG.POSS	3SG.POSS
	vi		aux		aux	v	pron	pron

noti	me	kaba	nanoho		
noti	me	kaba.CONT+M	na.NOM+M	-no	-ho
grandson	3PL.O	eat	AUX	IP.N+M	DUP
nm	pron	vt	aux		

"Because he was always wanting more food, he ate his grandsons."

146	Faya	,	Hiwa	abaka	
	faya		hiwa	ahaba -ka	
	so		only.M	die	DECL+M
	conj		pron	vi	

"Let him die."

147	Faya	abe	,	ahabake	haro
	faya	ahaba+M		ahaba -ke	haaro
	so	die		end	DECL+F
	conj	vi		vi	dem

'He died. That's the end.'

KAMABIRA

Free Translation

They moved to another place. They went. They arrived.

They were hungry, and they went hunting. They ate some small game. They ate.

As they slept, they were howling. They were howler monkeys. They weren't howler monkeys. The howler monkeys were howling.

"Just let him howl."

He went. He pulled out a bunch of blowgun darts, and he was twirling them in his mouth. As he was twirling the darts in his mouth, the howler monkeys were howling. It was a meadow. There was a pond. At the edge of the meadow the howler monkeys were in the trees howling. He was getting ready to kill the howler monkeys. They were rigid as they howled, "Ioioio, oooaaa."

One of them was howling as it sat there, and he hit it with a blowgun dart. It yelled.

He hit them with darts. He was shooting them, and they were falling. When the howler monkeys fell, he carried them off. He carried the howler monkeys off, and piled them up in the meadow. They were in a pile. He shot them all. As they lay on the ground, he lashed them together at their waists. He lashed them together at their waists, and then tied a strap to them.

He lifted the howler monkeys onto his back. He came home, and arrived.

"Wow, look at the one who killed lots of howler monkeys and has come back," they said. They were going to work on the howler monkeys.

They singed the hair off the howler monkeys. They went after the monkeys and cut them up. They roasted them on racks.

His mother cooked food for him so he could eat. "Go and wake up your older brother who is sleeping, so he can eat."

She went. She went after her brother. She shook him. "Brother, Brother, Brother."

"Huh?"

"Brother, my mother said for you to eat."

"You eat. I don't want to eat. I don't want to eat because I'm tired. I'm hurting a lot. You eat."

He was sleepy, and he went back to sleep. His sister left.

"Well?"

"My brother said for us to eat. My brother has a lot of pain, and he said he is sleepy."

"He should eat and then sleep."

His mother went and shook him. He wouldn't listen to his mother. He went back to sleep.

"Mother, you eat. I don't want to eat. I don't want to eat because I'm tired. I have a lot of pain," he said.

He was the victim of a monster without knowing it. He didn't eat. He slept.

Night fell. He started moaning.

They sucked him to cure him.

He was moaning again the next night. My grandfather wanted to look at him, but his mother wouldn't agree. My grandfather was upset, and he moved away. He moved away the next day, and came over here. He came. He arrived. There is an old village there at the Bote Fa stream, at Momonena. My grandfather arrived.

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The others came behind. They came a few at a time. My father and his group came. It got dark on them, and they walked in the night. They arrived. The groups were arriving. The small groups were arriving.

They brought him and he defecated on them during the night. He had diarrhea. He was defecating on them. They cleaned him up. They carried him, and brought him. The place they arrived at with him is the mouth of the Fa Sawa stream. They arrived with him at the mouth of the Fa Sawa stream.

They slept with him. Then a *yasi* bird came, that was not a *yasi* bird. He was sick because of the monster. They slept with him. The *yasi* came. "Yasisi, yasi tebere."

"A *yasi* bird has come."

"It's not a *yasi*. It's the voice of a monster," they said.

His voice could be heard during the night. They watched him, and he died. When the *yasi* bird stopped singing, he died, at dawn. He died, and they buried him. His grave is there. The old gardens of Fa Sawa village are there. They took him.

"Mother, you go on ahead. We are going to bury my younger brother," his younger brothers said. His younger brothers went. They carried him. They took him. They buried him in an old garden. They dug a hole for him and buried him.

But his mother went crying. The others were going on by. They came, and arrived.

"Well? What about Kamabira?"

"Kamabira died. They buried Kamabira. They stayed there to bury him. They will come. He had diarrhea, and we stayed with him, helping him during the night. He died because he had diarrhea all night. The *yasi* bird came and took him away," they said.

They went on. He waited for them. My grandfather was upset, but he wouldn't have been upset [if he had helped him]. Neme Wari Na didn't agree, and because of this my grandfather was upset. He sent the spirits [to fight against the monster]. He moved away, and came this way. When he moved away, the others followed him.

The others arrived at Yome Kabe village. They arrived at Yome Kabe, at the Yome Kabe Ye To Fana stream. They arrived, and slept. "Let's go there." They came. Then they lived at Momonena, my father used to say. They arrived.

They cut down trees, my father used to say. They went with their children, my father used to say. They grieved.

"A monster killed Kamabira. You didn't believe me. Kamabira was killed by a monster, because he shot what were not howler monkeys with his blowgun. Howler monkeys are not very good to eat. When he shot the howler monkeys with his blowgun, the howler monkeys hurt him, because he was unwittingly shooting monsters."

His mother was crying. His mother stopped crying.

"Don't cry because of him. Eat."

They came and arrived, and ate. Then they went after white-lipped peccaries, my father used to say. Each of them killed a peccary, and as they were eating them, the others arrived, and they ate.

After they ate, they slept. They slept, and woke up. Then there was no spirit.

"Wait, let me take a look." He came and arrived. He arrived at the other village. He stood looking around. "There is no one who came back [that is, Kamabira's spirit didn't come back]. He was killed by a monster."

He came back and arrived.

"Well, is there anyone there?"

"There isn't anyone. A monster killed him. A monster attacked him."

It attacked him. They slept.

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Interlinear Presentation

1 *Me bana me , me bana me*
 me bana+F me , me bana+F me
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S 3PL.S move away 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

tokometemone ai
 to- ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then
 vi dem

'They moved to another place. They went.'

2 *Me tokoma me , me kobo na me , me*
 me to- ka -ma+F me , me kobo na+F me , me
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron vi aux pron pron

kobo tonama me , me fimia yama me yete na
 kobo to- na -ma+F me , me fimi+F yama me yete na+F
 arrive away AUX back 3PL.S 3PL.S be hungry thing 3PL.S hunt AUX
 vi aux pron pron vi nf pron vt aux

me bani biti me me kaba me , bani biti
 me bani biti me me kaba+F me , bani biti
 3PL.S animal small+M 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S animal small+M
 pron nm adj pron pron vt pron nm adj

me me kabemetemoneke
 me me kaba -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pron vt

'They went. They arrived. They were hungry, and they went hunting. They ate some small game.'

3 *Bani biti me me kaba me , me tafa me*
 bani biti me me kaba+F me , me tafa+F me
 animal small+M 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.S eat 3PL.S
 nm adj pron pron vt pron pron vi pron

tafa me amo na , me ayakemetemone
 tafa+F me amo na+F , me ayaka -hemete -mone
 eat 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S sing FP.N+F REP+F
 vi pron vi aux pron vi

'They ate some small game. They ate. As they slept, they were howling.'

4 *Me aayaka toa me yiko mati yiko*
 me a- ayaka to- ha+F me yiko mati yiko
 3PL.S DUP sing CH AUX 3PL.S howler monkey 3PL howler monkey
 pron vi aux pron nm pron nm

me amarani mati
 me ama -ra -hani mati
 3PL.S be NEG IP.N+F 3PL.S
 pron vc pron

'They were howling. They were howler monkeys. They weren't howler monkeys.'

5 *Yiko me ayakemetemone ahi*
 yiko me ayaka -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 howler monkey 3PL.S sing FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nm pron vi dem

'The howler monkeys were howling.'

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ta	tore			me	nafi	fora
taa	to- na -rI			me	nafi	fora
be piled up	CH AUX raised surface			3PL.POSS	all	shoot with blowgun
vi	aux			pron	pn	vt

hinemetemoneni

hi- na -hemete -mone -ni
 OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 aux

'He carried the howler monkeys off, and piled up the howler monkeys in the meadow. They were in a pile. He shot them all.'

18	Faya	me	so	tosa		me	me	tosi
	faya	me	soo	to- na -kosa+F		me	me	tosi
	so	3PL.S	lie	CH AUX middle		3PL.S	3PL.POSS	waist
	conj	pron	vi	aux		pron	pron	pn

hikaraba		me		me		tosi
hi- ka- raba+F		me	,	me		tosi
OC COMIT lash together		3PL.POSS		3PL.POSS		waist
vt		pron		pron		pn

hikarabemetemoneke

hi- ka- raba -hemete -mone -ke
 OC COMIT lash together FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'As they lay on the ground, he lashed them together at their waists.'

19	Me	tosi	hikaraba		me		me	me
	me	tosi	hi- ka- raba+F		me	,	me	,
	3PL.POSS	waist	OC COMIT lash together		3PL.POSS		3PL	3PL.O
	pron	pn	vt		pron		pron	pron

himatoemetemoneke

hi- mato -hemete -mone -ke
 OC tie FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'He lashed them together at their waists, and then tied a strap to them.'

20	Yiko	me	mato		yiko	me	weye	namise
	yiko	me	mato+M	,	yiko	me	weye	na -misa+M
	howler monkey	3PL.O	tie		howler monkey	3PL.O	carry	AUX up
	nm	pron	vt		nm	pron	vt	aux

kame		kamematamonaka
ka -ma+M	,	ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
go/come back		go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi		vi

'He tied a strap to the howling monkeys. He lifted the howler monkeys onto his back. He came home.'

21	Kame		kamematamonaka
	ka -ma+M	,	ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
	go/come back		go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	vi		vi

'He came home.'

22	Kame		kobo	name	yiko	me	Hii
	ka -ma+M	,	kobo	na -ma+M	yiko	me	hii
	go/come back		arrive	AUX back	howler monkey	3PL	wow!
	vi		vi	aux	nm	pron	interj

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yiko **me** **katomeno** **kame** **te** **awa** **hari**
yiko me katoma -hino ka -ma+M tee awa haari
howler monkey 3PL.O kill many IP.N+M go/come back 2PL.S see that one+M
nm pron vt vi pron vt dem

me **ati** **nemetemone** **yiko** **me** **yiko** **me**
me ati na -hemete -mone yiko me yiko me
3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F howler monkey 3PL howler monkey 3PL.O
pron vt aux nm pron nm pron

me **ahi** **hinaba** **mati**
me ahi hi- na -haba mati
3PL.S work on OC AUX FUT+F 3PL.O
pron vt aux pron

'He came home, and arrived. "Wow, look at the one who killed lots of howler monkeys and has come back," they said. They were going to work on the howler monkeys.'

23 **Yiko** **me** **me** **tokehemetemoneke** **ahi**
yiko me me toka -hemete -mone -ke ahi
howler monkey 3PL.O 3PL.S partially burn FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
nm pron pron vt dem

'They singed the hair off the howler monkeys.'

24 **Yiko** **me** **me** **toka** **me** **yiko**
yiko me me toka+F me yiko
howler monkey 3PL.O 3PL.S partially burn 3PL.S howler monkey
nm pron pron vt pron nm

me **me** **fito** **kana** **me** **me** **wisi** **hina** **me** **me**
me me fito ka- na+F me me wisi hi- na+F me me
3PL.O 3PL.S rush COMIT AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S cut up OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S
pron pron vi aux pron pron vt aux pron pron

tabasi **hina** **me** **me** **me** **tabasi** **hina**
tabasi hi- na+F me me me tabasi hi- na+F
roast on grill OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill OC AUX
vt aux pron pron pron vt aux

me **tafehibona** **tafehibona** **tefebona** **mati**
me tafa -hibona tafa -hibona tefe -bona mati
3PL.O eat INT+M eat INT+M food+M INT+M 3SG.POSS.mother
pron vi vi pn nf

hiwasi **tafehibona** **tefebona** **mati** **hiwasi**
hi- wasi+M tafa -hibona tefe -bona mati hi- wasi+M
OC cook eat INT+M food+M INT+M 3SG.POSS.mother OC cook
vt vi pn nf vt

Ayo **amo** **ne** **momowa** **tinamahi**
ayo amo na+M mo- mowa ti- to- na -ma -hi
2SG.POSS.older brother sleep AUX DUP shake 2SG.S away AUX back IMP+F
nm vi aux vt aux

'They singed the hair off the monkeys. They went after the monkeys and cut them up. They roasted them on racks. His mother cooked food for him so he could eat. "Go and wake up your older brother who is sleeping.''

25 **Ayo** **amo** **ne** **momowa** **tinamahi**
ayo amo na+M mo- mowa ti- to- na -ma -hi
2SG.POSS.older brother sleep AUX DUP shake 2SG.S away AUX back IMP+F
nm vi aux vt aux

ayo **tafebonaha**
ayo tafa -hibona -ha
2SG.POSS.older brother eat INT+M DUP
nm vi

'"Go and wake up your brother who is sleeping, so he can eat.''

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26 Tokometemoneke

to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'She went.'

27 Anoti

	tonakama	tokoma
anoti	to- na- ka -ma+F	to- ka -ma+F
3SG.POSS older brother	away CAUS go/come back	away go/come back
nm	vt	vi

anoti

	momowa	na	Ayo	ayo
anoti	mo- mowa	na+F	ayo	ayo
3SG.POSS older brother	DUP shake	AUX	older brother	older brother
nm	vt	aux	nm	nm

ayo

ayo
 older brother
 nm

'She went after her brother. She shook him. "Brother, Brother, Brother."

28 Haa ?

haa
 huh?
 interj

""Huh?""

29 Ayo

	titafabone	okomi	ati
ayo	ti- tafa -habone	o- ka ami	ati
older brother	2SG.S eat INT+F	1SG.POSS POSS mother	say
nm	vi	nf	vt

narani

na -hara -ni
 AUX IP.E+F BKG+F
 aux

""Brother, my mother said for you to eat.""

30 Te tafahi

tee tafa -hi
 2PL.S eat IMP+F
 pron vi

""You eat.""

31 Tafi

	onofa	okare	
tafa.NFIN	o- nofa	o- ka -re	
eat	1SG.S want	1SG.S DECL NEG+F	
vi	vt	prt	

""I don't want to eat.""

32 Ma

	ohi	ka	tafi	onofarine
maa	o- to- ha.NOM+F	ka	tafa.NFIN	o- nofa -ra -ne
be tired	1SG.S CH AUX	because	eat	1SG.S want NEG CONT+F
vi	aux	prt	vi	vt

oke

o- ke
 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt

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40	Mati	tokomatas			mati		mowa	
	mati	to- ka	-ma	-tasa+F	mati		mowa	
	3PL.S	away go/come	back	again	3SG.POSS.mother		shake	
	pron	vi			nf		vt	
	hiname				mati		mowa	hiname
	hi- to- na	-ma+M			mati		mowa	hi- to- na
	OC	away AUX	back		3SG.POSS.mother		shake	OC
	aux				nf		vt	aux
	mati				mati		mati	mowa
	mati				mati		mati	mowa
	3SG.POSS.mother				3SG.POSS.mother		3SG.POSS.mother	shake
	nf				nf		nf	vt
	hiname				ati	nofare		amo
	hi- to- na	-ma+M			ati	nofa -ra+M		amo
	OC	away AUX	back		voice	like NEG		sleep
	aux				pn	vt		vi
	tonamatas				Ami	titafahi		
	to- na	-ma	-tasa.LIST		ami	ti- tafa -hi		
	CH	AUX	back again		mother	2SG.S eat IMP+F		
	aux				nf	vi		

'His mother went and shook him. He wouldn't listen to his mother. He went back to sleep. "Mother, you eat."

41	Tafi	onofari	
	tafa.NFIN	o-	nofa -ra.NOM+F
	eat	1SG.S	want NEG
	vi	vt	

"I don't want to eat."

42	Ma	ohi		ka		tafi	onofarini
	maa	o-	to- ha.NOM+F	ka		tafa.NFIN	o- nofa -ra -ni
	be tired	1SG.S	CH AUX	because		eat	1SG.S want NEG BKG+F
	vi	aux		prt		vi	vt

"I don't want to eat because I'm tired."

43	Oko	komene	nafini		ati	nematamona		maka
	o-	ka	komene	nafi -ni	ati	na -himata -mona		maka
	1SG.POSS	POSS	pain+M	be a lot BKG+F	say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M		monster
	prt	pn	vi		vt	aux		nm

ehehenoho
ehene -no -ho
victim of+M IP.N+M DUP
pn

"I have a lot of pain," he said. He was the victim of a monster without knowing it.'

44	Maka	eheheno		tafare		tafare	amo	ne
	maka	ehene	-no	tafa -ra+M		tafa -ra+M	amo	na+M
	monster	victim of+M	IP.N+M	eat NEG		eat NEG	sleep	AUX
	nm	pn		vi		vi	vi	aux

me kakayoma me, **faya ati yana kane**, **ati**
me ka- kayoma+F me , faya ati yana ka- na+M , ati
3PL.S COMIT darken 3PL.S so voice start COMIT AUX voice
pron vi pron conj pn vi aux pn

yana kane me toma hine me toma hine me,
yana ka- na+M me toma hine na+M me toma hine na+M me ,
start COMIT AUX 3PL.S suck OC AUX 3PL.S suck OC AUX 3PL.S
vi aux pron vt aux pron vt aux pron

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toma hinematamonaka

toma hi- na -himata -mona -ka
suck OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vt aux

'He was the victim of a monster. He didn't eat. He slept. Night fell. He started moaning. They sucked him to cure him.'

45 **Me toma hine** , **me toma hine** , **faya ati** ,
me toma hi- na+M , me toma hi- na+M , faya ati ,
3PL.S suck OC AUX 3PL.S suck OC AUX so voice
pron vt aux pron vt aux conj pn

saihi ati sai nabatase faya
sai+M ati sai nahaba -tasa+M , faya
be heard voice be heard at night again so
vi pn vi prt conj

okiti okiti hiwehibona
o- ka iti , o- ka iti hi- awa -hibona ,
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather OC see INT+M
nm nm vt

okiti hiwehibona okiti
o- ka iti hi- awa -hibona o- ka iti
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather OC see INT+M 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
nm vt nm

hine ati hiyara faya
ati hi- na+M , mati ati hiya -ra+F , faya
say OC AUX 3SG.POSS.mother voice be bad NEG so
vt nf pn vi conj

okiti yawahi okiti
o- ka iti yawa+M , o- ka iti
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather be upset 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
nm vi nm

yawematamonaka fahi
yawa -himata -mona -ka fahi
be upset FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
vi dem

'They sucked on him to cure him. He was moaning again the next night. My grandfather wanted to look at him, but his mother wouldn't agree. My grandfather was upset.'

46 **Okiti yawe bana banamine**
o- ka iti yawa+M , bana.LIST bana -mina+M
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather be upset move away move away morning
nm vi vi vi

kamematamonaka ahi
ka -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi
go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M here
vi dem

'My grandfather was upset, and he moved away. He moved away the next day, and came over here.'

47 **Kame okiti kobo**
ka -ma+M , o- ka iti kobo
go/come back 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather arrive
vi nm vi

namematamona amake ahi
na -ma -himata -mona ama -ke ahi
AUX back FP.N+M REP+M be DECL+F then
aux vc dem

'He came. My grandfather arrived.'

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48 *Tabora* *bote* *watineke* *haro* , *Bote Fa*
 tabora bote wata -ne -ke haaro Bote Faa
 village old be located CONT+F DECL+F that one+F (name of stream)
 nf adj vi dem npropf

karo , *Bote Fa* *ya* *Momonena* *ya* *ahi* .
 karo Bote Faa ya Momonena ya ahi
 LOC (name of stream) ADJU (place name) ADJU there
 prt npropm prt npropf prt dem

'There is an old village there at the Bote Fa stream, at Momonena.'

49 *Faya* *okiti* *kobo* *namematamona*
 faya o- ka iti kobo na -ma -himata -mona
 so 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather arrive AUX back FP.N+M REP+M
 conj nm vi aux

amake

ama -ke
 be DECL+F
 vc

'My grandfather arrived.'

50 *Faya* *me* *yotoha* *me* , *me* *yotobisa* *me*
 faya me yoto+F me me yoto -bisa+F me
 so 3PL.S follow 3PL.S 3PL.S follow also 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron pron vi pron

kakamakia *me* , *me* *me* *kakamakia* *me*
 ka- ka -makI+F me me me ka- ka -makI+F me
 DUP go/come following 3PL.S 3PL 3PL.S DUP go/come following 3PL.S
 vi pron pron pron vi pron

okobi *me* *kamakia* *me* *okobi*
 o- ka abi me ka -makI+F me o- ka abi
 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS father
 nm pron vi pron nm

me *kakayoma* *me* *yaka* *naba* *me* *kobo*
 me ka- kayoma+F me yaka na nahaba+F me kobo
 3PL.S COMIT darken 3PL.S walk AUX at night 3PL.S arrive
 pron vi pron vi aux pron vi

namakia , *me* *kokobo* *namakietemone* *fahi* .
 na -makI+F me ko- kobo na -makI -hemete -mone fahi
 AUX following 3PL.S DUP arrive AUX following FP.N+F REP+F then
 aux pron vi aux dem

'The others came behind. They came a few at a time. My father and his group came. It got dark on them, and they walked in the night. They arrived. The groups were arriving.'

51 *Me* *kokobo* *namakiani* *me* , *faya* *me*
 me ko- kobo na -makI -hani me faya me
 3PL.S DUP arrive AUX following IP.N+F 3PL.S so 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron conj pron

hekamaki *mera* *mi* *nabe* , *me*
 hi- ka- ka -makI+M mera mii na nahaba+M me
 OC COMIT go/come following 3PL.O defecate on AUX at night 3PL.O
 vt pron vt aux pron

mi *nabe* *mera* *yawari* *yawari* *efe* *kabi* *ra*
 mii na nahaba+M mera yawari yawari efe kaba.NFIN ra
 defecate on AUX at night 3PL.O palm sp palm sp leaf+M eat O
 vt aux pron nm nm pn result prt

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mi **nematamonaka**
 mii na -himata -mona -ka
 defecate AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux

'The small groups were arriving. They brought him and he defecated on them during the night. He had diarrhea.'

52 **Yawari** **efe** **kabi** **mi** **ne** , **mi**
 yawari efe kaba.NFIN mii na+M , mii
 palm sp leaf+M eat defecate AUX defecate
 nm pn result vt aux vi

nematamonaka
 na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'He had diarrhea.'

53 **Faya** **mi** **ne** , **mera** **mi** **ne** , **me**
 faya mii na+M , mera mii na+M , me
 so defecate AUX 3PL.O defecate on AUX 3PL.S
 conj vi aux pron vt aux pron

hikanarife **me** , **tiwa** **hikane** **me**
 hi- ka- narifa+M me , tiwa hi- ka- na+M me
 OC COMIT help 3PL.S carry OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S
 vt pron vt aux pron

hekamaki , **me**
 hi- ka- ka -makI+M , me
 OC COMIT go/come following 3PL.S
 vt pron

hekamakimatamona
 hi- ka- ka -makI -himata -mona
 OC COMIT go/come following FP.N+M REP+M
 vt

'He had diarrhea. He was defecating on them. They cleaned him up. They carried him, and brought him.'

54 **Me** **kobo** **hikamatamona** **ya** **Fa Sawa**
 me kobo hi- ka- na.NOM+M -mata -mona ya Faa Sawa
 3PL.S arrive OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M ADJU (name of stream)
 pron vi aux prt npropf

batori **amake**
 batori ama -ke
 junction be DECL+F
 pn vc

'The place they arrived at with him is the mouth of the Fa Sawa stream.'

55 **Faya** , **Fa Sawa** **batori** **ya** **faya** **me** , **kobo**
 faya , Faa Sawa batori ya faya me , kobo
 so (name of stream) junction ADJU so 3PL.S arrive
 conj npropf pn prt conj pron vi

hikane , **faya** **me** **kobo** **hikane** **Fa Sawa**
 hi- ka- na+M , faya me kobo hi- ka- na+M Faa Sawa
 OC COMIT AUX so 3PL.S arrive OC COMIT AUX (name of stream)
 aux conj pron vi aux npropf

batori **ya** **me** **kobo** **hikane** **me** **amo** **hikane**
 batori ya me kobo hi- ka- na+M me amo hi- ka- na+M
 junction ADJU 3PL.S arrive OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S sleep OC COMIT AUX
 pn prt pron vi aux pron vi aux

KAMABIRA

, *faya yasi kamakietememone amake yasi*
 faya yasi ka -makI -hemete -mone ama -ke yasi
 so bird sp go/come following FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F bird sp
 conj nf vi sec nf

yasi amararo maka , maka ehenenoho
 yasi ama -ra -haaro maka , maka ehene -no -ho
 bird sp be NEG IP.E+F monster monster victim of+M IP.N+M DUP
 nf vc nm nm pn

"They arrived with him at the mouth of the Fa Sawa stream. They slept with him. Then a *yasi* bird came, that was not a *yasi* bird. He was sick because of the monster."

56 *Faya me , amo hikane yasi*
 faya me , amo hi- ka- na+M yasi
 so 3PL.S sleep OC COMIT AUX bird sp
 conj pron vi aux nf

kamakietememone
 ka -makI -hemete -mone
 go/come following FP.N+F REP+F
 vi

"They slept with him. The *yasi* came."

57 *Yasisi , yasi tebere*
 yasi
 nm

"Yasisi, *yasi* tebere."

58 *Yasi kamakini*
 yasi ka -makI -ni
 bird sp go/come following BKG+F
 nf vi

"A *yasi* bird has come."

59 *Yasi kamakini*
 yasi ka -makI -ni
 bird sp go/come following BKG+F
 nf vi

"A *yasi* bird has come."

60 *Yasi ati ama*
 yasi ati ama
 bird sp voice be
 nf pn vc

"It's not a *yasi*."

61 *Maka ati amaka , me ati nemetemoneke*
 maka ati ama -ka , me ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 monster voice be DECL+M 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pn vc pron vt aux

"It's the voice of a monster," they said.'

62 *Faya ati sai nabe me hekatoma hinahabe*
 faya ati sai nahaba+M me hi- ka- katoma hi- nahaba+M
 so voice be heard at night 3PL.S OC COMIT look at OC at night
 conj pn vi prt pron vt prt

KAMABIRA

ati fawa nematamonaka
 ati fawa na -himata -mona -ka
 voice disappear AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pn vi aux

'His voice could be heard during the night. They watched him, and he died.'

63 **Yasi boni ati fawa ni ya tiwi ati fawa**
 yasi boni ati fawa na.NOM+F ya tiwi ati fawa
 bird sp beak+F voice disappear AUX ADJU voice disappear
 nf pn pn vi aux prt pn vi
nematamona fahi yama we kamaki ya
 na -himata -mona fahi yama wehe ka -makI.NOM ya
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M then thing light+F go/come following ADJU
 aux dem nf pn vi prt

'When the *yasi* bird stopped singing, he died, at dawn.'¹⁴⁹

64 **Faya ati fawa ne ati fawa ne faya me**
 faya ati fawa na+M ati fawa na+M faya me
 so voice disappear AUX voice disappear AUX so 3PL.S
 conj pn vi aux pn vi aux conj pron

hikamomatamona
 hi- kamo -himata -mona
 OC bury FP.N+M REP+M
 vt

'He died, and they buried him.'

65 **Temene ite awaka hari**
 temene ita+M awa -ka haari
 grave+M sit seem+M DECL+M that one+M
 pn vi sec dem

'His grave is there.'

66 **Fa Sawa ka fatara bote itabasa awine ahi**
 Faa Sawa ka fatara bote ita -basa+F awine ahi
 (name of village) of garden old sit edge seem+F there
 npropf prt nf adj vi sec dem

'The old gardens of Fa Sawa village are there.'

67 **Faya me hiwake mati Ami tai**
 faya me hi- to- ka- ka+M mati ami tai
 so 3PL.S OC away COMMIT go/come 3SG.POSS.mother mother be ahead
 conj pron vt nf nf vi

tiwamakiya
 ti- to- ha -makI -yahi
 2SG.S CH AUX following DIST.IMP+F
 aux

'They took him. "Mother, you go on ahead."'

68 **Okoyo ota kamomate**
 o- ka ayo otaa kamo -mate
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 1EX.S bury short time.IMP+F
 nm pron vt
nisori me ati nemetemoneke
 nisori me ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron vt aux

¹⁴⁹ The word before *ati* is unclear.

KAMABIRA

tokomakekani

to- ka -makI -kani
away go/come following one at a time
vi

tokomakekani

to- ka -makI -kani
away go/come following one at a time
vi

nemetemoneke

na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux

"The others were going on by."

75 *Kamakia*

	<i>me</i>	<i>kobo</i>	<i>namakietemone</i>		<i>ama</i>
ka	-makI+F	me	kobo	na -makI	-hemete -mone
go/come	following	3PL.S	arrive	AUX following	FP.N+F REP+F
vi		pron	vi	aux	ama -ke
					SEC DECL+F
					sec

ahi

ahi
then
dem

"They came, and arrived."

76 *Me*

	<i>kobo</i>	<i>namakia</i>	<i>me</i>		<i>Faira</i>	
me	kobo	na -makI+F	me	,	fahi -ra	?
3PL.S	arrive	AUX following	3PL.S		that NPQ	
pron	vi	aux	pron		dem	

"They arrived. "Well?""

77 *Kamabira*

	<i>e</i>	<i>ra</i>			
Kamabira	ee	na -ra			?
(man's name)	(question)	AUX CQ+M			
npropm	vi	aux			

"What about Kamabira?"

78 *Kamabira*

	<i>abareka</i>				
Kamabira	ahaba -hare -ka				
(man's name)	die IP.E+M DECL+M				
npropm	vi				

"Kamabira died."

79 *Kamabira*

	<i>abarene</i>				
Kamabira	ahaba -hare -ne				
(man's name)	die IP.E+M BKG+M				
npropm	vi				

"Kamabira died."

80 *Kamabira*

	<i>me</i>	<i>hikamoareka</i>			
Kamabira	me	hi- kamo -hare -ka			
(man's name)	3PL.S	OC bury IP.E+M DECL+M			
npropm	pron	vt			

"They buried Kamabira."

81 *Me*

	<i>kamotibone</i>	<i>me</i>		<i>naoharake</i>	
me	kamo -tee.NOM -bone	me	,	naho -hara -ke	
3PL.S	bury HAB INT+F	3PL.S		stay IP.E+F DECL+F	
pron	vt	pron		vi	

"They stayed there to bury him."

KAMABIRA

82 *Me kamakiaba me amake*
 me ka -makI -haba me ama -ke
 3PL.S go/come following FUT+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F
 pron vi pron sec

"They will come."

83 *Yoto kitare yoto kitare ota*
 yoto kita -ra+M yoto kita -ra+M otaa
 excrement+M be hard NEG excrement+M be hard NEG 1EX.S
 pn vi pn vi pron
nawaha nabe mi naba mi
 nawaha na nahaba+M mii na nahaba.LIST mii
 help patiently AUX at night defecate AUX at night defecate
 vt aux vi aux vi
naba namako abareka
 na nahaba.LIST na -mako ahaba -hare -ka
 AUX at night AUX for this reason+M die IP.E+M DECL+M
 aux aux vi

"He had diarrhea, and we stayed with him, helping him during the night. He died because he had diarrhea all night."

84 *Yasi kamakia yasi*
 yasi ka -makI+F yasi
 bird sp go/come following bird sp
 nf vi nf

hitimakeareka
 hi- iti -makI -hare -ka
 OC take out following IP.E+M DECL+M
 vt

"The *yasi* bird came and the *yasi* took him away."

85 *Yasi hitimake yasi*
 yasi hi- iti -makI yasi
 bird sp OC take out following bird sp
 nf vt nf

hekamareka me ati nemetemone
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma -hare -ka me ati na -hemete -mone
 OC away COMMIT go/come back IP.E+M DECL+M 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vt pron vt aux

"The *yasi* came and took him away," they said.'

86 *Faya me tokomake me nowati noki ne*
 faya me to- ka -makI me nowati noki na+M
 so 3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.POSS behind wait for AUX
 conj pron vi pron pn vt aux

okiti okiti yawarena
 o- ka iti o- ka iti yawa -ra -hina
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather be upset NEG IRR+M
 nm nm vi

okiti yawematamonaka
 o- ka iti yawa -himata -mona -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather be upset FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vi

'They went on. He waited for them. My grandfather was upset, but he wouldn't have been upset [if he had helped him].'

KAMABIRA

87 *Me* , *me* *Neme Wari Na* , *Neme Wari Na* *ati* *hiyara* *ati*
 me me Neme Wari Na , Neme Wari Na ati hiya -ra+F ati
 3PL 3PL (woman's name) (woman's name) voice be bad NEG voice
 pron pron npropf npropf pn vi pn

ihi , *Neme Wari Na* *ati* *hiyara* *ati* *ihi*
 ihi , Neme Wari Na ati hiya -ra+F ati ihi
 because of+F (woman's name) voice be bad NEG voice because of+F
 post npropf pn vi pn post

okiti *ka* *iti* *yawe* , *mera* *kabanematamona*
 o- ka iti yawe , mera kabanematamona
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather be upset 3PL.O COMMIT order FP.N+M REP+M
 nm vi pron vt

'Neme Wari Na didn't agree, and because of this my grandfather was upset. He sent the spirits.'

88 *Banahi* *kame* *bane* *me* *kiyohemetemone*
 bana -hi ka -ma+M bana+M me kiyohemetemone
 move away IMP+F go/come back move away 3PL.S follow FP.N+F REP+F
 vi vi vi pron vt

'He moved away, and came this way. When he moved away, the others followed him.'

89 *Me* *one* *kobo* *namakiemetemone* *Yome Kabe*
 me one kobo na -makI -hemete -mone Yome Kabe
 3PL other+F arrive AUX following FP.N+F REP+F (name of village)
 pron adj vi aux npropm

'The others arrived at Yome Kabe village.'

90 *Yome Kabe* *ya* *me* *kobo* *namakia* *me* ,
 Yome Kabe ya me kobo na -makI+F me ,
 (name of village) ADJU 3PL.S arrive AUX following 3PL.S
 npropm prt pron vi aux pron

Yome Kabe Ye To Fana

Yome Kabe Ye To Fana
 (name of stream)
 npropf

'They arrived at Yome Kabe, at the Yome Kabe Ye To Fana stream.'

91 *Tiwati* *watarima* *nahi*
 ti- ati watarima nahi
 2SG.POSS voice exist NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F
 pn vi aux

'Be quiet.'

92 *Me* *kobo* *namakia* *me* , *amo* *nemetemone* *fahi*
 me kobo na -makI+F me , amo nemetemone fahi
 3PL.S arrive AUX following 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron vi aux pron vi aux dem

'They arrived, and slept.'

93 *Me* *amo* *na* *me* , *Hima* *e*
 me amo na+F me , hima e
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S let's go 1IN.S
 pron vi aux pron interj pron

tokomakehi

to- ka -makI -hi
 away go/come following IMP+F
 vi

'They slept. "Let's go there."'

KAMABIRA

94 *Me tokomake me kamakia me hari*
 me to- ka -makI me ka -makI+F me haari
 3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S that one+M
 pron vi pron vi pron dem

, *wiwinawa toimetemone okobi aati*
 wi- wina -waha to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone o- ka abi a- ati
 DUP live change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say
 vi aux nm vt

toemari amake ahi Momonena amake ahi ,
 to- ha.NOM+M -mari ama -ke ahi Momonena ama -ke ahi
 CH AUX FP.E+M be DECL+F there (place name) be DECL+F there
 aux vc dem npropf vc dem

Momonena ya ahi
 Momonena ya ahi
 (place name) ADJU there
 npropf prt dem

'They came. Then they lived at Momonena, my father used to say.'

95 *Faya me kobo namakia me faya awa me kaka*
 faya me kobo na -makI+F me faya awa me ka- kaa
 so 3PL.S arrive AUX following 3PL.S so tree 3PL.S DUP chop
 conj pron vi aux pron conj nf pron vt

toemetemone okobi ati toemari
 to- ha -hemete -mone o- ka abi ati to- ha.NOM+M -mari
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father say CH AUX FP.E+M
 aux nm vt aux

amake
 ama -ke
 be DECL+F
 vc

'They arrived. They cut down trees, my father used to say.'

96 *Faya awa me ka na me faya me ka matehe me*
 faya awa me kaa na+F me faya me ka matehe me
 so tree 3PL.S chop AUX 3PL.S so 3PL POSS children 3PL.S
 conj nf pron vt aux pron conj pron prt nf pron

yoyobi kana toemetemone okobi
 yo- yobi ka- na to- ha -hemete -mone o- ka abi
 DUP go back and forth COMMIT AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father
 vi aux aux nm

aati toemari ama
 a- ati to- ha.NOM+M -mari ama
 DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M be
 vt aux vc

'They cut down trees. They went with their children, my father used to say.'

97 *Me yawa me Kamabira Kamabira maka*
 me yawa+F me Kamabira Kamabira maka
 3PL.S be upset 3PL.S (man's name) (man's name) monster
 pron vi pron npropm npropm nm

ehene toareka owati te kasawaria
 ehene to- ha -hare -ka o- ati tee ka- sawari+F
 victim of+M CH be IP.E+M DECL+M 1SG.POSS voice 2PL.S COMMIT frustrate
 pn vc pn pron vt

KAMABIRA

te

tee
2PL.S
pron

"They grieved. "A monster killed Kamabira. You didn't believe me."

98 *Kamabira* *maka* *ehene* *toareka* , *yiko*
Kamabira maka ehene to- ha -hare -ka , yiko
(man's name) monster victim of+M CH be IP.E+M DECL+M howler monkey
npropm nm pn vc nm

me *amara* *mera* *fora* *nenoho*
me ama -ra+F mera fora na -hino -ho
3PL.S be NEG 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX IP.N+M DUP
pron vc pron vt aux

"Kamabira was killed by a monster, because he shot what were not howler monkeys with his blowgun."

99 *Yiko* *me* *kabi* *yokana* *toharihi*
yiko me kaba.NFIN yokana to- ha -rihi
howler monkey 3PL.S eat true CH be NEG.LIST
nm pron result adj vc

narake

na -hara -ke
AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
aux

"Howler monkeys are not very good to eat."

100 *Faya* *yiko* *me* *fora* *nenoho* *yiko*
faya yiko me fora na -hino yiko
so howler monkey 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX IP.N+M howler monkey
conj nm pron vt aux nm

me , *no* *hiniheno* *ka* *maka* *mera*
me , noho hi- to- niha- na -hino ka maka mera
3PL.S be hurt OC CH CAUS AUX IP.N+M which monster 3PL.O
pron vi aux prt nm pron

fora *nenoho* , *me* , *me* *ati* *na* *me*
fora na -hino -ho , me , me ati na+F me
shoot with blowgun AUX IP.N+M DUP 3PL 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.POSS
vt aux pron pron vt aux pron

ati *ra* , *me* *ka* *ami* *ohi* *mati* *ohi*
ati ra , me ka ami ohi mati ohi
voice O 3PL POSS mother cry 3SG.POSS.mother cry
pn prt pron prt nf vi nf vi

nemetemoneke

na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux

"When he shot the howler monkeys with his blowgun, the howler monkeys hurt him, because he was unwittingly shooting monsters."

101 *Mati* *ohi* *na* , *mati* *ohi* *ni* *fawa*
mati ohi na+F , mati ohi na.NFIN fawa
3SG.POSS.mother cry AUX 3SG.POSS.mother cry AUX disappear
nf vi aux nf vi aux vi

na , *Tabiyo* *ohi* *rama* *tinaho*
na+F , tabiyo ohi na -rama ti- na -ho
AUX absence cry AUX NEG.IMP+M 2SG.S AUX IMP+M
aux pn vi aux aux

KAMABIRA

'His mother was crying. His mother stopped crying. "Don't cry because of him."'

102 *Titafahi*
 ti- tafa -hi
 2SG.S eat IMP+F
 vi

"Eat."

103 *Titafahi*
 ti- tafa -hi
 2SG.S eat IMP+F
 vi

"Eat."

104 *Me kamakia me kobo namakia me*
 me ka -makI+F me kobo na -makI+F me
 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S arrive AUX following 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi aux pron

tafemetemoneke

tafa -hemete -mone -ke
 eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'They came and arrived, and ate.'

105 *Me tafa me faya hiyama me me mowa*
 me tafa+F me faya hiyama me me mowa
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S so white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S fight
 pron vi pron conj nm pron pron vt

nemetemone okobi aati toemari ama
 na -hemete -mone o- ka abi a- ati to- ha.NOM+M -mari ama
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M be
 aux nm vt aux vc

'They ate. Then they went after white-lipped peccaries, my father used to say.'

106 *Hiyama me me mowa na me*
 hiyama me me mowa na+F me
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt aux pron

hiyama me me nanahari na me me
 hiyama me me na- na- ohari na+F me me
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP CAUS be one AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt aux pron pron

kaba me ni ya me kobo namakia me kobo
 kaba+F me ni ya me kobo na -makI+F me kobo
 eat 3PL to ADJU 3PL.S arrive AUX following 3PL.S arrive
 vt pron prt prt pron vi aux pron vi

namakia me tafamakemetemoneke
 na -makI+F me tafa -makI -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX following 3PL.S eat following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux pron vi

'They went after white-lipped peccaries. Each of them killed a peccary, and as they were eating them, the others arrived, and they ate.'

107 *Me tafamake faya me tafi ya faya me*
 me tafa -makI faya me tafa.NOM+F ya faya me
 3PL.S eat following so 3PL.S eat ADJU so 3PL.S
 pron vi conj pron vi prt conj pron

KAMABIRA

amo nemetemone fahi
 amo na -hemete -mone fahi
 sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 vi aux dem
 'They ate. After they ate, they slept.'

108 **Me amo na me , me amo nemetemone**
 me amo na+F me , me amo na -hemete -mone
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vi aux pron pron vi aux
 'They slept.'

109 **Faya me amo na me tafiha me**
 faya me amo na+F me tafih+F me
 so 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S wake up 3PL.S
 conj pron vi aux pron vi pron

tafiemetemoneke
 tafi -hemete -mone -ke
 wake up FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi
 'They slept, and woke up.'

110 **Faya yama , yama honaremetemone amake fahi**
 faya yama , yama hona -ra -hemete -mone ama -ke fahi
 so thing thing have something NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F then
 conj nf nf vi sec dem

'Then there was no spirit.'

111 **Hiba yama totowama omateya**
 hiba yama to- to- awa -ma o- na -mate -ya
 wait thing DUP away see back 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F now
 interj nf vt aux

'''Wait, let me take a look.'''

112 **Faya kame , kame kobo name , tabora**
 faya ka -ma+M , ka -ma+M kobo na -ma+M , tabora
 so go/come back go/come back arrive AUX back village
 conj vi vi vi aux nf

one ya kobo name yama ki ne we , Yama
 one ya kobo na -ma+M yama kii na+M waa+M , yama
 other+F ADJU arrive AUX back thing look at AUX stand thing
 adj prt vi aux aux nf vt aux vi nf

honakere e kakamaki
 hona -ke -re ee ka- ka -makI
 have something DECL+F NEG+F 1IN.POSS DUP go/come following
 vi pron pn

'He came and arrived. He arrived at the other village. He stood looking around. "There is no one who came back.'''

113 **E kakamaki yama honakere**
 ee ka- ka -makI yama hona -ke -re
 1IN.POSS DUP go/come following thing have something DECL+F NEG+F
 pron pn nf vi

'''There is no one who came back.'''

KAMABIRA

114 **Maka ehene toareka**
 maka ehene to- ha -hare -ka
 monster victim of+M CH be IP.E+M DECL+M
 nm pn vc

"He was killed by a monster."

115 **Maka ehene toareka**
 maka ehene to- ha -hare -ka
 monster victim of+M CH be IP.E+M DECL+M
 nm pn vc

"He was killed by a monster."

116 **Faya kame kobo name Fara yama**
 faya ka -ma+M kobo na -ma+M fara yama
 so go/come back arrive AUX back same+F thing
 conj vi vi aux dem nf

honari ?
 hona -ra.NOM+F
 have something NEG
 vi

'He came back and arrived. "Well, is there anyone there?"

117 **Yama honararake**
 yama hona -ra -hara -ke
 thing have something NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
 nf vi

"There isn't anyone."

118 **Maka ehene amaka**
 maka ehene ama -ka
 monster victim of+M SEC DECL+M
 nm pn sec

"A monster killed him."

119 **Maka maka hikatamahareka**
 maka maka hi- katoma -hare -ka
 monster monster OC attack IP.E+M DECL+M
 nm nm vt

"A monster attacked him."

120 **Faya hikatome me amo nemetemone fahi**
 faya hi- katoma+M me amo na -hemete -mone fahi
 so OC attack 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj vt pron vi aux dem

'It attacked him. They slept.'

121 **Hima abake haro**
 hima ahaba -ke haaro
 let's go end DECL+F that one+F
 interj vi dem

'Let's go. That's all.'

THE FIRST PAUMARI

Free Translation

Note: This text has some problems: it is incomplete; the plot is sometimes hard to follow; and the recording is of poor quality – the volume is sometimes very low, and there is sometimes interference from a previous recording on the tape. (I apologize.) But in spite of these problems, I thought it was worthwhile publishing the text, since it has a lot of interesting material.

He was cutting down trees. They were cutting down trees. He became a Paumari. My father never said his name. He became the first Paumari. They were cutting down trees for a garden, a big garden. They were working on a big garden. They were cutting down trees in the middle of the garden. In the middle of the garden, a tree was broken and hung up on itself, up high.

The chopping of the trees was over. "Father, you all go home. You go on home. You go live back over there. We're going to burn the trees for the garden, me and my younger brothers," they said.

Their father and the others went away. They didn't have food. They ate *hawa* palm nuts. They ate heart of palm. They ate heart of *hawa* palm. They ate wild fruits.

"Mother, form a wind instrument for me out of clay."

He ate many seeds of the *boka* tree, so that he could set fire to himself. The *boka* seeds would become corn. He didn't eat food, he swallowed all kinds of wild fruits. He was planning against himself. He was going to start, and it was the dry season. When the *wahana* cicadas started singing, he went after the garden [to burn it]. The garden was big. The garden was circular. In the middle there was a broken off tree resting on itself.

They went. "We're going to burn the garden. Father, listen to me. Father, when the *mato* fruits fall, you come back and see the garden. When the *mato* fruits fall, you move and come back here. I don't think I will die. I am planning against myself. My wife is pregnant. I think it is a baby boy."

"Younger brother, you (pl) put water on the brands that are still alive, so they will be extinguished. When you have snuffed out all the brands, you go home."

His younger brothers did just as he said. He planned against himself. They went. Smoke from the logs appeared. "Yee, yee, yee," went the sound of them yelling. They circled around setting fire to the garden. "You go there, and you others go there."

He stood on a log. He stood on a log and blew on the noisemaker. The garden caught fire. The flames came toward him from various directions. The fire came toward him from this direction. The fire also came toward him from that direction. The fire also came toward him from another direction.

"Oh no, we set fire to my older brother."

His noisemaker could be heard in the midst of the flames, "iiiiii."

The fire spread all around. He stood on the log in the middle. The noise of him was about to start. When the sound of his noisemaker stopped, the sound of him started. "Tooowwi" went the sound of him exploding.

The shaman's stone took him to a stream, and he lay in the water for a long time. He lay in

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the water. He was going to get well.

He got well. He came back. "Whew."

They poured water on the brands. The crops grew. There was bitter manioc, and there were yams, pineapples, peach palms, and sweet manioc. All kinds of crops grew. *Haso* taro, *yobo* taro, *nakafira* taro. There were no crops previously. Corn grew, too. The corn went right up to the edge of the garden.

He worked on a house. His longhouse stood in the middle of the garden. He worked on the house in the middle of the garden. He weaved thatch.

His younger brothers remembered. "Let's go back and see my older brother. My brother said he wouldn't die. I guess my brother is still alive. My brother said he would still be alive," they said.

"Yes, let's go back and see our older brother."

Then the two of them came back. They coveted the crops that were growing. The corn was all leaning over [because the ears of corn were so heavy]. There was sweet manioc, and all kinds of crops were growing.

The sound of him started, "teo, teo, teo, teo, teo," as he cut off the ends of poles. The sound of him cutting off the ends of poles started. The sound of him started.

"That's the sound of him. What should I do? I'm afraid of my brother. He is going to see us. Let's go. Should I ask for more of his corn? [They had already eaten some corn in secret.] I'm going to ask for some of my brother's corn." Wait, he didn't say corn. "I'll ask for something else," since corn didn't have a name yet. "I'm going to ask for something to eat. It's good to eat. Just a minute, let me hear what my brother has to say."

The two parts of the middle of his house were done. The other part was ready, too. There were two parts left open yet on the ends of the roof of the big house. He had been working. He had many switches. Sharpened darts this long were stuck into the underside of the thatch.

"Are they going to have their upper lips pierced? He will be pierced here, then on the other side. They will be pierced there."

He turned himself into something else, so that he could make it take a long time.

The two of them went. "Older brother."

"Huh?"

"Brother, are you living here?"

"I am living here."

They went back. They arrived. He was weaving thatch. "You will see me."

"We came to see you."

"I am living here. I didn't die. I am living here, working." "I am weaving thatch..."

"Brother, what are those things all hanging there?"

"It's corn."

"Corn?"

"Corn. Those are stalks of corn."

"Brother, and those?"

"Peach palm, *haso* taro, yams. Those are yams. Those are *haso* taro." He was telling the names of the crops. "Yams, *wao* yams. Those are *wao* yams. That's sweet manioc over there." He was showing the crops. "That's sweet manioc."

"Brother, pull up some manioc for me, so I can eat it after I go home. Is it eaten?"

"You will eat manioc, but first you go home."

"Brother, I'm hungry. The thing you call corn, can I break one off?"

"Don't break a corn cob off. Don't break one off. Let it be for now. Wait until my father comes to me. After two months, you come back, when the *mato* fruits fall. When the *mato* fruits

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fall, you come back to me. You will arrive here."

"Brother, I'm hungry."

"You are hungry, but there is no food for you. You don't have any food. It won't be given now. When the time to eat comes, I will have pity on you. You will eat it, when you are with me again."

"I'm hungry."

"Go home for now. Let it be for now. As you go on the trail, don't pick the fruits. I don't want the fruits to be picked."

"Brother, is it eaten?"

"It is eaten. I said you will eat it. When you come back again, you will eat it, when it is new moon. When it is new moon again, you come back. When the *mato* fruits fall, you come back here right to me. When you have arrived...wait, let me prepare blowgun darts. They will be ready. They will be ready when you arrive. I will cut them."

"At the new moon, after we have made a small house, there will be lots of crops everywhere that he will plant. They have burned the garden," he said. "You haven't seen my older brother's crops. We are going to eat it, sweet manioc. The sweet manioc is growing in a line next to the house. Pineapples, *haso* taro, *yobo* taro, *nakafira* taro, and a long line of yams. We are going to eat yams," they said, speaking back at their village. "My brother doesn't want the corn to be picked. The corn cobs are all on the stalks. I was hungry, but it didn't matter to him. Wait, it will be next month. At the next new moon...that will be the month when the crops are ripe, when the *mato* fruits fall. When the *mato* fruits fall, my brother said we will eat *mato* fruits with the crops."

"Older brother."

"Huh?"

"Brother, let me take one, just one, for my father to see."

"Let it be for now. When my father comes, I will give the crops to my father. I will give corn to my father, for my father to eat, for food for my father. You go home."

They went. They started out. "We can't steal it. Wow! I'm not going to pull of the corn ear." They went.

"Go home."

"Come on, my brother said we should come back soon."

They left. "Wow, look at my brother's crops." They stood looking at it. "It's a big garden, the crops that my brother planted." They stood there.

They went. They were going to arrive and they got close. They arrived.

"Well, what about him?" their father said.

"Well?" you say, my father. My brother has planted crops that people eat. Manioc, sweet manioc, bitter manioc, *fowa sawa* manioc, we are telling about many crops. Yams, and lots of sweet manioc. The sweet manioc plants are this high, my brother showed them. We will eat, when we go there. We will go in the next month. This month will end. When this month is over, when the *mato* fruits are falling, my brother said we will go there and eat food with *mato* fruits. I want to eat food with *mato* fruits."

The month for them to leave ended. It was the new moon. "The *mato* fruits have started to fall." They brought *mato* fruits back, and ate them. They were eating *mato* fruits.

"The moon has appeared, let's go. Father, let's go to my brother. Let's eat corn."

They set out to eat corn. They set out, and moved.

"Is your older brother's place big?"

"My brother's house is really long. The house is long. The finished part ends at the middle of one end and the other end. It will be finished," he said. The two of them were talking.

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They set out. They passed each other up, walking. They walked.

They stopped at the edge of the garden. "Wow, look at the crops there were planted. Where is the trail?" their father said.

"We came this way. Father, we came this way. There is a log lying across there. Go across on top of it."

"There are many crops."

"Don't cut through the manioc stalks. Lift up the manioc stalks. That guy won't give anything. You will see."

They walked. "Father, call out."

"Yooohoo."

"Yes?" He had been putting thatch on the top of the roof. He went to bathe and came back and lay in his hammock.

His father arrived to him. They arrived.

"What do you know, it's my father. Father, did you call?"

"Yes, I called. I'm hungry."

"Is it really you?"

"It's me. He discovered crops. My son discovered crops. They didn't believe him."

"Where is my son? There is my son coming, who we were waiting for." His father hugged him. "My son grew up." They were hungry. "Son, I'm hungry."

"Father, are you hungry? Wait a minute." He handed the baby to his wife, and came. He came back.

He was hungry. "My brother cut down the corn behind the house first."

He cut down the corn, and then did a bad thing. He stuck the blowgun darts in the thatch, in a row.

Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Awa</i>	,	<i>awa</i>	<i>bobore</i>	<i>toahi</i>	<i>awa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>bobore</i>	<i>toa</i>
	awa		awa	bo- bore	to- ha+M	awa	me	bo- bore	to- ha+F
	tree		tree	DUP pull out	CH AUX	tree	3PL.S	DUP pull out	CH AUX
	nf		nf	vt	aux	nf	pron	vt	aux

<i>me</i>	,	<i>wakari</i>	<i>tohatehibana</i>
me		wakari	to- ha -tee -hibana
3PL.S		Paumari	CH be HAB FUT+M
pron		nm	vc

'He was cutting down trees. They were cutting down trees. He became the first Paumari.'

2	<i>Ino</i>	<i>okobi</i>	<i>iti</i>	<i>hiharemari</i>	<i>amane</i>
	ino	o- ka abi	i- iti	hi- to- ha -ra -himari	ama -ne
	name+M	1SG.POSS POSS father	DUP say	OC CH AUX NEG FP.E+M	SEC BKG+M
	pn	nm	vt	aux	sec

'My father never said his name.'

3	<i>Wakari</i>	<i>tohatehiba</i>	<i>awa</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>bobore</i>
	wakari	to- ha -tee -hiba	awa	me	bo- bore
	Paumari	CH be HAB FUT+M	tree	3PL.S	DUP pull out
	nm	vc	nf	pron	vt

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tohemetemone , *awa ehebote ahi* .
 to- ha -hemete -mone , awa ehebote ahi
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F garden big this
 aux nf adj dem
 'He became the first Paumari. They were cutting down trees for a garden, a big garden.'

4 *Awa ebote me yama na me* , *awa me* , *awa*
 awa ehebote me yama na+F me , awa me , awa
 garden big 3PL.S work on AUX 3PL.S tree 3PL.S tree
 nf adj pron vt aux pron nf pron nf
me kaka toaha me , *awa me kaka toa* ,
 me ka- kaa to- ha+F me , awa me ka- kaa to- ha+F ,
 3PL.S DUP chop CH AUX 3PL.S tree 3PL.S DUP chop CH AUX
 pron vt aux pron nf pron vt aux
awa , *awa baikani ya* .
 awa awa baikani ya
 garden garden middle ADJU
 nf nf pn prt

'They were working on a big garden. They were cutting down trees. They were cutting down trees in the middle of the garden.'

5 *Awa baikani ya awa* , *awa* , *awa* , *kawitare*
 awa baikani ya awa , awa , awa , ka- ita -rI
 garden middle ADJU tree tree tree COMIT sit raised surface
 nf pn prt nf nf nf vi
 , *nemeharo ahi* .
 nemeha -haaro ahi
 be high IP.E+F there
 vi dem

'In the middle of the garden, a tree was broken and hung up on itself, up high.'

6 *Awa kawitaremetemoneke* , *nemeharo* .
 awa ka- ita -rI -hemete -mone -ke nemeha -haaro
 tree COMIT sit raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F be high IP.E+F
 nf vi vi

'The tree was broken and hung up on itself, up high.'

7 *Faya awa ka ni ahaba* , *Abi* , *abi* , *abi*
 faya awa kaa na.NFIN ahaba+F , abi , abi , abi
 so tree chop AUX die father father father
 conj nf result aux vi nm nm nm
te tokomahi
 tee to- ka -ma -hi
 2PL.S away go/come back IMP+F
 pron vi

'The chopping of the trees was over. "Father, you all go home."'

8 *Te tokomahi* .
 tee to- ka -ma -hi
 2PL.S away go/come back IMP+F
 pron vi

'"You go on home."'

9 *Te towinamibe* , *ahi* .
 tee to- wina -ma -be ahi
 2PL.S away live back IMMED+F there
 pron vi dem

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"You go live back over there."

10 *Awa ota sari namibeya , okaniso*
 awa otaa sari na -ma -be -ya , o- ka niso
 tree 1EX.S burn AUX back IMMED+F now 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother
 nf pron vt aux nm

me ya otaba owa
 me ya o- taba+F owa
 3PL ADJU 1SG.S be together 1SG.S
 pron prt vi pron

"We're going to burn the trees for the garden, me and my younger brothers."

11 *Awa ota sari namaba otake faya ati ne*
 awa otaa sari na -ma -haba otaa -ke faya ati na+M
 tree 1EX.S burn AUX back FUT+F 1EX.S DECL+F so say AUX
 nf pron vt aux pron conj vt aux

bati me tokomemetemone ahi
 bati me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi
 3SG.POSS.father 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then
 nm pron vi dem

"We are going to burn the trees," they said. Their father and the others went away.'

12 *Me tokoma me me tafe watara mati*
 me to- ka -ma+F me me tafe wata -ra+F mati
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.POSS food+F exist NEG 3PL.POSS
 pron vi pron pron pn vi pron

'They went. They didn't have food.'

13 *Hawa , hawa ta me komo , hawa ta*
 hawa , hawa taa me komo.LIST , hawa ta
 palm sp palm sp contrast 3PL.S eat palm sp contrast
 nf nf prt pron vt nf prt

me komo , hawa me komo na me yama afo
 me komo.LIST , hawa me komo na+F me yama afo
 3PL.S eat palm sp 3PL.S eat AUX 3PL.S thing heart of palm
 pron vt nf pron vt aux pron nf nf

me kaba hawaafone me kaba faya afo me
 me kaba+F hawaafone me kaba+F faya afo me
 3PL.S eat palm sp soft core 3PL.S eat so heart of palm 3PL.S
 pron vt nf pn pron vt conj nf pron

kakaba toa me , awa boni , awa boni me kaba
 ka- kaba to- ha+F me , awa boni , awa boni me kaba+F
 DUP eat CH AUX 3PL.S tree fruit+F tree fruit+F 3PL.S eat
 vt aux pron nf pn nf pn pron vt

, awa boni me kaba me faya Ami , oka
 , awa boni me kaba+F me faya ami , o- ka
 tree fruit+F 3PL.S eat 3PL.S so mother 1SG.POSS POSS
 nf pn pron vt pron conj nf prt

hohoriba kero tina
 ho- hori -ba kero tina
 DUP play by blowing FUT make with circular motion 2SG.S AUX
 nf vt aux

hohori
 ho- hori
 DUP play by blowing
 nf

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'They ate *hawa* palm nuts. They ate heart of palm. They ate heart of *hawa* palm. They ate heart of palm. They ate wild fruits. "Mother, form a wind instrument for me out of clay."

14	Hohori		kerō		tinahi	
	ho- hori		kerō		ti- na -hi	
	DUP play by blowing		make with circular motion		2SG.S AUX IMP+F	
	nf		vt		aux	

"Form a wind instrument out of clay."

15	Hiwa	,	hiwa		sari	kanehiba	,	hiwa		sari
	hiwa		hiwa		sari	ka- na -hiba		hiwa		sari
	3SG.REFL.M		3SG.REFL.M		burn	COMIT AUX FUT+M		3SG.REFL.M		burn
	pron		pron		vt	aux		pron		vt
	kanehiba		boka		noko	yoyome		toematamona		ahi
	ka- na -hiba		boka		noko	yo- yome		to- ha -himata -mona		ahi
	COMIT AUX FUT+M		tree sp		seed+M	DUP swallow		CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M		then
	aux		nm		pn	vt		aux		dem
	kimibonaha		ahi							
	kimi -bona -ha		ahi							
	corn INT+M DUP		then							
	nm		dem							

'He ate many *boka* seeds, so that he could set fire to himself. The *boka* seeds would become corn.'

16	Kimibonaha		yome		ne	awa	,	yama	boni	nafi	yome
	kimi -bona -ha		yome		na+M	awa		yama	boni	nafi	yome
	corn INT+M DUP		swallow		AUX	tree		thing	fruit+F	all	swallow
	nm		vt		aux	nf		nf	pn	pn	vt
	ne	ya	tafare		yama	boni		yoyome	toe		yama
	na.NOM+M	ya	tafa -ra+M		yama	boni		yo- yome	to- ha+M		yama
	AUX	ADJU	eat NEG		thing	fruit+F		DUP swallow	CH AUX		thing
	aux	prt	vi		nf	pn		vt	aux		nf
	,	yama	yoyome		toe		,	boka	noko	yoyome	toe
		yama	yo- yome		to- ha+M			boka	noko	yo- yome	to- ha+M
		thing	DUP swallow		CH AUX			tree sp	seed+M	DUP swallow	CH AUX
		nf	vt		aux			nm	pn	vt	aux
	yama	,	me	,	wati		kane	hiwa	wati		
	yama		me		wati		ka- na+M	hiwa	wati		
	thing		3PL		plan against		COMIT AUX	3SG.REFL.M	plan against		
	nf		pron		vt		aux	pron	vt		
	kanehinoho										
	ka- na -hino -ho										
	COMIT AUX IP.N+M DUP										
	aux										

'He ate the seeds which would become corn. He didn't eat food, he swallowed all kinds of wild fruits. He ate them. He ate *boka* seeds. He was planning against himself.'

17	Hiwa		wati		kanehinohomatamonaka		ahi
	hiwa		wati		ka- na -hino -ho -mata -mona -ka		ahi
	3SG.REFL.M		plan against		COMIT AUX IP.N+M DUP FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M		then
	pron		vt		aux		dem

'He was planning against himself.'

18	Faya	hiwa		wati		kanehinoho		yana	toneba
	faya	hiwa		wati		ka- na -hino -ho		yana	to- na -hiba
	so	3SG.REFL.M		plan against		COMIT AUX IP.N+M DUP		start	CH AUX FUT+M
	conj	pron		vt		aux		vi	aux

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yama hiwemetemone

yama hiwe -mete -mone
time heat+F FP.N+F REP+F
nf pn

'He was planning against himself. He was going to start, and it was the dry season.'

19 **Wana me ati yana na me ati ya** ,
wahana me ati yana na+F me ati ya
cicada sp 3PL.POSS voice start AUX 3PL.POSS voice ADJU
nm pron pn vi aux pron pn prt

wana me ati yana na me ati ya faya awa
wahana me ati yana na+F me ati ya faya awa
cicada sp 3PL.POSS voice start AUX 3PL.POSS voice ADJU so garden
nm pron pn vi aux pron pn prt conj nf

wati kanematamonaka fahi
wati ka- na -himata -mona -ka fahi
plan against COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
vt aux dem

'When the *wahana* cicadas started singing, he went after the garden.'

20 **Awa wati kane , awa ebotemetemoneke**
awa wati ka- na+M awa ehebote -mete -mone -ke
garden plan against COMIT AUX garden big FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
nf vt aux nf adj

ahi
ahi
then
dem

'He went after the garden. The garden was big.'

21 **Awa kamawamemetemoneke ahi**
awa ka -ma -waha -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi
garden go/come back change back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
nf vi dem

'The garden was circular.'

22 **Baikani ya awa kawitaretetemoneke ahi**
baikani ya awa ka- ita -rI -hemete -mone -ke ahi
middle ADJU tree COMIT sit raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
pn prt nf vi dem

'In the middle there was a broken off tree resting on itself.'

23 **Me tokoma me me**
me to- ka -ma+F me me
3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S
pron vi pron pron

tokometetemoneke
to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vi

'They went.'

24 **Me tokoma me Awa ota sari**
me to- ka -ma+F me awa otaa sari
3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S tree 1EX.S burn
pron vi pron nf pron vt

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namatibe

na -mata -be
 AUX short time IMMED+F
 aux

"They went. "We're going to burn the garden."

25 **Abi** , **abi** , **abi** **owati** **timitamata**
 abi , abi , abi o- ati ti- mita -mata
 father father father 1SG.POSS voice 2SG.S hear short time
 nm nm nm pn vt

"Father, listen to me."

26 **Owati** **timitamata**
 o- ati ti- mita -mata
 1SG.POSS voice 2SG.S hear short time
 pn vt

"Listen to me."

27 **Abi** **mato** , **mato** **sona** **ya** , **mato** **sona**
 abi mato , mato sona.NOM+M ya , mato sona.NOM+M
 father tree sp tree sp fall ADJU tree sp fall
 nm nm nm vi prt nm vi

ya **awa** **te** **awamiyahi**
 ya awa tee awa -ma -yahi
 ADJU garden 2PL.S see back DIST.IMP+F
 prt nf pron vt

"Father, when the *mato* fruits fall, you come back and see the garden."

28 **Mato** **sona** **ya** **tibana** **tikamiya**
 mato sona.NOM+M ya ti- bana+F ti- ka -ma -yahi
 tree sp fall ADJU 2SG.S move away 2SG.S go/come back DIST.IMP+F
 nm vi prt vi vi

owa **ni** **ya** **ahi**
 owa ni ya ahi
 1SG to ADJU here
 pron prt prt dem

"When the *mato* fruits fall, you move and come back here."

29 **Ohabaraba** **owa** **awine** **oke**
 o- ahaba -ra -haba owa awine o- ke
 1SG.S die NEG FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi pron sec prt

"I don't think I will die."

30 **Owa** **wati** **okana** **oke**
 owa wati o- ka- na o- ke
 1SG.O plan against 1SG.S COMIT AUX 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron vt aux prt

"I am planning against myself."

31 **Owa** **wati** **okini**
 owa wati o- ka- na -ni
 1SG.O plan against 1SG.S COMIT AUX BKG+F
 pron vt aux

"I am planning against myself."

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32 *Ohabaraba* *owa* *awine* *oke*
 o- ahaba -ra -haba owa awine o- ke
 1SG.S die NEG FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi pron sec prt

"I don't think I will die."

33 *Oko* *yibote* , *oko* *yibote* *nabati* *weye*
 o- ka yibote , o- ka yibote nabati weye
 1SG.POSS POSS wife 1SG.POSS POSS wife stomach carry
 prt nf prt nf pn vt

nofa *amake* *haro*
 na nofa+F ama -ke haaro
 AUX recently SEC DECL+F that one+F
 prt sec dem

"My wife is pregnant."

34 *Oko* *yibote* *nabati* *weye* *nofa* *amani*
 o- ka yibote nabati weye na nofa+F ama -ni
 1SG.POSS POSS wife stomach carry AUX recently SEC BKG+F
 prt nf pn vt prt sec

"My wife is pregnant."

35 *Inamatewe* *maki* *tohe* *awane*
 inamatewe maki to- ha+M awa -ne
 child male CH be seem+M BKG+M
 nm nm vc sec

"I think it is a baby boy."

36 *Inamatewe* *maki* *toe* *awane*
 inamatewe maki to- ha+M awa -ne
 child male CH be seem+M BKG+M
 nm nm vc sec

"I think it is a baby boy."

37 *Oko* *yibote* *weye* *nofa* *amake*
 o- ka yibote weye na nofa+F ama -ke
 1SG.POSS POSS wife carry AUX recently SEC DECL+F
 prt nf vt prt sec

"My wife is pregnant."¹⁵⁰

38 *Abi* , *abi* *mato* *sona* *ya* *te*
 abi , abi mato sona.NOM+M ya tee
 father father tree sp fall ADJU 2PL.S
 nm nm nm vi prt pron

kamiya *ahi*
 ka -ma -yahi ahi
 go/come back DIST.IMP+F here
 vi dem

"Father, when the *mato* fruits fall, you come back here."

39 *Te* *kamiya*
 tee ka -ma -yahi
 2PL.S go/come back DIST.IMP+F
 pron vi

"You come back here."

150 It should be *Oko yibote nabati weye nofa amake*, i.e. *nabati* 'belly' is missing.

THE FIRST PAUMARI

40	Owa	te	,	niso	,	niso		awa	,	awa
	owa	tee		niso		niso		awa		awa
	1SG.O	2PL.S		younger brother		younger brother		tree		tree
	pron	pron		nm		nm		nf		nf
	oye	so	tokasa		oye	te	,	faha	ya	awa
	oye	soo	to- ka-	na -kosa+F	oye	tee		faha	ya	awa
	light+F	lie	CH	COMIT AUX middle	light+F	2PL.S		water	ADJU	tree
	pn	vi	aux		pn	pron		nf	prt	nf
	oye	te	soko	niyahi	,	awa	oye	owihaba		
	oye	tee	soko	na -yahi		awa	oye	owi	-haba	
	light+F	2PL.S	wash	AUX DIST.IMP+F		tree	light+F	go out	FUT+F	
	pn	pron	vt	aux		nf	pn	vi		
	faha	owihabana		yama	owihabana					
	faha	owi	-habana	yama	owi	-habana				
	water	go out	FUT+F	thing	go out	FUT+F				
	nf	vi		nf	vi					

"Younger brother, you put water on the brands that are still alive, so they will be extinguished."

41	Yama	oye	te	yafa		ni		ya	yama
	yama	oye	tee	yafa		na.NOM+F		ya	yama
	thing	light+F	2PL.S	put something on top of		AUX		ADJU	thing
	nf	pn	pron	vt		aux		prt	nf
	te	yafa		ni	ya	yama	nafi	te	
	tee	yafa		na.NOM+F	ya	yama	nafi	tee	
	2PL.S	put something on top of		AUX	ADJU	thing	all	2PL.S	
	pron	vt		aux	prt	nf	pn	pron	
	yafa		ni	ya	te	tokomiyahi			
	yafa		na.NOM+F	ya	tee	to- ka	-ma	-yahi	
	put something on top of		AUX	ADJU	2PL.S	away go/come	back	DIST.IMP+F	
	vt		aux	prt	pron	vi			

"When you have snuffed out all the brands, you go home."

42	Fare	ati	nima	nisori		me
	fare	ati	nima	nisori		me
	same+M	voice	like	3SG.POSS.younger brother		3PL.S
	dem	pn	prt	nm		pron

hinematamonaka

hi- na -himata -mona -ka
 OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'His younger brothers did just as he said.'

43	Faya	hine	wati	kanematamona		fahi
	faya	hine	wati	ka- na -himata -mona		fahi
	so	3.REFL	plan against	COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M		then
	conj	pron	vt	aux		dem

'He planned against himself.'

44	Me	tokemetemoneke		
	me	to- ka	-hemete	-mone -ke
	3PL.S	away go/come	FP.N+F	REP+F DECL+F
	pron	vi		

'They went.'

THE FIRST PAUMARI

45 *Me toka me , me toka me , awa*
 me to- ka+F me , me to- ka+F me , awa
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S tree
 pron vi pron pron vi pron nf

hote yana nemetemoneni
 hote yana na -hemete -mone -ni
 smoke+F start AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pn vi aux

'They went. Smoke from the logs appeared.'

46 *Yee , yee , yee me*
 yee yee yee me
 (sound of yelling) (sound of yelling) (sound of yelling) 3PL.S
 interj interj interj pron

ye kawa nemetemone
 yee ka- na -waha.LIST na -hemete -mone
 yell COMMIT AUX change AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vi aux aux

'"Yee, yee, yee," went the sound of them yelling.'

47 *Awa me sari ni moto nama awa me sari na*
 awa me sari na.NFIN moto na -ma+F awa me sari na+F
 tree 3PL.S burn AUX loop AUX back tree 3PL.S burn AUX
 nf pron vt aux vi aux nf pron vt aux

me , Haha te toka , ha te toka na
 me , haaha tee to- ka+F , haa tee to- ka.LIST na
 3PL.S this+F 2PL.S away go/come DEM 2PL.S away go/come AUX
 pron dem pron vi dem pron vi aux

ahi
 ahi
 there
 dem

'They circled around setting fire to the garden. They set fire to the garden. "You go there, and you others go there."'

48 *Warematamonaka*
 waa -rI -himata -mona -ka
 stand raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He stood on a log.'

49 *Warehi , hohori hori*
 waa -rI+M , ho- hori hori
 stand raised surface DUP play by blowing play by blowing
 vi nf vt

nematamona , hohori ahi
 na -himata -mona , ho- hori ahi
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP play by blowing then
 aux nf dem

'He stood on a log and blew on the noisemaker.'

50 *Hohori hori ne , hohori*
 ho- hori hori na+M , ho- hori
 DUP play by blowing play by blowing AUX DUP play by blowing
 nf vt aux nf

THE FIRST PAUMARI

hori *ne* , *faya* *hohori* *hori* *ne*
 hori na+M , faya ho- hori hori na+M
 play by blowing AUX so DUP play by blowing play by blowing AUX
 vt aux conj nf vt aux

awa *hiri* *nemetemone*
 awa hiri na -hemete -mone
 tree catch fire AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nf vi aux

'He blew on the noisemaker. The garden caught fire.'

51 *Awa* *hiri* *nemetemone* *amani* *ahi*
 awa hiri na -hemete -mone ama -ni ahi
 tree catch fire AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F then
 nf vi aux sec dem

'The garden caught fire.'

52 *Awa* *hiri* *ni* *kake* *nakehite* *ha*
 awa hiri na.NFIN ka -kI na -kI -hitI haa
 tree catch fire AUX go/come coming AUX coming along the way DEM
 nf vi aux vi aux dem

hiri *ni* *kake* *ha* *hiri* *ni* *kake*
 hiri na.NFIN ka -kI haa hiri na.NFIN ka -kI
 catch fire AUX go/come coming DEM catch fire AUX go/come coming
 vi aux vi dem vi aux vi

, *ha* *hiri* *ni* *kake* , *ha* *hiri* *ni*
 , haa hiri na.NFIN ka -kI , haa hiri na.NFIN
 DEM catch fire AUX go/come coming DEM catch fire AUX
 dem vi aux vi dem vi aux

kake , *na* *ahi*
 ka -kI , na+F ahi
 go/come coming AUX then
 vi aux dem

'The flames came toward him from various directions. The fire came toward him from this direction. The fire also came toward him from that direction. The fire also came toward him from another direction.'

53 *Okoyo* , *okoyo* *e* *sari*
 o- ka ayo , o- ka ayo ee sari
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 1IN.S burn
 nm nm pron vt

kanake
 ka- na -ke
 COMIT AUX DECL+F
 aux

'''We set fire to my older brother.'''

54 *Okoyo* *e* *sari* *kanake*
 o- ka ayo ee sari ka- na -ke
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 1IN.S burn COMIT AUX DECL+F
 nm pron vt aux

okoyo
 o- ka ayo
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother
 nm

'''We set fire to my older brother.'''

THE FIRST PAUMARI

55 *Hinaka* *hohori* *ati* *saihemetemone* , *yama*
 hinaka ho- hori ati sai -hemete -mone , yama
 3SG.POSS DUP play by blowing voice be heard FP.N+F REP+F thing
 pron nf pn vi nf

hiri *ni* *baikani* *ya* *iiiiii*
 hiri na.NFIN baikani ya iiiiii
 catch fire AUX middle ADJU (sound of noisemaker)
 vi aux pn prt sound

'His noisemaker could be heard in the midst of the flames, "iiiiii."'

56 *Hinaka* *hohori* *ati* *saiha* *yama* , *yama*
 hinaka ho- hori ati sai+F yama , yama
 3SG.POSS DUP play by blowing voice be heard thing thing
 pron nf pn vi nf nf

hiri *ni* *tokehemetemone* *amake* *ahi* , *nafi*
 hiri na.NFIN to- ka -hemete -mone ama -ke ahi , nafi
 catch fire AUX away go/come FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F there all
 vi aux vi sec dem pn

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'The fire spread all around.'

57 *Warekose* , *moni* , *moni* *yana* *tonebana*
 waa -rI -kosa+M , moni , moni yana to- na -hibana
 stand raised surface middle sound sound start CH AUX FUT+M
 vi pn pn vi aux

'He stood on the log in the middle. The sound of him was about to start.'

58 *Hinaka* *hohori* *ati* *fawa* *ni* *ya* , *moni*
 hinaka ho- hori ati fawa na.NOM+F ya , moni
 3SG.POSS DUP play by blowing voice stop AUX ADJU sound
 pron nf pn vi aux prt pn

yana *tonematamonaka* *fahi*
 yana to- na -himata -mona -ka fahi
 start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi aux dem

'When the sound of his noisemaker stopped, the sound of him started.'

59 *Toooowi* *tao* *kanematamonaka* *ahi*
 toooowi tao ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 (sound of explosion) hit COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 sound vi aux dem

'"Toooowi" went the sound of him exploding.'

60 *Tao* *kane* *faya* *yama* *hiwake* , *yama*
 tao ka- na+M faya yama hi- to- ka- ka+M , yama
 hit COMIT AUX so thing OC away COMIT go/come thing
 vi aux conj nf vt nf

hiwakano
 hi- to- ka- ka.NOM+M -no *ya* *faha* *ya* , *faha* *ya*
 OC away COMIT go/come IP.N+M ADJU water ADJU water ADJU
 vt prt nf prt nf prt

THE FIRST PAUMARI

67 *Haso* , *yobo* , *nakafira* , *yama* *nafi* *yanemetemone*
 haso , yobo , nakafira , yama nafi yana -hemete -mone
 taro sp taro sp taro sp thing all grow FP.N+F REP+F
 nm nm nf nf pn vi

amake *ahi* , *yamata* *watari* *ya* .
 ama -ke ahi , yamata wata -ra.NOM+F ya .
 SEC DECL+F there crops exist NEG ADJU
 sec dem nf vi prt

'All kinds of crops grew. *Haso* taro, *yobo* taro, *nakafira* taro. There had been no crops previously.'

68 *Kimi* , *kimi* *yana* , *kimi* *yowabasematamona* , *fara*
 kimi , kimi yana.LIST , kimi yowa -basa -himata -mona , fara
 corn corn grow corn reach edge FP.N+M REP+M same+F
 nm nm vi nm vi dem

awa *witi* *nima* *ahi* .
 awa witi nima ahi
 garden edge like then
 nf pn prt dem

'Corn grew, too. The corn went right up to the edge of the garden.'

69 *Faya* *yobe* , *yobe* *aahi* *tohe* *hinaka* *yobe*
 faya yobe , yobe a- ahi to- ha+M hinaka yobe
 so house house DUP work on CH AUX 3SG.POSS thatch
 conj nm nm vt aux pron nm

wematamona , *baikani* *ya* , *awa* *baikani* *ya* .
 waa -himata -mona , baikani ya , awa baikani ya .
 stand FP.N+M REP+M middle ADJU garden middle ADJU
 vi pn prt nf pn prt

'He worked on a house. His longhouse stood in the middle of the garden.'

70 *Awa* *baikani* *ya* *yobe* *aahi* *tohe* *yobe* *kokowa*
 awa baikani ya yobe a- ahi to- ha+M yobe ko- kowa
 tree middle ADJU house DUP work on CH AUX house DUP weave
 nf pn prt nm vt aux nm vt

tohe , *nisori* , *nisori* *me*
 to- ha+M , nisori , nisori me
 CH AUX 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.POSS
 aux nm pron

ati *hiyawa* *Okoyo* *e* *totowama*
 ati hiyawa+F o- ka ayo ee to- to- awa -ma
 voice have an idea 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 1IN.S DUP away see back
 pn vi nm pron vt

nahi .
 na -hi
 AUX IMP+F
 aux

'He worked on the house in the middle of the garden. He weaved thatch. His younger brothers remembered. "Let's go back and see my older brother."'

71 *Okoyo* *e* *totowama* *nahi* .
 o- ka ayo ee to- to- awa -ma na -hi
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 1IN DUP away see back AUX IMP+F
 nm pron vt aux

""Let's go back and see my older brother.""

THE FIRST PAUMARI

72 *Okoyo* *abarebona* *ati neri*
 o- ka ayo ahaba -ra -hibona ati na -hiri
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother die NEG INT+M say AUX RP.E+M
 nm vi vt aux

amaka
 ama -ka
 SEC DECL+M
 sec

"My brother said he wouldn't die."

73 *Okoyo* *wine* *awaka*
 o- ka ayo wina+M awa -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother live seem+M DECL+M
 nm vi sec

"I guess my brother is still alive."

74 *Okoyo* *winebona* *ati neri amane*
 o- ka ayo wina -hibona ati na -hiri ama -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother live INT+M say AUX RP.E+M SEC BKG+M
 nm vi vt aux sec

me ati nemetemoneke
 me ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vt aux

"My brother said he would still be alive," they said.'

75 *Ee* , *e ka ayo e towamamata*
 ee ee ka ayo ee to- awa -ma -mata
 yes 1IN.S POSS older brother 1IN.S away see back short time
 interj pron prt nm pron vt

"Yes, let's go back and see our older brother."

76 *Ee e ka ayo e towamamata mata*
 ee ee ka ayo ee to- awa -ma -mata mata
 yes 1IN POSS older brother 1IN.S away see back short time for now
 interj pron prt nm pron vt prt

"Yes, let's go back and see our older brother."

77 *Faya me kakama me me*
 faya me ka- ka -ma+F me me
 so 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron pron

famemetemoneke
 fama -hemete -mone -ke
 be two FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

"Then the two of them came back.'

78 *Me fama me kakama me*
 me fama+F me ka- ka -ma+F me
 3PL.S be two 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi pron

kakamemetemoneke
 ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

THE FIRST PAUMARI

'The two of them came back.'

79 *Yamata me awaawawa nemetemone ahi , yama*
 yamata me awa- awa -wa na -hemete -mone ahi , yama
 crops 3PL.S DUP see DUP AUX FP.N+F REP+F then thing
 nf pron vt aux dem nf

yanaharo ahi
 yana -haaro ahi
 grow IP.E+F then
 vi dem

'They coveted the crops that were growing.'

80 *Kimi winanana kawahematamonaka , kimi ahi*
 kimi wina -na -na ka- na -waha -himata -mona -ka , kimi ahi
 corn hang DUP DUP COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M corn then
 nm vi aux nm dem

'The corn was all leaning over.'

81 *Fowa kabe yama nafi yana , moni yana*
 fowa kabe yama nafi yana.LIST , moni yana
 sweet manioc thing all start sound start
 nm nf pn vi pn vi

nematamonaka , teo , teo
 na -himata -mona -ka , teo , teo
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (sound of hitting) (sound of hitting)
 aux sound sound

teo , teo , teo , awa
 teo , teo , teo , awa
 (sound of hitting) (sound of hitting) (sound of hitting) wood
 sound sound sound nf

ti nakosenoho
 tii na -kosa -hino -ho
 cut through AUX middle IP.N+M DUP
 vt aux

'There was sweet manioc, and all kinds of crops were growing. The sound of him started, "teo, teo, teo, teo, teo," as he cut off the ends of poles.'

82 *Awa ti nakoseno moni , moni yana*
 awa tii na -kosa -hino moni , moni yana
 wood cut through AUX middle IP.N+M sound sound start
 nf vt aux pn pn vi

nematamonaka
 na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'The sound of him cutting off the ends of poles started.'

83 *Moni yana ne , moni Efe moni amaka*
 moni yana na+M , moni efe moni ama -ka
 sound start AUX sound this+M sound be DECL+M
 pn vi aux pn dem pn vc

'The sound of him started. "That's the sound of him."'

THE FIRST PAUMARI

84 *Himata nima onahaba* ?
 himata nima o- na -haba
 what? like 1SG.S AUX FUT+F
 interrog prt aux
 "What should I do?"

85 *Okoyo yofine awaka*
 o- ka ayo yofina+M awa -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother cause fear seem+M DECL+M
 nm vi sec
 "I'm afraid of my brother."

86 *Era awehiba awaka*
 era awa -hiba awa -ka
 1IN.O see FUT+M seem+M DECL+M
 pron vt sec
 "He is going to see us."

87 *Hima hinaka kimi owa okanikibana* ?
 hima , hinaka kimi owa o- ka- nika+F -bana
 let's go 3SG.POSS corn other+M 1SG.S COMIT ask for FUT
 interj pron nm adj vt
 "Let's go. Should I ask for more of his corn?"

88 *Kimi owa okanikibana* ?
 kimi owa o- ka- nika+F -bana
 corn other+M 1SG.S COMIT ask for FUT
 nm adj vt
 "Should I ask for more of his corn?"

89 *Okoyo ka kimi okanikabana*
 o- ka ayo ka kimi o- ka- nika -habana
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother POSS corn 1SG.S COMIT ask for FUT+F
 nm prt nm vt

oke ahi
 o- ke ahi
 1SG.S DECL+F then
 prt dem

"I'm going to ask for some of my brother's corn."

90 *Kimi , kimi , kimi amare hiba , yama one*
 kimi , kimi , kimi ama -ra+M hiba , yama one
 corn corn corn be NEG wait thing other+F
 nm nm nm vc interj nf adj
okanikibana
 o- ka- nika+F -bana , yama , yama , kimi ino
 1SG.S COMIT ask for FUT thing thing corn name+M
 vt nf nf nm pn

watarari
 wata -ra -haari
 exist NEG IP.E+M
 vi

'Wait, he didn't say corn. "I'll ask for something else," since corn didn't have a name yet.'

THE FIRST PAUMARI

91 *Kimi ino watare Yama okanikahabanake*
 kimi ino wata -ra+M yama o- ka- nika -habana -ke
 corn name+M exist NEG thing 1SG.S COMIT ask for FUT+F DECL+F
 nm pn vi nf vt

haro kabahabana
 haaro , kaba -habana
 that one+F eat FUT+F
 dem result

'Corn didn't have a name. "I'm going to ask for something to eat."

92 *Kabatani amanite*
 kaba -tee -hani ama -nite
 eat HAB IP.N+F be ?
 result vc

"It's good to eat."

93 *Hiba okoyo ati omitamatabana*
 hiba , o- ka ayo ati o- mita -mata -bana
 wait 1SG.POSS POSS older brother voice 1SG.S hear short time FUT
 interj nm pn vt

"Just a minute, let me hear what my brother has to say."

94 *Hinaka yobe baikani hawa toikime hahi*
 hinaka yobe baikani hawa to- ha -kima+M , haahi
 3SG.POSS house middle be finished CH AUX two this one+M
 pron nm pn vi aux dem

hawa toa tati yoto kare ha ta
 hawa to- ha.LIST , tati yoto ka- na -ra+M haa taa
 be finished CH AUX top cover COMIT AUX NEG DEM contrast
 vi aux pn result aux dem prt

howa tona enoki ya yoyowarawematamona yobe
 howa to- na.LIST eenoki ya yo- yowa -rawa -himata -mona , yobe
 be open CH AUX middle ADJU DUP reach F.PL FP.N+M REP+M house
 vi aux pn prt vi nm

ehebote
 ehebote
 big
 adj

'The two parts of the middle of his house were done. The other part was ready, too. There were two parts left open yet on the ends of the roof of the big house.'

95 *Yama aahi toenoho hinaka hinaka kokosi*
 yama a- ahi to- ha -hino -ho hinaka , hinaka ko- kosi
 thing DUP work on CH AUX IP.N+M DUP 3SG.POSS 3SG.POSS DUP flail
 nf vt aux pron pron nf

tama ahi
 tama+F ahi
 be many there
 vi dem

'He had been working. He had many switches.'

96 *Sare sare siri na sare siri na*
 sarehe , sarehe siri na+F , sarehe siri na+F
 blowgun dart blowgun dart scrape AUX blowgun dart scrape AUX
 nf nf result aux nf result aux

THE FIRST PAUMARI

, *sare* *siri* *na* *aya* *yowawa* *na* , *kobobo*
 sarehe siri na+F aya yowa -wa na+F , kobo -bo
 blowgun dart scrape AUX this reach DUP AUX be attached DUP
 nf result aux dem vi aux vi

kanemetemone *yobe* *bako* *ya* *ahi* .
 ka- na -hemete -mone yobe bako ya ahi
 COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F thatch inner surface+M ADJU then
 aux nm pn prt dem

'Sharpened darts this long were stuck into the underside of the thatch.'

97 *Me* *boni* *moto* *nibana* , *ha* *ya* *ahi* ?
 me boni moto na+F -bana , haa ya ahi
 3PL.POSS upper lip+F pierce AUX FUT DEM ADJU then
 pron pn result aux dem prt dem

""Are they going to have their upper lips pierced?""

98 *Ahi* *ai* *moto* *ai* *moto* *ahi* , *me* *boni*
 ahi ai moto.LIST ahi moto ahi , me boni
 here here pierce there pierce then 3PL.POSS upper lip+F
 dem dem result dem result dem pron pn

moto *ni* *haro* .
 moto na.NFIN haaro
 pierce AUX that one+F
 result aux dem

""They will be pierced here, then on the other side.""

99 *Ai* *moto* .
 ahi moto.LIST
 there pierce
 dem result

""They will be pierced there.""

100 *Yama* *nawahaba* *hiri* *neba* , *hine*
 yama nawaha -haba hiri na -hiba , hine
 thing take a long time FUT+F make AUX FUT+M 3.REFL
 nf vi vt aux pron

tonahiyematamona *amaka* .
 to- na- hiya -himata -mona , ama -ka
 CH CAUS be different FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M
 vt sec

'He turned himself into something else, so that he could make it take a long time.'

101 *Me* *towakemetemoneke* *ahi* .
 me to- ka- ka -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi dem

'The two of them went.'

102 *Me* *towaka* , *me*
 me to- ka- ka+F , me
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S
 pron vi pron

towakemetemoneke .
 to- ka- ka -hemete -mone -ke
 away COMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'They went.'

THE FIRST PAUMARI

103 *Ayo* , *ayo* .
 ayo ayo
 older brother older brother
 nm nm

"Older brother."

104 *Haa* ?
 haa
 huh?
 interj

"Huh?"

105 *Ayo* *tiwinini* ?
 ayo ti- wina -ni
 older brother 2SG.S live BKG+F
 nm vi

"Brother, are you living here?"

106 *Owina* *oke* .
 o- wina o- ke
 1SG.S live 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt

"I am living here."

107 *Owinini* .
 o- wina -ni
 1SG.S live BKG+F
 vi

"I am living here."

108 *Me* *towakamemetemoneke* .
 me to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They went back.'

109 *Me* *towakama* *me* *kobo* *tokowiti* ,
 me to- ka- ka -ma+F me kobo to- ka- na -witI
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S arrive away COMIT AUX out
 pron vi pron vi aux

yobe *yobe* *kowematamonaka* .
 yobe yobe kowa -himata -mona -ka
 thatch thatch weave FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm nm vt

'They went back. They arrived. He was weaving thatch.'

110 *Yobe* *kowe* *yobe* *kowe* *Owa* *tiwibe* .
 yobe kowa+M yobe kowa+M owa ti- awa -be
 thatch weave thatch weave 1SG.S 2SG.S see IMMED+F
 nm vt nm vt pron vt

'He was weaving thatch. "You will see me."'

111 *Tiwa* *ota* *awahabone* *ota* *kakamineke* .
 tiwa otaa awa -habone otaa ka- ka -ma -ne -ke
 2SG.O 1EX.S see INT+F 1EX.S COMIT go/come back CONT+F DECL+F
 pron pron vt pron vi

THE FIRST PAUMARI

"We came to see you."

112 *Aa* *owina* *oke*
aa o- wina o- ke
(pause) 1SG.S live 1SG.S DECL+F
interj vi prt

"I am living here."

113 *Ohaba* *okere*
o- ahaba o- ke -re
1SG.S die 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F
vi prt

"I didn't die."

114 *Owinini*
o- wina -ni
1SG.S live BKG+F
vi

"I am living here."

115 *Ohabarini*
o- ahaba -ra -ni
1SG.S die NEG BKG+F
vi

"I didn't die."

116 *Owina* *oke* *yama* *yama* *ahi* *ona* *owa*
o- wina o- ke yama yama ahi o- na+F owa
1SG.S live 1SG.S DECL+F thing thing work on 1SG.S AUX 1SG
vi prt nf nf vt aux pron

"I am living here, working."

117 *Yobe* *yobe* *okowa*
yobe yobe o- kowa.LIST
thatch thatch 1SG.S weave
nm nm vt

"I am weaving thatch...."

118 *Ayo* *himata* *amari* *haro* *ari* *hari*
ayo himata ama -ri haaro haari haari
older brother what? be CQ+F that one+F that one+M that one+M
nm interrog vc dem dem dem

winanana *kawaharo* *haro* ?
wina -na -na ka- na -waha -haaro haaro
hang DUP DUP COMIT AUX change IP.E+F that one+F
vi aux dem

"Brother, what are those things all hanging there?"

119 *Kimi* *amaka* *kimi*
kimi ama -ka kimi
corn be DECL+M corn
nm vc nm

"It's corn."

THE FIRST PAUMARI

120 *Kimi* ?
 kimi
 corn
 nm
 "Corn?"

121 *Kimi* *kimi* *amane* .
 kimi kimi ama -ne
 corn corn be BKG+M
 nm nm vc
 "Corn."

122 *Kimi* *ama* *hari* *watahari* *hari* .
 kimi ama haari wata -haari haari
 corn be that one+M stand IP.E+M that one+M
 nm vc dem vi dem
 "Those are stalks of corn."

123 *Ayo* *haro* ?
 ayo haaro
 older brother that one+F
 nm dem
 "Brother, and those?"

124 *Yawita* , *haso* *biha* , *biha* *ama* *haro* .
 yawita.LIST , haso.LIST biha.LIST , biha ama haaro
 peach palm taro sp yam yam be that one+F
 nm nm nf nf vc dem
 "Peach palm, *haso* taro, yams. Those are yams."

125 *Haso* *ama* *ha* .
 haso ama haa
 taro sp be DEM
 nm vc dem
 "Those are *haso* taro."

126 *Yama* *ini* *yabehimatamona* *ahi* .
 yama ini yaba -himata -mona ahi
 thing name+F say FP.N+M REP+M here
 nf pn vt dem
 'He was telling the names of the crops.'

127 *Yama* *ini* *yabe* , *Bia* *bia wao* *bia wao* *ama* *ha* .
 yama ini yaba+M , biha biha wao biha wao ama haa
 thing name+F say yam yam variety yam variety be DEM
 nf pn vt nf nf nf vc dem
 'He was telling the names of the crops. "Yams, *wao* yams. Those are *wao* yams."

128 *Fowa kabe* , *fowa kabe* *ama* *hari* .
 fowa kabe fowa kabe ama haari
 sweet manioc sweet manioc be that one+M
 nm nm vc dem
 "That's sweet manioc over there."

THE FIRST PAUMARI

129 *Yama yofi nematamonaka*
 yama yofi na -himata -mona -ka
 thing show AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf vt aux

'He was showing the crops.'

130 *Fowa kabe ama ha*
 fowa kabe ama haa
 sweet manioc be DEM
 nm vc dem

""That's sweet manioc.""

131 *Ayo oko fowaba bore tikanahi*
 ayo o- ka fowa -ba bore ti- ka- na -hi
 older brother 1SG.POSS POSS manioc FUT pull out 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMP+F
 nm prt nm vt aux

okobamebana

o- to- kaba -ma -hibana
 1SG.S away eat back FUT+M
 vt

""Brother, pull up some manioc for me, so I can eat it after I go home.""

132 *Kabateno ama ?*
 kaba -tee -hino ama
 eat HAB IP.N+M SEC
 result sec

""Is it eaten?""

133 *Fowa tikabeba tikamamatabana*
 fowa ti- kaba -hiba ti- to- ka -ma -mata -habana
 manioc 2SG.S eat FUT+M 2SG.S away go/come back short time FUT+F
 nm vt vi

tike

ti- ke
 2SG.S DECL+F
 prt

""You will eat manioc, but first you go home.""

134 *Ayo ofimi oke*
 ayo o- fimi o- ke
 older brother 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F
 nm vi prt

""Brother, I'm hungry.""

135 *Oka kimimona tine baka*
 o- ka , kimi -mona ati ti- na+M baka
 1SG.POSS POSS corn REP+M say 2SG.S AUX break
 prt nm vt vt

osiba

o- na -kosa -baha hari ?
 1SG.S AUX middle before that one+M
 aux dem

""The thing you call corn, can I break one off?""

THE FIRST PAUMARI

136 *Kimi baka tisariyahi*
 kimi baka ti- na -kosa -ra -yahi
 corn break 2SG.S AUX middle NEG DIST.IMP+F
 nm vt aux

"Don't break a corn cob off."

137 *Baka tisarayaho*
 baka ti- na -kosa -ra -yaho
 break 2SG.S AUX middle NEG DIST.IMP+M
 vt aux

"Don't break one off."

138 *Hiwa na na mata*
 hiwa na.LIST na mata
 only.M exist AUX for now
 pron vi aux prt

"Let it be for now."

139 *Okobi okobi yokana*
 o- ka abi o- ka abi yokana
 1SG.POSS POSS father 1SG.POSS POSS father true
 nm nm adj

kamamatehibanaka owa ni ya
 ka -ma -mata -hibana -ka owa ni ya
 go/come back short time FUT+M DECL+M 1SG to ADJU
 vi pron prt prt

"Wait until my father comes to me."

140 *Aya abariko towitamaki abariko towite ahabe*
 aya abariko to- ita -makI.NOM abariko to- ita+M ahaba+M
 this moon CH sit following moon CH sit end
 dem nm vi nm vi vi

abariko ahabe abariko hahi towitamaki ya te
 abariko ahaba+M abariko haahi to- ita -makI.NOM ya tee
 moon end moon this one+M CH sit following ADJU 2PL.S
 nm vi nm dem vi prt pron

kamiyahi mato sone ya
 ka -ma -yahi mato sone.NOM+M ya
 go/come back DIST.IMP+F tree sp fall ADJU
 vi nm vi prt

"After two months, you come back, when the *mato* fruits fall."

141 *Mato sone ya te kamiyahi*
 mato sona.NOM+M ya tee ka -ma -yahi
 tree sp fall ADJU 2PL.S go/come back DIST.IMP+F
 nm vi prt pron vi

"When the *mato* fruits fall, you come back."

142 *Mato sone ya te kamiyahi owa ni ya*
 mato sona.NOM+M ya tee ka -ma -yahi owa ni ya
 tree sp fall ADJU 2PL.S go/come back DIST.IMP+F 1SG to ADJU
 nm vi prt pron vi pron prt prt

"When the *mato* fruits fall, you come back to me."

THE FIRST PAUMARI

143 *Te kobo nibe ahi*
 tee kobo na -be ahi
 2PL.S arrive AUX IMMED+F here
 pron vi aux dem

"You will arrive here."

144 *Ayo ofimini*
 ayo o- fimi -ni
 older brother 1SG.S be hungry BKG+F
 nm vi

"Brother, I'm hungry."

145 *Tifimiha titefeba watakere*
 ti- fimi+F ti- tefe -ba wata -ke -re
 2SG.S be hungry 2SG.POSS food FUT exist DECL+F NEG+F
 vi pn vi

"You are hungry, but there is no food for you."

146 *Titefe watarini*
 ti- tefe wata -ra -ni
 2SG.POSS food exist NEG BKG+F
 pn vi

"You don't have any food."

147 *Yama ta nene amani*
 yama taa na -hene ama -ni
 thing give AUX IRR+F SEC BKG+F
 nf result aux sec

"It won't be given now."

148 *Yama yama kabiba yokana ya tiwa wati*
 yama yama kaba.NOM+F -ba yokana ya tiwa wati
 thing thing eat FUT true ADJU 2SG.O think about
 nf nf result adj prt pron vt

owahaba owa awine oke
 o- na -waha -haba owa awine o- ke
 1SG.S AUX change FUT+F 1SG seem+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 aux pron sec prt

"When the time to eat comes, I will have pity on you."

149 *Tiwa wati owaba owa awine oni*
 tiwa wati o- na -waha -haba owa awine o- ni
 2SG.O think about 1SG.S AUX change FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 pron vt aux pron sec prt

"I will have pity on you."

150 *Yama tikababa awineke owa ni*
 yama ti- kaba -haba awine -ke owa ni
 thing 2SG.S eat FUT+F seem+F DECL+F 1SG to
 nf vt sec pron prt

tisawimi ya
 ti- sawi -ma.NOM+F ya
 2SG.S be present back ADJU
 vi prt

"You will eat it, when you are with me again."

THE FIRST PAUMARI

160 *Tikabeba* *awane* *one* *oni*
 ti- kaba -hiba awa -ne ati o- na -ne o- ni
 2SG.S eat FUT+M seem+M BKG+M say 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vt sec vt prt

"I said you will eat it."

161 *Kobo* *tinami* *yokana* *ya* *tikabebanaka*
 kobo ti- na -ma.NOM+F yokana ya ti- kaba -hibana -ka
 arrive 2SG.S AUX back true ADJU 2SG.S eat FUT+M DECL+M
 vi aux adj prt vt

abariko *ohari* *ya*
 abariko ohari+M ya
 moon be one ADJU
 nm vi prt

"When you come back again, you will eat it, when it is new moon."

162 *Abariko* *ohari* *abariko* *towitamaki* *ya* *te*
 abariko ohari+M abariko to- ita -makI.NOM ya tee
 moon be one moon CH sit following ADJU 2PL.S
 nm vi nm vi prt pron

kamiyahi
 ka -ma -yahi
 go/come back DIST.IMP+F
 vi

"When it is new moon again, you come back."

163 *Mato* *mato* *sone* *ya* , *mato* *sone* *ya* *te*
 mato mato sona.NOM+M ya , mato sona.NOM+M ya tee
 tree sp tree sp fall ADJU tree sp fall ADJU 2PL.S
 nm nm vi prt nm vi prt pron

kamiyahi *owa* *ni* *yokana* *te* *kobo* *naba* *te*
 ka -ma -yahi owa ni yokana tee kobo na -haba tee
 go/come back DIST.IMP+F 1SG to true 2PL.S arrive AUX FUT+F 2PL.S
 vi pron prt adj pron vi aux pron

"When the *mato* fruits fall, you come back here right to me."

164 *Te* *kobo* *naro* *hiba* *sare* *hawa*
 tee kobo na -haaro hiba sarehe hawa
 2PL.S arrive AUX PFUT+F wait blowgun dart be ready
 pron vi aux interj nf vi

onihamatiba
 o- to- niha- ha -mata -baha
 1SG.S CH CAUS be short time before
 aux

"When you have arrived...wait, let me prepare blowgun darts."

165 *Hawa* *toamakeba* *ama* *ha*
 hawa to- ha -makI -hiba ama haa
 be finished CH be following FUT+M be DEM
 vi aux vc dem

"They will be ready."

166 *Hawa* *tohamakeba* *ama* *ha* *te* *kobo*
 hawa to- ha -makI -hiba ama haa tee kobo
 be finished CH AUX following FUT+M SEC DEM 2PL.S arrive
 vi aux sec dem pron vi

THE FIRST PAUMARI

"Pineapples, *haso taro, yobo taro, nakafira taro*, and a long line of yams."

173	Biha	e	kabahaba	e	amake	me	ati
	biha	ee	kaba -haba	ee	ama -ke	me	ati
	yam	1IN.S	eat FUT+F	1IN.S	SEC DECL+F	3PL.S	say
	nf	pron	vt	pron	sec	pron	vt
	nemetemoneke			me	tohiyarama	mati	
	na	-hemete	-mone -ke	me	to- hiyara	-ma+F	mati
	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F DECL+F	3PL.S	away speak to	back	3PL.S
	aux			pron	vi		pron

"We are going to eat yams," they said, speaking back at their village.'

174	Yama	baka	nakosi	okoyo		nofanofa
	yama	baka	na -kosa.NFIN	o-	ka ayo	nofa- nofa
	thing	break	AUX middle	1SG.POSS	POSS older brother	DUP want
	nf	result	aux	nm		vt

re
na -ra+M
AUX NEG
aux

"My brother doesn't want the corn to be picked."

175	Kimi	kimi	hata	tonanana	kawaharene
	kimi	kimi	hata	to- na -na -na	ka- na -waha -hare -ne
	corn	corn	stick in	CH AUX DUP DUP	COMIT AUX change IP.E+M BKG+M
	nm	nm	vt	aux	aux

"The corn cobs are all on the stalks."

176	Ofimini		okene	ati	nahare
	o- fimi	-ni	o- ke -ne	ati na -hare	
	1SG.S be hungry	BKG+F	1SG.S DECL+F IRR+F	say AUX IP.E+M	
	vi		prt	vt aux	

"I was hungry, but it didn't matter to him."

177	Hiba	abariko	abariko	oharibona	amaka	hari
	hiba	abariko	abariko	ohari -bona	ama -ka	haari
	wait	moon	moon	be one INT+M	be DECL+M	that one+M
	interj	nm	nm	vi	vc	dem

"Wait, it will be next month."

178	Abariko	ohari	towitamaki	ya	yamata	hatibone
	abariko	ohari+M	to- ita -makI.NOM	ya	yamata	hata.NOM+F -bone
	moon	be one	CH sit following	ADJU	crops	be ripe INT+F
	nm	vi	vi	prt	nf	vi

ka	amaka	hari	mato	sone	yokana	ya
ka	ama -ka	haari	mato	sona.NOM+M	yokana	ya
which	SEC DECL+M	that one+M	tree sp	fall	true	ADJU
prt	sec	dem	nm	vi	adj	prt

"At the next new moon...that will be the month when the crops are ripe, when the *mato* fruits fall."

179	Mato	sone	mato	e	kakawi	nabone
	mato	sona+M	mato	ee	ka- kawii	na -habone
	tree sp	fall	tree sp	1IN.S	DUP eat with something	AUX INT+F
	nm	vi	nm	pron	vt	aux

THE FIRST PAUMARI

193 *Hima e kamakabote nabone*
 hima ee ka -ma -kabote na -habone
 let's go 1IN.S go/come back quickly AUX INT+F
 interj pron vi aux

okoyo ati narene
 o- ka ayo ati na -hare -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother say AUX IP.E+M BKG+M
 nm vt aux

"Come on, my brother said we should come back soon."

194 *Me tokoma me me towakama me*
 me to- ka -ma+F me me to- ka- ka -ma+F me
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

towakama me me towakama Aii
 to- ka- ka -ma+F me me to- ka- ka -ma+F Aii
 away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back wow!
 vi pron pron vi interj

okoyo tefe tiwa
 o- ka ayo tefe ti- awa
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother crops+M 2SG.S see
 nm pn vt

"They left. "Wow, look at my brother's crops."

195 *Yama me ki na me yoro na me Awa ehebote*
 yama me kii na+F me yoro na+F me awa ehebote
 thing 3PL.S look at AUX 3PL.S stay AUX 3PL.S garden big
 nf pron vt aux pron vi aux pron nf adj

okoyo tefe yama koro hinehete
 o- ka ayo tefe yama koro hi- na -hete
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother food+M thing plant OC AUX RP.N+F
 nm pn nf vt aux

"They stood looking at it. "It's a big garden, the crops that my brother planted."

196 *Faya me yoro na me towakama me*
 faya me yoro na+F me to- ka- ka -ma+F me
 so 3PL.S stand AUX 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 conj pron vi aux pron vi pron

towakama me
 to- ka- ka -ma+F me
 away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 vi pron

towakamemetemoneke
 to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

"They stood there. They went."

197 *Me towakama me me kobo*
 me to- ka- ka -ma+F me me kobo
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive
 pron vi pron pron vi

tokanamabone me bori tokanama me
 to- ka- na -ma -habone me bori to- ka- na -ma+F me
 away COMIT AUX back INT+F 3PL.S get close away COMIT AUX back 3PL.S
 aux pron vi aux pron

THE FIRST PAUMARI

me kobo tokanamemetemoneke
 me kobo to- ka- na -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S arrive away COMIT AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

'They went. They were going to arrive and they got close. They arrived.'

198 **Fera ? me ka abi ati nematamonaka**
 fee -ra me ka abi ati na -himata -mona -ka
 3SG NPQ 3PL.S POSS father say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron pron prt nm vt aux

''Well, what about him?'' their father said.'

199 **Fera tina okobi yama e**
 fee -ra ati ti- na+F o- ka abi yama ee
 3SG NPQ say 2SG.S AUX 1SG.POSS POSS father thing 1IN.S
 pron vt nm nf pron

kabateha okoyo nawatawahane
 kaba -tee+F o- ka ayo na- wata -waha.CONT+M -ne
 eat HAB 1SG.POSS POSS older brother CAUS grow change BKG+M
 vt nm vt

''Well?'' you say, my father. My brother has planted crops that people eat.''

200 **Fowa fowa fowa kabe fowa yokana fowa sawa**
 fowa fowa fowa kabe.LIST fowa yokana.LIST fowa sawa.LIST
 manioc manioc sweet manioc manioc true white manioc
 nm nm nm nm adj nm
 , **yama tamaha ota kaminineke**
 yama tama+F otaa kamina -ne -ke
 thing be many 1EX.S tell CONT+F DECL+F
 nf vi pron vt

''Manioc, sweet manioc, bitter manioc, fowa sawa manioc, we are telling about many crops.''

201 **Biha fowa kabe tama fowa kabe wati**
 biha.LIST fowa kabe tama.LIST fowa kabe wata.NFIN
 yam sweet manioc be many sweet manioc grow
 nf nm vi nm vi
yoyowahare ahi okoyo yofi hinahari
 yo- yowa -hare ahi o- ka ayo yofi hi- na -haari
 DUP reach IP.E+M there 1SG.POSS POSS older brother show OC AUX IP.E+M
 vi dem nm vt aux

''Yams, and lots of sweet manioc. The sweet manioc plants are this high, my brother showed them.''

202 **E tafahaba e amake e tokomi ya**
 ee tafa -haba ee ama -ke ee to- ka -ma.NOM+F ya
 1IN.S eat FUT+F 1IN.S SEC DECL+F 1IN.S away go/come back ADJU
 pron vi pron sec pron vi prt

''We will eat, when we go there.''

203 **E tokomaba eke abariko owa ya**
 ee to- ka -ma -haba ee -ke abariko owa ya
 1IN.S away go/come back FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F moon other+M ADJU
 pron vi pron nm adj prt

''We will go in the next month.''

THE FIRST PAUMARI

204 *Abariko hahi ahabebona ama ha*
 abariko haahi ahaba -hibona ama haa
 moon this one+M end INT+M SEC DEM
 nm dem vi sec dem

"This month will end."

205 *Abariko ahabe ya , mato sone yokana e*
 abariko ahaba+M ya , mato sona.NOM+M yokana ee
 moon end ADJU tree sp fall true 1IN.S
 nm vi prt nm vi adj pron

tokomabone okoyo ati
 to- ka -ma -habone o- ka ayo ati
 away go/come back INT+F 1SG.POSS POSS older brother say
 vi nm vt

nareka mato e kakawi naba e
 na -hare -ka mato ee ka- kawi na -haba ee
 AUX IP.E+M DECL+M tree sp 1IN.S DUP eat with something AUX FUT+F 1IN.S
 aux nm pron vt aux pron

"When this month is over, when the *mato* fruits are falling, my brother said we will go there and eat food with *mato* fruits."

206 *Mato kakawi obeya*
 mato ka- kawi o- na -be -ya
 tree sp DUP eat with something 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 nm vt aux

"I want to eat food with *mato* fruits."

207 *Me yana tonaba , me ka abariko ahabe abariko*
 me yana to- na -haba , me ka abariko ahaba+M abariko
 3PL.S start CH AUX FUT+F 3PL POSS moon end moon
 pron vi aux pron prt nm vi nm

ahabematamonaka hari
 ahaba -himata -mona -ka haari
 end FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+M
 vi dem

'The month for them to leave ended.'

208 *Abariko towitamaki Mato soni yana*
 abariko to- ita -makI+M mato sona.NFIN yana
 moon CH sit following tree sp fall start
 nm vi nm vi vi

tonahareka
 to- na -hare -ka
 CH AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 aux

'It was the new moon. "The *mato* fruits have started to fall."

209 *Mato soni yana tonare*
 mato sona.NFIN yana to- na -hare
 tree sp fall start CH AUX IP.E+M
 nm vi vi aux

"The *mato* fruits have started to fall."

THE FIRST PAUMARI

210 *Mato mato me kakama mato me hawi*
 mato mato me ka- ka -ma+F mato me hawi
 tree sp tree sp 3PL.S COMIT go/come back tree sp 3PL.S gnaw
 nm nm pron vt nm pron vt

nemetemoneke

na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'They brought *mato* fruits back, and ate them.'

211 *Mato me hawi na me Abariko yana tonaka*
 mato me hawi na+F me abariko yana to- na -ka
 tree sp 3PL.S gnaw AUX 3PL.S moon start CH AUX DECL+M
 nm pron vt aux pron nm vi aux

hima hima
 hima hima
 let's go let's go
 interj interj

'They were eating *mato* fruits. "The moon has appeared, let's go."'

212 *Abi abi hima okoyo ni ya*
 abi abi hima o- ka ayo ni ya
 father father let's go 1SG.POSS POSS older brother to ADJU
 nm nm interj nm prt prt

'"Father, let's go to my brother."'

213 *Kimi e kabibeya kimi*
 kimi ee kaba -be -ya kimi
 corn 1IN.S eat IMMED+F now corn
 nm pron vt nm

'"Let's eat corn."'

214 *Kimi me kabahabone me yana tonemetemoneke*
 kimi me kaba -habone me yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke
 corn 3PL.S eat INT+F 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron vt pron vi aux

ahi
 ahi
 there
 dem

'They set out to eat corn.'

215 *Me yana tona me me banehemetemoneke*
 me yana to- na+F me me bana -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux pron pron vi

ahi
 ahi
 there
 dem

'They set out, and moved.'

216 *Ayo taboro nafi awa ?*
 ayo taboro nafi+M awa
 older brother place+M be big seem+M
 nm pn vi sec

'"Is your older brother's place big?"'

THE FIRST PAUMARI

223 *Faya me yaka na me me yaka na me awa witi*
 faya me yaka na+F me me yaka na+F me awa witi
 so 3PL.S walk AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S walk AUX 3PL.S garden edge
 conj pron vi aux pron pron vi aux pron nf pn

ya me ma nama me Aii yamata yama yama
 ya me maa na -ma+F me Aii yamata yama yama
 ADJU 3PL.S stop AUX back 3PL.S wow! crops thing thing
 prt pron vi aux pron interj nf nf nf

nete
 na -hete
 exist RP.N+F
 vi

"They walked. They stopped at the edge of the garden. "Wow, look at the crops there were planted."

224 *Hibaka ya hawi tohari ?*
 hibaka ya hawi to- ha -ri
 where ADJU trail CH be CQ+F
 interrog prt nf vc

"Where is the trail?"

225 *Ota kakami ama ahi*
 otaa ka- ka -ma.NOM+F ama ahi
 1EX.S COMIT go/come back be there
 pron vi vc dem

"We came this way."

226 *Ayo ota kakami ama*
 ayo otaa ka- ka -ma.NOM+F ama
 older brother 1EX.S COMIT go/come back be
 nm pron vi vc

"Brother, we came this way."

227 *Awa bere nine ha*
 awa bere na -ne haa
 tree be across AUX CONT+F DEM
 nf vi aux dem

"There is a log lying across there."

228 *Bere tiwiti ahi*
 bere ti- to- na -witI ahi
 be across 2SG.S away AUX out there
 vi aux dem

"Go across on top of it."

229 *Yamata tamake*
 yamata tama -ke
 crops be many DECL+F
 nf vi

"There are many crops."

230 *Fowa iso te ti nakosariyahi*
 fowa iso tee tii na -kosa -ra -yahi
 manioc stalk+M 2PL.S cut through AUX middle NEG DIST.IMP+F
 nm pn pron vt aux

"Don't cut through the manioc stalks."

THE FIRST PAUMARI

- 231 **Fowa iso te tatama tokomisa ahi**
 fowa iso tee ta- tama to- ka- na -misa ahi
 manioc stalk+M 2PL.S DUP hold onto away COMMIT AUX up there
 nm pn pron vt aux dem
 "Lift up the manioc stalks."
- 232 **Yama ati kasiroha amani**
 yama ati kasiro+F ama -ni
 thing voice persist SEC BKG+F
 nf pn vi sec
 "That guy won't give anything."
- 233 **Te awehibanane**
 tee awa -hibana -ne
 2PL.S see FUT+M BKG+M
 pron vt
 "You will see."
- 234 **Faya me yaka na me me yaka na me me yaka**
 faya me yaka na+F me me yaka na+F me me yaka
 so 3PL.S walk AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S walk AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S walk
 conj pron vi aux pron pron vi aux pron pron vi
nemetemoneke
 na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux
 "They walked."
- 235 **Abi haha**
 abi ha- haa
 father DUP call
 nm vi
 "Father, call out."
- 236 **Heei**
 heei
 yoohoo
 interj
 "Yoohoo."
- 237 **Hoo**
 hoo
 huh?
 interj
 "Yes?"
- 238 **Yobe tati yoto kaneno afi toname**
 yobe tati yoto ka- na -hino afi to- na -ma+M
 house top cover COMMIT AUX IP.N+M bathe away AUX back
 nm pn vt aux vi aux
- kame winame ni ya bati kobo**
 ka -ma+M wina -ma+M ni ya bati kobo
 go/come back lie in hammock back to ADJU 3SG.POSS.father arrive
 vi vi prt prt nm vi

THE FIRST PAUMARI

nematamonaka

na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'He had been putting thatch on the top of the roof. He went to bathe and came back and lay in his hammock. His father arrived to him.'

239 **Me kobo na me Okobi ama nano**
 me kobo na+F me o- ka abi ama na.NOM+M -no
 3PL.S arrive AUX 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS father be AUX IP.N+M
 pron vi aux pron nm vc aux

"They arrived. "What do you know, it's my father."

240 **Abi abi ha tine ti ?**
 abi abi haa ti- na -ne ti-
 father father call 2SG.S AUX CONT+F 2SG.S
 nm nm vi aux prt

"Father, did you call?"

241 **Ee ha one oni**
 ee haa o- na -ne o- ni
 yes call 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 interj vi aux prt

"Yes, I called."

242 **Ofimi oke**
 o- fimi o- ke
 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt

"I'm hungry."

243 **Ofimi oke**
 o- fimi o- ke
 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt

"I'm hungry."

244 **Efe yokana ama ti ?**
 efe yokana ama ti-
 this+M true be 2SG.S
 dem adj vc prt

"Is it really you?"

245 **Efe ama oni**
 efe ama o- ni
 this+M be 1SG.S BKG+F
 dem vc prt

"It's me."

246 **Yamata wasihiba ama namata**
 yamata wasi -hiba ama na.NOM+M -mata
 crops find FUT+M be AUX FP.N+M
 nf vt vc aux

"He discovered crops."

THE FIRST PAUMARI

- 247 **Okatao** **yamata** **wasihiba** **ama** **namata** **ahi**
 okatao yamata wasi -hiba ama na.NOM+M -mata ahi
 my son crops find FUT+M SEC AUX FP.N+M then
 nm nf vt sec aux dem
- "My son discovered crops."
- 248 **Ati** **me** **kakasawari** **hihehimarine**
 ati me ka- ka- sawari hi- to- ha -himari -ne
 voice 3PL DUP COMIT frustrate OC CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M
 pn pron vt aux
- "They didn't believe him."
- 249 **Okataora** ?
 okatao -ra
 my son NPQ
 nm
- "Where is my son?"
- 250 **Kamaki** **okatao** **kamaki** , **ota** **noki**
 ka -makI+M okatao ka -makI+M , otaa noki
 go/come following my son go/come following 1EX.S wait for
 vi nm vi pron vt
- nari**
 na -haari
 AUX IP.E+M
 aux
- "There is my son coming, who we were waiting for."
- 251 **Faya** **me** **faya** **bati** **wara**
 faya me faya bati wara
 so 3PL.S so 3SG.POSS.father grab
 conj pron conj nm vt
- hiwahematamonaka** **ahi**
 hi- na -waha -himata -mona -ka ahi
 OC AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem
- 'His father hugged him.'
- 252 **Okatao** **yanakamata**
 okatao yana -ka -mata
 my son grow DECL+M FP.N+M
 nm vi
- "My son grew up."
- 253 **Okatao** **yanakamata** **hari**
 okatao yana -ka -mata haari
 my son grow DECL+M FP.N+M that one+M
 nm vi dem
- "My son grew up."
- 254 **Me** **fimiha** **rama** **ahi**
 me fimi+F rama ahi
 3PL.S be hungry unusual then
 pron vi prt dem
- 'They were hungry.'

THE FIRST PAUMARI

255 *Bese ofimi oke*
 bese o- fimi o- ke
 son 1SG.S be hungry 1SG.S DECL+F
 voc vi prt

"Son, I'm hungry."

256 *Ofimini*
 o- fimi -ni
 1SG.S be hungry BKG+F
 vi

"I'm hungry."

257 *Abi tifimini* ?
 abi ti- fimi -ni
 father 2SG.S be hungry BKG+F
 nm vi

"Father, are you hungry?"

258 *Hiba*
 hiba
 wait
 interj

"Wait a minute."

259 *Inamate ta toname kamematamonaka*
 inamate taa to- na -ma+M ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 child give away AUX back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vt aux vi

'He handed the baby to his wife, and came.'

260 *Kame fimihi Okoyo yobe bari ka*
 ka -ma+M fimi+M o- ka ayo yobe bari ka
 go/come back be hungry 1SG.POSS POSS older brother house back LOC
 vi vi nm nm pn prt

kimi ra nahabibahi
 kimi ra na- ahaba -baha+M
 corn O CAUS end before
 nm prt vt

'He came back. He was hungry. "My brother cut down the corn behind the house first."

261 *Kimi ti nematamonaka ahi ehene*
 kimi tii na -himata -mona -ka ahi ehene
 corn cut through AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then deed+M
 nm vt aux dem pn

hiyarebanoho
 hiya -ra -hiba -no -ho
 be bad NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vi

'He cut down the corn, and then did a bad thing.'

262 *Sare ini sare ini bere kane*
 sarehe ini sarehe ini bere ka- na+M
 blowgun dart point+F blowgun dart point+F be across COMIT AUX
 nf pn nf pn vi aux

'He stuck the blowgun darts in, in a row.'

THE FIRST CORN

Free Translation

The story of corn.

"My son, I'm hungry. I'm going to eat some corn," his father said.

"Father, do you want to eat corn? Okay, where is my machete?"

He went after the corn. He cut down the corn stalks. They carried the corn away. They carried off the corn.

So that they could eat, he went after their upper lips with a blowgun dart, which had been sharpened.

"First one lip is pierced, then the other lip, then their ears and their noses. First this side, then the other side." He pierced their lips.¹⁵¹

"Eat corn. It brought suffering on you. Eat it."

They roasted the corn on coals.

"It's not going to be good for me to eat corn [because my mouth hurts]."

They roasted the corn on coals. They ate the corn. They ate. They had been hungry a long time. They ate, eating the corn.

Then they found manioc. They pulled up the manioc. They ate sweet manioc because of him. The women ate. Their noses hurt.

The one who became the first snake was an old woman.

"Grandma, come here. Eat corn."

"I should eat corn. I can't eat corn. You put in my two teeth, blowgun darts. Put in two blowgun darts, to be my teeth. Put in my two teeth."

She didn't want to have her lips pierced. So he put in the snake's two fangs. The snake was ready to leave.

A boy was standing in front of her. "Grandma, give me the corn I said you should try eating."

She smelled it. Hss, hss. "Yum. That thing has a good smell, and it is going to be eaten. It is corn, look at it. It's corn," she said.

She grabbed the boy's hand. She quickly grabbed a switch. She whipped the boy, boto, boto.

"Aya, aya, aya."

She whipped the boy. She didn't eat any corn. She went away and changed into something else. She didn't eat corn. She went away. She turned into something else, and stayed at the stream edge.

They ate. After he pierced their noses, they ate. After he pierced their upper lips they ate. His son was small.

"Come on, I'll pierce your lip. You are going to eat corn."

His little son cried out. He pierced his son's lip. Also his wife's. He pierced the lips of all of them, also their noses. He whipped them so they could eat corn. He whipped all of them. He whipped his father, and he whipped his old mother, too. He whipped them, all of them, including the children.

151 Nowadays Jarawaras no longer pierce themselves, but Siko and Yowao had pierced noses, and Okomobi, who is Yowao's son, remembers seeing the pierced lips of his maternal grandmother Marikina.

THE FIRST CORN

His switches were stuck under the thatch, all in a row.

"Let him whip me. I'm going to eat corn."

The pain in his upper lip didn't keep him from eating. The plug hurt him [i.e. the plug in his lower lip hit on the wound in his upper lip]. It was hard to stand.

There were no crops, and he found them. These are the crops. He found bitter manioc, sweet manioc, yams, all the crops. He ate *boka* seeds, so he could find the crops. He also ate wild fruits. He ate all kinds of wild fruits.

Then he set fire to himself [by staying in the garden when they burned it]. Afterwards, he sat in the water, and the *korobo* fish cleaned him off [i.e. they ate the burned flesh]. The *korobo* fish cleaned him off, and he got better.

He came back, and made a house. That's the one who became the first Paumari, my grandfather used to say, my father reported. Paumaris today have pierced lips, too. They still have holes in their lips, their lips are pierced. He pierced their lips. He changed into a Paumari. He set fire to himself.

They lived there a long time. The house was full of people. They ate. They had starch to eat with their *mato* fruits. He changed himself so he could get crops. He changed into something else. He was the one who first found the sweet manioc that we eat. He caused us to suffer. Look at our lips. My grandmother said it hurt. Pierce your lips [i.e. you try it, and you will see how it hurts].

They broke off the ears of corn when its leaves were dry. The pole for holding the ears of corn was laid on top of the rafters. He draped the corn on the pole inside the house.

"You eat the bad ears of corn. You toast the kernels from the bad ears in the pan. Eat the bad ears of corn."

His grandmothers toasted the kernels from the bad ears of corn in the pan.

"She is naughty. I thought she was going to eat corn. I put in her teeth, and she left. The snake left when no one was looking, after I put in her teeth." He complained about her.

She never came back. Her grandson complained about her.

They lived there. They ate. They grated manioc. They dug up yams when the leaves dried, because he told them to.

"Dig up the yams. Dig up the *haso* taro, the *yobo* taro, and the *nakafira* taro. Eat other things. You keep the seeds. Put the seeds in a container, to plant them."

They dug the crops up. They ate them. They ate. The things they dug up were in a pile, the yams. They found yams, that had many tubers.

He gave names to *kero* yams, *wao* yams, *anabiya* yams. "These are *anabiya* yams. These are *wao* yams. These are *kero* yams." He gave names to the yams. "These are *haso* taros. There are the *yobo* taros."

The things they carried off were in piles, and he gave them names.

"What is that?"

"That is a peach palm. It's a peach palm. Those are *biri* plantains there. Those are *biri* plantains, *howe* plantains. Those are *kofiti* bananas. Those are *sawa* bananas. Those are *mawara* bananas. Those are *kofiti* bananas." He was giving names to the crops. "*Kofiti* bananas, *ananika* bananas, that are just this high. Those are *ananika* bananas. Those are *ananika* banana plants, they are not high."

"Where should we stop [picking bananas]?"

"You harvest them. You eat them. You harvest them."

They harvested the bananas. They carried the bananas off.

"They will be eaten, all of them. They have a good smell. Those bananas smell good. They are *kofiti* bananas. Those are *nasa* bananas. They are *nasa* bananas."

THE FIRST CORN

They harvested the bananas. They carried the bananas off. They ate the bananas, their bananas. They all grated manioc, too, because he told them to.

"You grate manioc, it will be eaten with the game meat. You wait for the others, who went hunting."

He burned himself up, the one who wouldn't stay there, the one who became the Paumaris. He became the Paumaris, and he didn't stay. He went away. He went away, the one who became the Paumaris. His sons, too.

Interlinear Presentation

1 *Kimi* , *kimi* , *kimi* *me* , *kimi* , *Okatao* , *okatao*
 kimi , kimi , kimi me , kimi , okatao , okatao
 corn corn corn 3PL corn my son my son
 nm nm nm pron nm nm nm

ofimini

o- fimi -ni
 1SG.S be hungry BKG+F
 vi

"The story of corn. "My son, I'm hungry."

2 *Kimi* , *kimi* *okobibeya* , *bati* *ati*
 kimi , kimi o- kaba -be -ya , bati ati
 corn corn 1SG.S eat IMMED+F now 3SG.POSS.father say
 nm nm vt nm vt

nematamonaka

na -himata -mona -ka , *bati*
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS.father
 aux nm

"I'm going to eat some corn," his father said.'

3 *Bati* *ati* *ne* , *Abi* *kimi* *kabinima* *tini*
 bati ati na+M , abi kimi kaba -nima ti- na -ni
 3SG.POSS.father say AUX father corn eat want 2SG.S AUX BKG+F
 nm vt aux nm nm vt prt

?

"Father, do you want to eat corn?"

4 *Ee* , *oka* *yimawara* ?
 ee , o- ka yimawa -ra ?
 yes 1SG.POSS POSS knife NPQ
 interj prt nf

"Okay, where is my machete?"

5 *Kimi* , *kimi* *wati* *kane* *kimi* *ti* *ne* *kimi*
 kimi , kimi wati ka- na+M kimi tii na+M kimi
 corn corn plan against COMIT AUX corn cut through AUX corn
 nm nm vt aux nm vt aux nm

ti *ne* *kimi* *me* *iso* *nemetemone* *ahi*
 tii na+M kimi me iso na -hemete -mone ahi
 cut through AUX corn 3PL.S carry off AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 vt aux nm pron vt aux dem

'He went after the corn. He cut down the corn stalks. They carried the corn away.'

THE FIRST CORN

6 *Kimi me iso na me tafabone mera , me*
 kimi me iso na+F me tafa -habone mera , me
 corn 3PL.S carry off AUX 3PL.S eat INT+F 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nm pron vt aux pron vi pron pron
tafabone me boni wati kanematamona
 tafa -habone me boni wati ka- na -himata -mona
 eat INT+F 3PL.POSS upper lip+F plan against COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi pron pn vt aux

ahi , sare ya , sare siri na ya ahi
 ahi sarehe ya sarehe siri na+F ya ahi
 then blowgun dart ADJU blowgun dart scrape AUX ADJU then
 dem nf prt nf result aux prt dem

'They carried off the corn. So that they could eat, he went after their upper lips with a blowgun dart, which had been sharpened.'

7 *Aya moto , aya moto , me narabi moto*
 aya moto.LIST aya moto.LIST me narabi moto.LIST
 this pierce this pierce 3PL.POSS ear+F pierce
 dem vt dem vt pron pn vt

me witi haro haro , ahi
 me witi haaro haaro ahi
 3PL.POSS nose that one+F that one+F then
 pron pn dem dem dem

'First one lip is pierced, then the other lip, then their ears and their noses.'

8 *Ha moto , ha ya moto , ahi*
 haa moto ha ya moto ahi
 DEM pierce DEM ADJU pierce then
 dem vt dem prt vt dem

'First this side, then the other side.'

9 *Faya me boni moto ne , Kimi te kabahi*
 faya me boni moto na+M , kimi tee kaba -hi
 so 3PL.POSS upper lip+F pierce AUX corn 2PL.S eat IMP+F
 conj pron pn vt aux nm pron vt

'He pierced their lips. "Eat corn."

10 *Tera yoko amane*
 tera yoko+M ama -ne
 2PL.O bring misfortune on SEC BKG+M
 pron vt sec

'It brought suffering on you.'

11 *Te kabaho*
 tee kaba -ho
 2PL.S eat IMP+M
 pron vt

'Eat it.'

12 *Faya me , kimi me yokehemetemone ahi*
 faya me kimi me yoka -hemete -mone ahi
 so 3PL corn 3PL.S roast on coals FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron nm pron vt dem

'They roasted the corn on coals.'

THE FIRST CORN

13 *Me* , *oko* *kimi* *kabi* *amosareba* *ama*
 me o- ka kimi kaba.NFIN amosa -ra -hiba ama
 3PL 1SG.POSS POSS corn eat be good NEG FUT+M be
 pron prt nm result vi vc

onih

o- na.NOM+F -ni -hi
 1SG.POSS AUX IP.N+F DUP
 aux

"It's not going to be good for me to eat corn."

14 *Kimi* *me* *yoka* *me* *kimi* *me*
 kimi me yoka+F me kimi me
 corn 3PL.S roast on coals 3PL.S corn 3PL.S
 nm pron vt pron nm pron

yokemetemoneke

yoka -hemete -mone -ke
 roast on coals FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

"They roasted the corn on coals."

15 *Kimi* *me* *kabehemetemone*
 kimi me kaba -hemete -mone
 corn 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F
 nm pron vt

"They ate the corn."

16 *Me* *tafehemetemoneke* *ahi*
 me tafa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi dem

"They ate."

17 *Me* *fifimi* *toa* *rama* *ahi*
 me fi- fimi to- ha+F rama ahi
 3PL.S DUP be hungry CH AUX unusual then
 pron vi aux prt dem

"They had been hungry a long time."

18 *Me* *tafa* *me* *kimi* *me* *kaba* , *me*
 me tafa+F me kimi me kaba+F me
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S corn 3PL.S eat 3PL.S
 pron vi pron nm pron vt pron

tafehemetemoneke

tafa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

"They ate, eating the corn."

19 *Fowa* , *fowa* *me* *wasiwa* *fowa* *me* *bore*
 fowa fowa me wasi -waha+F fowa me bore
 manioc manioc 3PL.S find change manioc 3PL.S pull out
 nm nm pron vt nm pron vt

nawaha

na -waha+F ehene *fowa kabe* , *fowa kabe* *me*
 AUX change because of+M sweet manioc sweet manioc me
 aux post nm nm nm 3PL.S
 pron

THE FIRST CORN

kabehemetemoneni

kaba -hemete -mone -ni
eat FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
vt

'Then they found manioc. They pulled up the manioc. They ate sweet manioc because of him.'

20 **Faya me fanawi tafehemetemone** , **witi faori**
faya me fanawi tafa -hemete -mone , witi fao -ri
so women eat FP.N+F REP+F nose hurt DISTR
conj nf vi pn vi

kawaharo

ka- na -waha -haaro
COMIT AUX change IP.E+F
aux

'The women ate. Their noses hurt.'

21 **Makateba** , **kirabote** , **kirabote** , **kirabote** , **Aki** ,
maka -tee -ba , kirabote , kirabote , kirabote , aki
snake HAB FUT old woman old woman old woman grandmother
nf nf nf nf nf

aki hiya tikama
aki hiya , ti- ka -ma
grandmother come on 2SG.S go/come back
nf interj vi

'The one who became the first snake was an old woman. "Grandma, come here."'

22 **Kimi tikabibeya**
kimi ti- kaba -be -ya
corn 2SG.S eat IMMED+F now
nm vt

""Eat corn.""

23 **Faya kimi okoba ahi**
faya kimi o- kaba ahi
so corn 1SG.S eat then
conj nm vt dem

""I should eat corn.""

24 **Kimi okobene** , **owiniba** , **owiniba**
kimi o- kaba -hene , o- ini -ba , o- ini -ba
corn 1SG.S eat IRR+F 1SG.POSS tooth+F FUT 1SG.POSS tooth+F FUT
nm vt pn pn

yoro tinahi ahi sare ahi
yoro ti- na -hi ahi , sarehe ahi
put in place 2SG.S AUX IMP+F then blowgun dart then
vt aux dem nf dem

""I can't eat corn. You put in my two teeth, blowgun darts.""

25 **Sare yoro tinahi ahi** ,
sarehe yoro ti- na -hi ahi
blowgun dart put in place 2SG.S AUX IMP+F then
nf vt aux dem

owinibana

o- ini -bana
1SG.POSS tooth+F FUT
pn

""Put in two blowgun darts, to be my teeth.""

THE FIRST CORN

33 *Nyai* , *yama* *mai* *amosa* *kabateraweba* *tiwahi*
 nyai , yama mahi amosa+F kaba -tee -rawa -hiba ti- awa -hi
 yum thing smell+F be good eat HAB F.PL FUT+M 2SG.S see IMP+F
 interj nf pn vi result vt
 , *kimi* .
 kimi
 corn
 nm

"Yum. That thing has a good smell, and it is going to be eaten. It is corn, look at it."

34 *Kimi* , *kimi* *amane* , *kimi* *ati* *na* *inamate* , *inamate* *mano*
 kimi , kimi ama -ne , kimi ati na+F inamate , inamate mano
 corn corn be BKG+M corn say AUX child child arm+M
 nm nm vc nm vt aux nm nm pn
wara *tona* , *kokosi* , *kokosi* *itikabote* *na* *inamate*
 wara to- na+F , ko- kosi , ko- kosi iti -kabote na+F inamate
 grab CH AUX DUP flail DUP flail pick up quickly AUX child
 vt aux nf nf vt aux nm
kosi *nemetemoneke* *ahi* , *boto*
 kosi na -hemete -mone -ke ahi , boto
 flail AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then (sound of whipping)
 vt aux dem sound

boto
 boto
 (sound of whipping)
 sound

"It's corn," she said. She grabbed the boy's hand. She quickly grabbed a switch. She whipped the boy, boto, boto.'

35 *Aya* , *aya* , *aya* ,
 aya aya aya
 (expression of pain) (expression of pain) (expression of pain)
 interj interj interj
aya , *aya* *inamate* *kosi* *na* , *kimi*
 aya aya inamate kosi na+F , kimi
 (expression of pain) (expression of pain) child flail AUX corn
 interj interj nm vt aux nm
kabarabana , *tokabana* , *toiyatebana*
 kaba -ra -habana , to- ka -habana , to- hiya -tee -habana
 eat NEG FUT+F away go/come FUT+F CH be different HAB FUT+F
 vt vi vi

"Aya, aya, aya." She whipped the boy. She didn't eat any corn. She went away and changed into something else.'

36 *Kimi* *kabaremetemoneke*
 kimi kaba -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 corn eat NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm vt

'She didn't eat corn.'

37 *Tokemetemoneke*
 to- ka -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'She went away.'

THE FIRST CORN

38 **Faya tohiyemetemone** **itineti** **fa**
 faya to- hiya -hemete -mone ita -ne -tee.NOM , faha ,
 so CH be different FP.N+F REP+F stay CONT+F HAB stream
 conj vi vi nf

fa witi ya
 faha witi ya
 stream edge ADJU
 nf pn prt

'She turned into something else, and stayed at the stream edge.'

39 **Faya , faya me tafa me me witi moto hina**
 faya , faya me tafa+F me me witi moto hi- na+F
 so so 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.POSS nose pierce OC AUX
 conj conj pron vi pron pron pn vt aux

me tafemetemoneke
 me tafa -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They ate. After he pierced their noses, they ate.'

40 **Me tafa me , me boni , me boni**
 me tafa+F me , me boni , me boni
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.POSS upper lip+F 3PL.POSS upper lip+F
 pron vi pron pron pn pron pn

moto hina me tafa me , faya biti üsi
 moto hi- na+F me tafa+F me , faya biti i- isi
 pierce OC AUX 3PL.S eat 3PL.S so 3SG.POSS.son DUP be small
 vt aux pron vi pron conj nm vi

kabote ne Hiya , tibono moto obe
 na -kabote na+M hiya , ti- bono moto o- na -be
 AUX quickly AUX come on 2SG.POSS upper lip pierce 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 aux aux interj pn vt aux

'They ate. After he pierced their upper lips they ate. His son was small. "Come on, I'll pierce your lip.'

41 **Kimi tikabibe**
 kimi ti- kaba -be
 corn 2SG.S eat IMMED+F
 nm vt

""You are going to eat corn.""

42 **Biti inamate nafire kiya kanematamonaka**
 biti inamate nafi -ra+M kiya ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS.son child be big NEG yell COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm nm vi vi aux

'His little son cried out.'

43 **Biti bono moto ne , fati , fati**
 biti bono moto na+M , fati , fati
 3SG.POSS.son upper lip+M pierce AUX 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife
 nm pn vt aux nf nf

me nafi , me nafi boni moto nematamona
 me nafi , me nafi boni moto na -himata -mona ,
 3PL.POSS all 3PL.POSS all upper lip+F pierce AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 pron pn pron pn pn vt aux

THE FIRST CORN

me witi
 me witi
 3PL.POSS nose
 pron pn

'He pierced his son's lip. Also his wife. He pierced the lips of all of them, also their noses.'

44 *Kimi me , kimi me kababone mera kosi*
 kimi me , kimi me kaba -habone mera kosi
 corn 3PL corn 3PL.S eat INT+F 3PL.O flail
 nm pron nm pron vt pron vt

nematamonaka ahi
 na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'He whipped them so they could eat corn.'

45 *Me nafi kosi nemata*
 me nafi kosi na -himata
 3PL.POSS all flail AUX FP.N+M
 pron pn vt aux

'He whipped all of them.'

46 *Bati kosi , mati , mati bote*
 bati kosi.LIST , mati , mati bote
 3SG.POSS.father flail 3SG.POSS.mother 3SG.POSS.mother old
 nm vt nf nf adj

kosi , mera kosi ne , mera kosi nematamonaka
 kosi.LIST , mera kosi na+M , mera kosi na -himata -mona -ka
 flail 3PL.O flail AUX 3PL.O flail AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt pron vt aux pron vt aux

, me nafi , matehe
 me nafi , matehe
 3PL.POSS all children
 pron pn nf

'He whipped his father, and he whipped his old mother, too. He whipped them. He whipped them, all of them, including the children.'

47 *Hinaka kokosi basasa ni*
 hinaka ko- kosi basa -sa na.NFIN
 3SG.POSS DUP flail protrude DUP AUX
 pron nf vi aux

tokometemone ahi
 to- ka -ma -hemete -mone ahi
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then
 vi dem

'His switches were stuck under the thatch, all in a row.'

48 *Hoo owa kosi neba ama narani*
 hoo owa kosi na -hiba ama na.NOM+M -rani
 whew 1SG.O flail AUX FUT+M SEC AUX ?
 interj pron vt aux sec aux

'"'Let him whip me.'"

49 *Kimi okobaba*
 kimi o- kaba -ba
 corn 1SG.S eat IMMED+M
 nm vt

THE FIRST CORN

"I'm going to eat corn."

50 **Kimi okobibe**
 kimi o- kaba -be
 corn 1SG.S eat IMMED+F
 nm vt

"I'm going to eat corn."

51 **Bono komene hi kare ahi , bono**
 bono komene hii ka- na -ra+M ahi , bono
 upper lip+M pain+M be affected by COMIT AUX NEG then upper lip+M
 pn pn vi aux dem pn
 , **bono ewene towatowakosa ne ka**
 bono ewene towa- to- waa -kosa na.NOM+M ka
 upper lip+M stick+M DUP CH stand middle AUX because
 pn pn vi aux prt

bono komebana ahi
 bono koma -hibana ahi
 upper lip+M hurt FUT+M then
 pn vi dem

'The pain in his upper lip didn't keep him from eating. The plug hurt him.'

52 **Nawahemetemone amani**
 nawaha -hemete -mone ama -ni
 take a long time FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
 vi sec

'It was hard to stand.'

53 **Yama nawahemetemone amani**
 yama nawaha -hemete -mone ama -ni
 thing take a long time FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
 nf vi sec

'It was hard to stand.'

54 **Yamata watari ya yamata wasihimatamonaka**
 yamata wata -ra.NOM+F ya yamata wasi -himata -mona -ka
 crops exist NEG ADJU crops find FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf vi prt nf vt

'There were no crops, and he found them.'

55 **Yamata amake**
 yamata ama -ke
 crops be DECL+F
 nf vc

'There are crops.'

56 **Fowa , fowa kabe , biha , yama nafi wasihimatamonaka**
 fowa , fowa kabe , biha , yama nafi wasi -himata -mona -ka
 manioc sweet manioc yam thing all find FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm nm nf nf pn vt

'He found bitter manioc, sweet manioc, yams, all the crops.'

57 **Yama wasihiba , yama wasihiba boka noko yome ,**
 yama wasi -hiba , yama wasi -hiba boka noko yome.LIST ,
 thing find FUT+M thing find FUT+M tree sp seed+M swallow
 nf vt nf vt nm pn vt

THE FIRST CORN

awa boni , *awa boni yome* , *awa boni nafi*
 awa boni , awa boni yome.LIST , awa boni nafi
 tree fruit+F tree fruit+F swallow tree fruit+F all
 nf pn nf pn vt nf pn pn

yoyome toematamonaha , *hiwa sari*
 yo- yome to- ha -himata -mona -ha , hiwa sari
 DUP swallow CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP 3SG.REFL.M burn
 vt aux pron vt

kanebana
 ka- na -hibana
 COMIT AUX FUT+M
 aux

'He ate *boka* seeds, so he could find the crops. He also ate wild fruits. He ate all kinds of wild fruits. Then he set fire to himself.'

58 *Faya hiwa sari kanematamona fahi*
 faya hiwa sari ka- na -himata -mona fahi
 so 3SG.REFL.M burn COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj pron vt aux dem

'He set fire to himself.'

59 *Faya kakafowa tohe towake*
 faya ka- ka- fowa to- ha+M to- ka- ka+M
 so DUP COMIT be in water CH AUX away COMIT go/come
 conj vi aux vi

kakafowa toahi me nanamosa
 ka- ka- fowa to- ha+M me na- na- amosa
 DUP COMIT be in water CH AUX 3PL.S DUP CAUS be good
 vi aux pron vt

toemetemone me ama korobo mati
 to- ha -hemete -mone me ama , korobo mati
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC fish sp 3PL
 aux pron sec nm pron

'He sat in the water, and the *korobo* fish cleaned him off.'

60 *Korobo me hinamosahi korobo me nanamosa*
 korobo me hi- na- amosa+M , korobo me na- na- amosa
 fish sp 3PL.S OC CAUS be good fish sp 3PL.S DUP CAUS be good
 nm pron vt nm pron vt

hie tafime kame yobe yayama
 hi- to- ha+M tafi -ma+M , ka -ma+M yobe ya- yama
 OC CH AUX get well back go/come back house DUP make
 aux vi vi nm vt

toematamonaha
 to- ha -himata -mona -ha
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 aux

'The *korobo* fish cleaned him off, and he got better. He came back, and made a house.'

61 *Efe efe efematamona wakari me*
 efe efe efe -mata -mona wakari me
 this+M this+M this+M FP.N+M REP+M Paumari 3PL.S
 dem dem dem npropm pron

tohineke wakari mati wakari metebana
 to- ha -ne -ke , wakari mati , wakari me -tee -bana ,
 CH be CONT+F DECL+F Paumari 3PL Paumari 3PL HAB FUT
 vc npropm pron npropm pron

THE FIRST CORN

wakari metebana , wakaritebana okiti
 wakari me -tee -bana wakari -tee -bana o- ka iti
 Paumari 3PL HAB FUT Paumari HAB FUT 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather
 npropm pron npropm nm

aati toematamona okobi aati
 a- ati to- ha -himata -mona o- ka abi a- ati
 DUP say CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say
 vt aux nm vt

toemari amane
 to- ha -himari ama -ne
 CH AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M
 aux sec

'That's the one who became the first Paumari, my grandfather used to say, my father reported.'

62 **Wakariteba afa me boni moto te**
 wakari -tee -ba afa me boni moto na -tee
 Paumari HAB FUT this+F 3PL.POSS upper lip+F pierce AUX HAB
 nm dem pron pn result aux

me ama faro
 me ama faaro
 3PL.POSS SEC that+F
 pron sec dem

'Paumaris today have pierced lips, too.'

63 **Me boni hoti si tote me amake**
 me boni hoti sii to- na -tee me ama -ke
 3PL.POSS upper lip+F hole+F stand CH AUX HAB 3PL.POSS SEC DECL+F
 pron pn pn vi aux pron sec

, **me boni moto na mati**
 me boni moto na+F mati
 3PL.POSS upper lip+F pierce AUX 3PL
 pron pn result aux pron

'They still have holes in their lips, their lips are pierced.'

64 **Me boni moto nemata**
 me boni moto na -himata
 3PL.POSS upper lip+F pierce AUX FP.N+M
 pron pn vt aux

'He pierced their lips.'

65 **Tohiyemata**
 to- hiya -himata
 CH be different FP.N+M
 vi

'He changed into something else.'

66 **Tohiyematamona amane , wakari**
 to- hiya -himata -mona ama -ne wakari
 CH be different FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M Paumari
 vi sec npropm

'The Paumari changed into something else.'

67 **Hiwa sari kanematamonaha**
 hiwa sari ka- na -himata -mona -ha
 3SG.REFL.M burn COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 pron vt aux

'He set fire to himself.'

THE FIRST CORN

68 *Faya me wiwinawa toemetemone fahi , yobe nafi*
 faya me wi- wina -waha to- ha -hemete -mone fahi , yobe nafi
 so 3PL.S DUP live change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F then house all
 conj pron vi aux dem nm pn

me fawa tonia mati
 me fawa to- niha- na+F mati
 3PL.S disappear CH CAUS AUX 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron
 'They lived there a long time. The house was full of people.'

69 *Me tafatafa toemetemone ahi*
 me tafa- tafa to- ha -hemete -mone ahi
 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron vi aux dem
 'They ate.'

70 *Faya me tatafa toa me mato me*
 faya me ta- tafa to- ha+F me mato me
 so 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX 3PL.S tree sp 3PL.S
 conj pron vi aux pron nm pron

kakawi nawaha ahi Hoo yama wasihiba
 ka- kawi na -waha+F ahi hoo yama wasi -hiba
 DUP eat with something AUX change then whew thing find FUT+M
 vt aux dem interj nf vt

hiwa tonahiyemata
 hiwa to- na- hiya -himata
 3SG.REFL.M CH CAUS be different FP.N+M
 pron vt

'They ate. They had starch to eat with their *mato* fruits. He changed himself so he could get crops.'

71 *Hiwa tonahiyemata yama wasimata ka*
 hiwa to- na- hiya -himata yama wasi -himata ka
 3SG.REFL.M CH CAUS be different FP.N+M thing find FP.N+M which
 pron vt nf vt prt

yama ota kakaba toineni , fowa kabe hari
 yama otaa ka- kaba to- ha -ne -ni , fowa kabe haari
 thing 1EX.S DUP eat CH AUX CONT+F BKG+F sweet manioc that one+M
 nf pron vt aux nm dem

'He changed into something else. He was the one who first found the sweet manioc that we eat.'

72 *Otara yokohimari amane*
 otara yoko -himari ama -ne
 1EX.O bring misfortune on FP.E+M SEC BKG+M
 pron vt sec

'He caused us to suffer.'

73 *Otara yokohimari amaka*
 otara yoko -himari ama -ka
 1EX.O bring misfortune on FP.E+M SEC DECL+M
 pron vt sec

'He caused us to suffer.'

74 *Ota bono tiwa ha , ota bono*
 otaa bono ti- awa haa , otaa bono
 1EX.POSS upper lip 2SG.S see DEM 1EX.POSS upper lip
 pron pn vt dem pron pn

THE FIRST CORN

'Look at our lips.'

75 *Yama komemetemone okaki hinahamaro*
 yama koma -hemete -mone o- ka aki ati hi- na -hamaro
 thing hurt FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.S POSS grandmother say OC AUX FP.E+F
 nf vi nf vt

amake

ama -ke
 SEC DECL+F
 sec

'My grandmother said it hurt.'

76 *Tibono moto tina*
 ti- bono moto ti- na
 2SG.POSS upper lip pierce 2SG.S AUX
 pn vt aux

""Pierce your lips.""

77 *Faya me wiwina toha kimi , kimi botorisahi me*
 faya me wi- wina to- ha+F kimi , kimi boto -risa+M me
 so 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX corn corn dry up down 3PL.S
 conj pron vi aux nm nm vi pron

baka na me , kimi me baka nemetemoneke ahi
 baka na+F me , kimi me baka na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 break AUX 3PL.S corn 3PL.S break AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt aux pron nm pron vt aux dem

'They broke off the ears of corn when its leaves were dry.'

78 *Kimi me baka na kimi me sako na me , kimi*
 kimi me baka na+F kimi me sako na+F me , kimi
 corn 3PL.S break AUX corn 3PL.S tie AUX 3PL.S corn
 nm pron vt aux nm pron vt aux pron nm

ewene bere niha , yobe toro ya kimi bere
 ewene bere niha- na.LIST yobe toro ya kimi bere
 stick+M be across CAUS AUX house inside+M ADJU corn be across
 pn vi aux nm pn prt nm vi

niha yobe , kimi bere
 niha- na.LIST yobe , kimi bere
 CAUS AUX house corn be across
 aux nm nm vi

kanihematamonaka ahi
 ka- niha- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 COMIT CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'The pole for holding the ears of corn was laid on top of the rafters. He draped the corn on the pole inside the house.'

79 *Botokori te kabaho*
 botokori tee kaba -ho
 bad ear 2PL.S eat IMP+M
 pn pron vt

""You eat the bad ears of corn.""

80 *Botokori te rawi ha botokori te kaba naho*
 botokori tee rawa.NOM+F haa botokori tee kaba na -ho
 bad ear 2PL.S toast DEM bridge 2PL.S eat AUX IMP+M
 pn pron vt dem pn pron vt aux

THE FIRST CORN

"You toast the kernels from the bad ears in the pan. Eat the bad ears of corn."

81 *Faya kimi botokori me rawehemetemoneke*
 faya kimi botokori me rawa -hemete -mone -ke
 so corn bad ear 3PL.S toast FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj nm pn pron vt

hinakakirawaha ahi
 hinaka aki -rawa -ha ahi
 3SG.POSS grandmother F.PL DUP then
 nf dem

'His grandmothers toasted the kernels from the bad ears of corn in the pan.'

82 *Kakasi raba raba kimi kababone*
 ka- kasi na -raba na -ra -haba kimi kaba -habone
 DUP be naughty AUX a bit AUX NEG FUT+F corn eat INT+F
 vi aux aux nm vt

ona ini si oniha
 ati o- na+F ini sii o- to- niha- na+F
 say 1SG.S AUX tooth+F stand 1SG.S CH CAUS AUX
 vt pn vi aux

tokineni
 to- ka -ne -ni
 away go/come CONT+F BKG+F
 vi

"She is naughty. I thought she was going to eat corn. I put in her teeth, and she left."

83 *Ini si oniha tokine*
 ini sii o- to- niha- na+F to- ka -ne
 tooth+F stand 1SG.S CH CAUS AUX away go/come CONT+F
 pn vi aux vi

ninihi maka
 na.NOM+F -ni -hi maka
 AUX IP.N+F DUP snake
 aux nf

"The snake left when no one was looking, after I put in her teeth."

84 *Tabiyo hora hina tabiyo hora*
 tabiyo hora hi- na+F tabiyo hora
 absence complain about OC AUX absence complain about
 pn vt aux pn vt

hinemetemone
 hi- na -hemete -mone
 OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 aux

'He complained about her.'

85 *Tabiyo hora hina kamemetemone*
 tabiyo hora hi- na+F ka -ma -hemete -mone
 absence complain about OC AUX go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
 pn vt aux vi

itineti
 ita -ne -tee.NOM
 stay CONT+F HAB
 vi

'He complained about her. She never came back.'

THE FIRST CORN

86 *Faya kamara tabiyo hinaka noti hora*
 faya ka -ma -ra+F tabiyo hinaka noti hora
 so go/come back NEG absence 3SG.POSS grandson complain about
 conj vi pn pron nm vt

hina , faya me wiwinawa toemetemone fahi
 hi- na+F , faya me wi- wina -waha to- ha -hemete -mone fahi
 OC AUX so 3PL.S DUP live change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 aux conj pron vi aux dem

'She didn't come back. Her grandson complained about her. They lived there.'

87 *Me winawa me tafatafa toemetemone*
 me wina -waha+F me tafa- tafa to- ha -hemete -mone
 3PL.S live change 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vi pron vi aux

'They lived there. They ate.'

88 *Fowa me hiti , biha waya nisaha me wi*
 fowa me hiti.LIST , biha waya na -risa+F me wii
 manioc 3PL.S grate yam wilt AUX down 3PL.S dig
 nm pron vt nf vi aux pron vt

nawaha , ati ehene
 na -waha+F , ati ehene
 AUX change voice because of+M
 aux pn post

'They grated manioc. They dug up yams when the leaves dried, because he told them to.'

89 *Bia te wi na , haso , yobo , nakafira , yama*
 biha tee wii na+F , haso , yobo , nakafira , yama
 yam 2PL.S dig AUX taro sp taro sp taro sp thing
 nf pron vt aux nm nm nf nf

te wi na yama one te kabahi
 tee wii na+F yama one tee kaba -hi
 2PL.S dig AUX thing other+F 2PL.S eat IMP+F
 pron vt aux nf adj pron vt

""Dig up the yams. Dig up the *haso* taro, the *yobo* taro, and the *nakafira* taro. Eat other things.""

90 *Yama noki te nahi*
 yama noki tee na -hi
 thing seed+F 2PL.S put in IMP+F
 nf pn pron vt

""You keep the seeds.""

91 *Noki te , yama wiye ya noki te iharawi*
 noki tee , yama wiye ya noki tee iha -rawa.NOM+F
 seed+F 2PL thing container+F ADJU seed+F 2PL.S put F.PL
 pn pron nf pn prt pn pron vt

ya , noki te koro nabana
 ya , noki tee koro na -habana
 ADJU seed+F 2PL.S plant AUX FUT+F
 prt pn pron vt aux

""Put the seeds in a container, to plant them.""

92 *Faya yama me wi na yama me kakaba*
 faya yama me wii na+F yama me ka- kaba
 so thing 3PL.S dig AUX thing 3PL.S DUP eat
 conj nf pron vt aux nf pron vt

THE FIRST CORN

99 *Biha kero ama haro*
 biha kero ama haaro
 yam variety be that one+F
 nf vc dem

"They are *kero* yams."

100 *Bia kero amake haro*
 biha kero ama -ke haaro
 yam variety be DECL+F that one+F
 nf vc dem

"They are *kero* yams."

101 *Biha ini yabe , bia , haso , haso , haso ama*
 biha ini yaba+M , biha , haso , haso , haso ama
 yam name+F say yam taro sp taro sp taro sp be
 nf pn vt nf nm nm nm vc

hari , haso
 haari , haso
 that one+M taro sp
 dem nm

'He gave names to the yams. "They are *haso* taros."

102 *Haso ama ha*
 haso ama haa
 taro sp be DEM
 nm vc dem

"They are *haso* taros."

103 *Hahi yobo amaka hari , yobo*
 haahi yobo ama -ka haari , yobo
 this one+M taro sp be DECL+M that one+M taro sp
 dem nm vc dem nm

"There are the *yobo* taros."

104 *Yobo ama ha*
 yobo ama haa
 taro sp be DEM
 nm vc dem

"They are *yobo* taros."

105 *Yama me iso hina ta*
 yama me iso hi- na+F taa
 thing 3PL.S carry off OC AUX be piled up
 nf pron vt aux vi
tokanare ini yabematamonane
 to- ka- na -rI ini yaba -himata -mona -ne
 CH COMIT AUX raised surface name+F say FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 aux pn vt

'The things they carried off were in piles, and he gave them names.'

106 *Faya yama ini yabe , Himata amari ha ?*
 faya yama ini yaba+M , himata ama -ri haa
 so thing name+F say what? be CQ+F DEM
 conj nf pn vt interrog vc dem

'He gave them names. "What is that?"'

THE FIRST CORN

107 *Yawita* *amane* , *yawita* .
 yawita ama -ne , yawita
 peach palm be BKG+M peach palm
 nm vc nm

""That is a peach palm.""

108 *Yawita* *ama hari* .
 yawita ama haari
 peach palm be that one+M
 nm vc dem

""It's a peach palm.""

109 *Yifari* *amake* *haro* , *yifari biri* .
 yifari ama -ke haaro , yifari biri
 banana be DECL+F that one+F plantain variety
 nf vc dem nf

""Those are *biri* plantains there.""

110 *Yifari biri* *ama haro* .
 yifari biri ama haaro
 plantain variety be that one+F
 nf vc dem

""Those are *biri* plantains there.""

111 *Yifari biri* , *yifari howe* , *yifari howe* *ama*
 yifari biri , yifari howe , yifari howe ama
 plantain variety plantain variety plantain variety be
 nf nf nf vc
haro , *yifari howe* .
 haaro , yifari howe
 that one+F plantain variety
 dem nf

""Those are *biri* plantains, *howe* plantains.""

112 *Yifari kofiti* , *yifari kofiti* *ama ha* .
 yifari kofiti , yifari kofiti ama haa
 banana variety banana variety be DEM
 nf nf vc dem

""Those are *kofiti* bananas.""

113 *Yifari sawa* *ama ha* .
 yifari sawa ama haa
 banana variety be DEM
 nf vc dem

""Those are *sawa* bananas.""

114 *Yifari sawa* *ama ha* .
 yifari sawa ama haa
 banana variety be DEM
 nf vc dem

""Those are *sawa* bananas.""

115 *Yifari mawara* *amani* .
 yifari mawara ama -ni
 banana variety be BKG+F
 nf vc

""Those are *mawara* bananas.""

THE FIRST CORN

116 *Yifari mawara* *ama haro*
 yifari mawara ama haaro
 banana variety be that one+F
 nf vc dem

""Those are *mawara* bananas.""

117 *Yifari kofiti* *amani*
 yifari kofiti ama -ni
 banana variety be BKG+F
 nf vc

""Those are *kofiti* bananas.""

118 *Yama ini yabematamonaka ahi*
 yama ini yaba -himata -mona -ka ahi
 thing name+F say FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nf pn vt dem

'He was giving names to the crops.'

119 *Yama ini yabe ama*
 yama ini yaba+M ama
 thing name+F say SEC
 nf pn vt sec

'He was giving names to the crops.'

120 *Yifari kofiti* , *ananika* , *ananika* *ama ha* , *aya wawa*
 yifari kofiti , ananika , ananika ama haa , aya wa- waa
 banana variety banana var banana var be DEM this DUP stand
 nf nf nf vc dem dem vi

naro

na -haaro
 AUX IP.E+F
 aux

""*Kofiti* bananas, *ananika* bananas, that are just this high.""

121 *Ananika amake haro*
 ananika ama -ke haaro
 banana var be DECL+F that one+F
 nf vc dem

""Those are *ananika* bananas.""

122 *Ananika ama ha nemeharaharo*
 ananika ama haa , nemeha -ra -haaro
 banana var be DEM be high NEG IP.E+F
 nf vc dem vi

""Those are *ananika* banana plants, they are not high.""

123 *Faya yifari ini yabe hibaka yoharibe* ?
 faya yifari ini yaba+M hibaka yowa -ri -be
 so banana name+F say where reach CQ+F IMMED+F
 conj nf pn vt interrog vi

""Where should we stop?""

124 *Te kayabahi*
 tee ka- yaba -hi
 2PL.S COMIT take out IMP+F
 pron vt

THE FIRST CORN

"You harvest them."

125 *Te yome nibeya*
tee yome na -be -ya
2PL.S swallow AUX IMMED+F now
pron vt aux

"You eat them."

126 *Te kayabahi*
tee ka- yaba -hi
2PL.S COMIT take out IMP+F
pron vt

"You harvest them."

127 *Yifari me kayaba yifari me iso nawaha*
yifari me ka- yaba+F yifari me iso na -waha+F
banana 3PL.S COMIT take out banana 3PL.S carry off AUX change
nf pron vt aux
, *Yome naba amake haro nafi*
yome na -haba ama -ke haaro nafi
swallow AUX FUT+F SEC DECL+F that one+F all
vt aux sec dem pn

"They harvested the bananas. They carried the bananas off. "They will be eaten, all of them."

128 *Mahi amosake haro*
mahi amosa -ke haaro
smell+F be good DECL+F that one+F
pn vi dem

"They have a good smell."

129 *Yifari mai amosa awine faro*
yifari mahi amosa+F awine faaro
banana smell+F be good seem+F that+F
nf pn vi sec dem

"Those bananas smell good."

130 *Yifari kofiti amani*
yifari kofiti ama -ni
banana variety be BKG+F
nf vc

"They are *kofiti* bananas."

131 *Yifari kofiti amake haro*
yifari kofiti ama -ke haaro
banana variety be DECL+F that one+F
nf vc dem

"They are *kofiti* bananas."

132 *Haha nasa ama haro nasa*
haaha nasa ama haaro nasa
this+F banana variety be that one+F banana variety
dem nf vc dem nf

"Those are *nasa* bananas."

THE FIRST CORN

133 *Nasa* *amake* *haro*
 nasa ama -ke haaro
 banana variety be DECL+F that one+F
 nf vc dem

"They are *nasa* bananas."

134 *Faya* , *me* , *yifari* *me* *kayaba* *me* , *yifari* *me*
 faya , me , yifari me ka- yaba+F me , yifari me
 so 3PL banana 3PL.S COMIT take out 3PL.S banana 3PL.S
 conj pron nf pron vt pron nf pron

iso *na* *yifari* *me* *yoyome* *toemetemoneke* ,
 iso na+F yifari me yo- yome to- ha -hemete -mone -ke
 carry off AUX banana 3PL.S DUP swallow CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux nf pron vt aux

me *ka* *yifari*
 me ka yifari
 3PL POSS banana
 pron prt nf

'They harvested the bananas. They carried the bananas off. They ate the bananas, their bananas.'

135 *Me* *nafi* *fowa* *me* *hiti* *nawaha* , *ati*
 me nafi fowa me hiti na -waha.LIST , ati
 3PL.POSS all manioc 3PL.S grate AUX change voice
 pron pn nm pron vt aux pn

ehene
 ehene
 because of+M
 post

'They all grated manioc, too, because he told them to.'

136 *Fowa* *te* *hiti* *nahi* , *me* *tokaha* *me* *te*
 fowa tee hiti na -hi , me to- ka+F me tee
 manioc 2PL.S grate AUX IMP+F 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.O 2PL.S
 nm pron vt aux pron vi pron pron

noki *niba* *karo* , *bani* *me*
 noki na.NOM+F -ba karo , bani me
 wait for AUX FUT so that animal 3PL.POSS
 vt aux prt nm pron

kakawibana
 ka- kawi -bana
 DUP eat with something FUT
 pn

"You grate manioc, it will be eaten with the game meat. You wait for the others, who went hunting."

137 *Sawimareba* , *sawimareba* *hiwa* *sari*
 sawi -ma -ra -hiba , sawi -ma -ra -hiba hiwa sari
 be present back NEG FUT+M be present back NEG FUT+M 3SG.REFL.M burn
 vi pron vt

kanematamona *ama* , *wakari* , *wakari* *me*
 ka- na -himata -mona ama , wakari , wakari me
 COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC Paumari Paumari 3PL.COMPL
 aux sec npropm npropm pron

toehibana
 to- ha -hibana
 CH be FUT+M
 vc

'He burned himself up, the one who wouldn't stay there, the one who became the Paumaris.'

THE FIRST CORN

138 *Wakari me toehiba , faya sawimare*
 wakari me to- ha -hiba , faya sawi -ma -ra+M
 Paumari 3PL.COMPL CH be FUT+M so be present back NEG
 npropm pron vc conj vi

tokehimatamonaka

to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He became the Paumaris, and he didn't stay. He went away.'

139 *Tokehimatamona , wakari me tohati*
 to- ka -himata -mona , wakari me to- ha -tee.NOM
 away go/come FP.N+M REP+M Paumari 3PL.COMPL away be HAB
 vi npropm pron vc

biti

mati

biti mati
 3SG.POSS.son 3PL
 nm pron

'He went away, the one who became the Paumaris. His sons, too.'

BAKAYONA

Free Translation

They cut down trees, and they fought over women.

"Mother, I'm hungry."

"Eat. Eat bananas."

His [the younger brother's] two wives-to-be came. "Your mother told you to eat."

"Your husband doesn't like me, and you should cook food for him. Boil those *haso* taros in the pot there," he said. "Boil some *haso* taro for him. He's going to come back."

He [the older brother] came back. "Whew, hey, I asked them to boil *haso* taro for me. Didn't I ask the women?"

"Because you disobeyed me, you're going to cause me to suffer. You two go to him. Don't cause me to suffer," [said the younger brother].

"We don't want to go. His rear end smells bad. When he bends over, his rear end smells bad. His rear end is bad."

They didn't want him. He called them constantly. His younger brother was with them in the hammock. He was with his wives-to-be in the hammock, because they desired him sexually.

His older brother was ugly. They didn't like his older brother.

"Whew." He spoke. "Oof, they don't ever cook food for me." He came back. He didn't get water at the port. He called him. He called him as he lay in the hammock with his wives.

"Bakayona, Bakayona."

"Yes?"

"Come here. I'm going to make lines on you. Come here. Stand over here."

It was a saw. He got the saw.

"Where should I stand?"

"Stand here."

He intended evil for his younger brother.

His younger brother spoke to his wives. "Don't be upset. I don't think I'll die. I think I'll live. You get water for my mother at the port. Get water ready for my mother."

They filled drums with water. They got water in a container. They filled the drum, because there wasn't going to be any water.

"You take out my heart. You take it out. You cut out my liver, my intestines, my penis, and my scrotum, right," he said. "You cut out my penis well. Don't leave them by the fire. Leave them in a cool place. You wait for me. You two stay here. When you have stayed here, if you stay here, I will start up."

Then his older brother roasted him on a grill. His fat was dripping and sizzling on the fire. His brother roasted him. His brother ate him. He boiled him. He was on the roasting grate, roasted.

"Are you going to eat? Women, are you going to eat?"

"I guess we are going to eat. You go ahead and eat. I guess we are going to eat," she said.

"You two come here. I want to eat with you," he said.

He started up, and his voice started up. He turned him over. He turned him over again.

"Tiii," he went. He started up.

His wife took his penis. She took his heart, too.

BAKAYONA

He picked the women up, to take them away up the stream.

Bakayona ate, thinking he had water; but it was about to disappear. The stream disappeared. The water didn't stay. The stream was bare. Bakayona ate, eating his younger brother.¹⁵²

"Oh man, I'm thirsty. Mother."

His mother was crying. She stopped crying, as she lay in her hammock.

"Your son said you shouldn't cry. Don't cry. You heard your son tell you."

He called his mother. "Wait a minute. Mother."

"What?"

"Mother, don't you have water?"

"I could have gone to get water, but I'm lying here. Did you eat instead of going to get water?"

The stream had already disappeared. He came back and ate.

"Just a minute, let me drink some water."

He ate, and then left.

"Just a minute, I'm going to drink some water."

He grabbed a brand from the fire. He waved the brand in front of him [to show the way]. He went waving the brand. There was no water.

"The stream seems to have disappeared."

He waved the brand to illuminate the stream. He went along slowly.

"There is no water."

He went upstream. His brand went out, and he came back. He went downstream waving the brand. He waved the brand on the stream, and then came back.

"Whew, look how thirsty I am. I'm thirsty. Look how thirsty I am. Mother, where is water? Mother, water. I don't have any water."

"Why does he keep calling me? You were eating and you didn't go get water. There is no water here. The stream disappeared."

"I went waving a brand, and there wasn't any water, not even a little. Just a minute."

He got ready to leave again. He picked up a bigger piece of firewood. He took the piece of firewood to the water.

"Look at how thirsty I am," he said as he went. He left. He went downstream. There was no water. The water was gone. He looked all over at the empty streambed. He came back.

"I want to drink water, and it is going to rain like it always does."

The sound of the approaching rain could be heard, botoririri. He opened his mouth, so the rain would go into it. The rain stopped.

"Oh, no, the rain stopped and I am still thirsty."

He came back. He came back for the time being.

"Look at how thirsty I am." He began to cry. "I'm thirsty. I'm going to be thirsty. Mother, give me some water."

"There is no water, so endure your thirst. You messed with my son. You ate my son, so endure your thirst," she said. "I never eat what you kill. I don't eat what you kill, but you cut up my son."

Then her son [the younger brother] took the water upstream and lived upstream. He lived there.

He had told his younger brothers to do something [when he was still alive]. "When my mother's water is all gone, when there is just this much left, you two come, come upstream."

¹⁵² There is confusion on which brother is named Bakayona. In the beginning Bakayona was the younger brother, but now he is the older brother.

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The two of them went upstream. They shot arrows. Their older brother was sitting there. As he sat there an arrow hit the water. He was living where there were many fish. The arrow came.

They slept. They ate. He had made a riverboat, and it was big. The riverboat was there in the water.

"Younger brothers, put the things there inside. Let's go downstream. Put the things inside."

They carried the things, to put them inside.

"Release the water. When you(pl) pick up the rock, throw it over there, downstream. Don't throw the rock into the water here. Throw the rock over there. Pull it hard this way. Pull the rock this way, as you sit in the canoe," he said.

They were going to go downstream and change into something else. The ones who were going to change into something else started up. They released the water. The sound of the rushing water could be heard. The water made a big rushing sound as it went downstream. The water went downstream. The alligator [the older brother] lay dead in the place where he had gone back and forth. The high water came to him as he lay there.

His father spoke. It was his real father. "My sons appear to have released the water. That's the sound of their water coming downstream."

The water came downstream making noise. The water came downstream with a rushing sound. They came after [the water]. They paddled. They arrived in the boat. They came onto the bank.

He called to his mother. "Mother."

"What?"

"Mother, is your water all gone?"

"My water is all gone. When my water is gone you are coming downstream. He didn't listen to me. The water is all gone. The vessel is there."

"We brought the water downstream, now."

The water flowed to where the alligator, the one who had eaten his younger brother and had changed into an animal, and who had gone around [searching for water], had died and was lying. He drank lots of water and his voice started up. "Obe, obe oo," he said, croaking, right where he always lay, because of the water. They turned into something else. They turned into something else when there were no Brazilians.

They went downstream. They are the ones who became the people of the governor. He went downstream. They were ready to leave. He put his father and the others on the boat. His father, his younger brothers, his grandmother, his nieces. It was all of them. He put them all on board. He took them downstream. They didn't live there [anymore]. All of them [left].

"Let's look at the place that will be our village. Let's go downstream. I don't want to live in this place here. I'm going to live far away, downstream. I'm going to live downstream," he said.

He put his father and the others on board. He was ready to leave, in the boat. His brothers and their group went downstream. The riverboat was big. There were canoes. His younger brothers paddled the small canoes. He included all the women. He took them downstream. They were Brazilians now. The one who would become the governor went downstream. Everything was empty. The villages were left alone, because everyone went downstream. Their manioc was not eaten. They went downstream.

He visited some people far away. He came. He came upon their village. He went back.

"They are gone. Our affinal relative, who lived there, is gone. Our affinal relative is gone. Where is our affinal relative? I called out, and now I have come back. Let's go away, too. They went away. Let's us move away, too. Our affinal relative is gone. I think they crossed [the river]."

The river which was always there disappeared, and the people, too. The river that would

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become the Purus disappeared. Another stream is there. The water flows there. Where does the water come from? The water flowed this way. It had a rock. The water has a rock. They drank the water that set in the rock as in a pot. The water didn't dry up even though many people took water out. They always drank the water that lay in the rock, that was always renewed. They put it in vessels and drank it. They drank the water that was in [the rock].

They cooked food. They ate food, when they woke up. They also slept.

"There is no river, no big Purus River. There is no big river," the women said. "They went to get water, but there was no river, so they came [to the place where the water is in the rock] and drank water. We are always chasing water. The bare streambed is going downstream."

"I am drinking the water which sits [in the rock] and has a rock, because I am always thirsty. I ate meat, but didn't drink water, but now I have come and am drinking water here."

So they were ready to go.

"I think our relatives who were going to come are coming. They decided to come because they were suffering from thirst, and they heard about the water in [the rock]."

They got water with vessels. They bathed with water that was in vessels. They bathed. When they were done bathing, they drank water.

He drank water. "Glug, glug, glug, glug. Nyaa, they are drinking really good water."

"It's water from the rock. We are drinking water which was held back long ago by the rock. If it were earth, it would leak out."

The water was in something that was not earth. They drank water that was in the depths of the rock, my grandfather said, my father said. They drank water.

"Don't use too much of our water, when you are bathing. Put water in a vessel and bathe away [from the spring]."

There were lots of people, but it didn't matter. It was never all used up. Where was it? Who knows? Isn't that what is now Bosao?

They came. They drank water. They cut *matafo* vine. They let the water drip from the *matafo* into a vessel. They drank the water of the *matafo* vine, the water of a vine. They drank the water of a vine. There was never water.

"I have come, because I always drink the water of a vine."

They always drank water of a vine. They came and drank the water of the spring. The river will appear. The peach palm [nut] is what they ate. He brought peach palm nuts. He boiled the peach palm nuts.

"I always roast the peach palm nuts, because there is no water [to boil them]. I always roast the peach palm nuts. Roasted they are very good to eat."

He always roasted peach palm nuts. He brought the peach palm nuts. Now he boiled the peach palm nuts. He boiled them and they ate them. They ate peach palm nuts with meat. One of them went for water. He cut off a *bihi* bract where it was attached to the palm. If the end is sliced right, it becomes their vessel for water. The *hawa* palm sheath, which is long, which opens, and splits. He got water in the vessel. He put it on the ground. He covered his water with his wild banana leaf. He ate.

"My water is covered, it's going to leak out."

"The water won't leak out. The water is covered. The sheath is thick. We are going to be thirsty. We have been thirsty. We have always been thirsty, it's great to have this spring. The bit of water wets our insides. Why did the river disappear? If it all disappeared, what would we drink? I am drinking a little of the water that they found here. The water is not big, but it never is used up. They are gone, and I am seeing the trees that they cut down lying on the ground here, and there is nothing planted." They exclaimed. They could be heard exclaiming. "Where did they go? They

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must have gone across to the other side [of the river]. They must be living on the other side."

"They don't live on the other side," one of them said, because he saw their paddle stuff.

"There are pieces of broken paddles scattered on the ground, and other paddles stuck in the rafters. I think they went downstream."

"They went downstream," they said. "That's it. This happened to them because of Bakayona, the younger brother whose older brother killed him. The others blew snuff into Bakayona [to make him a shaman] and his older brother slit his back and roasted him, and he made the water go away. I know him. Now I know him. The women caused him to suffer. His older brother slit his back. His saw is hanging there where his grill is. There are no old pieces of his charred meat."

He came. He wanted to see them, and he came upon their village.

"This is their village. They aren't here, they are gone. They took all their things, and their old things are scattered on the ground: broken paddles, pots, and other things that were made. Pots, cooking pots. Pieces of broken pots are on the ground. There is also a stick on top. They left. I'm saying this because I see what they made. I saw the pieces of their paddles. The red pieces of stuff they made are scattered on the ground because they wanted them to be seen. Something thin like new leaves is scattered on the ground. They turned into something else because of Bakayona. Bakayona changed them, after they blew snuff into him. I say he changed them. People can change into something else that way. He changed them into something else, because they killed him. They killed him. His saw, its blade red with blood, is hanging there, the one he used to slash his younger brother's back. His wives caused him to suffer. Let him die. The voice of the one they made can be heard, the alligator, with the long jaw. He is in the water, and his voice can be heard. He says, 'Obe.' 'They went downstream,' he says. I heard him. His younger brother, who he ate, changed him. He lives there because he told him to."

Dear, what is the name of the alligator? Right, Bakayona. Right, it was Makayona.

Makayona slit his younger brother's back, and the people changed into something else.

Interlinear Presentation

1	Ha	me	one		me	oneba		awa	kaka	toaha		
	haa	me	one	,	me	one	-ba	awa	ka-	kaa	to-	ha+F
	DEM	3PL	other+F		3PL	other+F	FUT	tree	DUP	chop	CH	AUX
	dem	pron	adj		pron	adj		nf	vt		aux	

awa	me	kaka	toemetemone		faro		me		me fanawi	
awa	me	ka-	kaa	to-	ha	-hemete	-mone	faaro	me	me fanawi
tree	3PL.S	DUP	chop	CH	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	that+F	3PL	women
nf	pron	vt		aux				dem	pron	nf

ya	me	abe	tokatowiaba		mati	
ya	me	abe	to-	katowi	-haba	mati
ADJU	3PL.POSS	RECIP	CH	fight	FUT+F	3PL.POSS
prt	pron	pn	vt			pron

'Others of them, their descendents, cut down trees. They cut down trees, and they fought over women.'

2	Awa	me	kaka	toa	me		awa	me	ka	na	me	
	awa	me	ka-	kaa	to-	ha+F	me	awa	me	kaa	na+F	me
	tree	3PL.S	DUP	chop	CH	AUX	3PL.S	tree	3PL.S	chop	AUX	3PL.S
	nf	pron	vt		aux		pron	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron

awa	me	yobi		kana	me		awa	ka	ne
awa	me	yobi		ka-	na+F	me	awa	kaa	na+M
tree	3PL.S	go back and forth		COMIT	AUX	3PL.S	tree	chop	AUX
nf	pron	vi		aux		pron	nf	vt	aux

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winame
wina -ma+M , **Oof** **ami** , **ami** **ofimi**
lie in hammock back oof ami , ami o- fimi
vi hoo mother mother 1SG.S be hungry
interj nf nf vi

oke
o- ke
1SG.S DECL+F
prt

"They cut down trees. He cut down trees. He came back and lay in his hammock. "Mother, I'm hungry."

3 **Titafahi**
ti- tafa -hi
2SG.S eat IMP+F
vi

"Eat."

4 **Yifari yome tinahi**
yifari yome ti- na -hi
banana swallow 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
nf vt aux

"Eat bananas."

5 **Fati** , **fatiterawabone**
fati fati -tee -rawa -bone
3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife HAB F.PL INT+F
nf nf

kakamarawaha , **Titafibone** **ami** **ati**
ka- ka -ma -rawa -ha , ti- tafa.NOM+F -bone ami ati
COMIT go/come back F.PL DUP 2SG.S eat INT+F mother say
vi vi nf vt

kene
na -ke -ne
AUX DECL+F IRR+F
aux

'His two wives-to-be came. "Your mother told you to eat."

6 **Te ka yibote** , **te ka yibote** **owa** **kako** **nofe**
tee ka yibote , tee ka yibote owa kaako nofa+M
2PL POSS husband 2PL POSS husband 1SG.O be angry with recently
pron prt nm pron prt nm pron vt prt
, **owa** **kako** **nofe** **tefeba** **te** **wasihi** , **hinaka**
owa kaako nofa+M tefe -ba tee wasi -hi , hinaka
1SG.O be angry with recently food FUT 2PL.S cook IMP+F 3SG.POSS
pron vt prt pn pron vt pron

haso **te** **kawari** **kawitarehari**
haso tee ka- waa -rI ka- ita -rI -haari
taro sp 2PL.S COMIT cook raised surface COMIT sit raised surface IP.E+M
nm pron vt vi

hari **ati** **nematamona**
haari ati na -himata -mona
that one+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
dem vt aux

"Your husband doesn't like me, and you should cook food for him. Boil those haso taros in the pot there," he said.'

BAKAYONA

7 **Haso** , **hinaka** **hasoba** **te**
 haso , hinaka haso -ba tee
 taro sp 3SG.POSS taro sp FUT 2PL.S
 nm pron nm pron

kawariyaho

ka- waa -rI -yaho
 COMIT cook raised surface DIST.IMP+M
 vt

"Boil some haso taro for him."

8 **Kamaba** **amani**
 ka -ma.NOM+M -ba ama -ni
 go/come back FUT be BKG+F
 vi vc

"He's going to come back."

9 **Kame** **kamabano** **ya** , **kame**
 ka -ma+M ka -ma.NOM+M -ba -no ya , ka -ma+M
 go/come back go/come back FUT IP.N+M ADJU go/come back
 vi vi prt vi

kamematamonaka

ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He came back.'

10 **Kame** **Oof** , **hoo** , **oko** **hasobona** **me**
 ka -ma+M oof , hoo , o- ka haso -bona me
 go/come back hoo humph 1SG.POSS POSS taro sp INT+M 3PL.S
 vi interj interj prt nm pron

kawariabone

ka- waa -rI -habone me **narabi** **nima**
 COMIT cook raised surface INT+F 3PL.POSS ear+F nima
 vt pron pn vt communicate to

oni **ama** **ahi**
 o- na.NOM+F ama ahi
 1SG.S AUX be then
 aux vc dem

'He came back. "Whew, hey, I asked them to boil haso taro for me."

11 **Me fanawi** **narabi** **nima** **oriya** ?
 me fanawi narabi nima o- na -ra+F -ya
 women ear+F communicate to 1SG.S AUX NEG now
 nf pn vt aux

"Didn't I ask the women?"

12 **Owati** **te** **kasawaria** **te** **owa** **te**
 o- ati tee ka- sawari+F tee owa tee
 1SG.POSS voice 2PL.S COMIT frustrate 2PL 1SG.O 2PL.S
 pn pron vt pron pron pron

yokohaba

yoko -haba tee **ama** -ke
 bring misfortune on FUT+F 2PL.S SEC DECL+F
 vt pron sec

"Because you disobeyed me, you're going to cause me to suffer."

BAKAYONA

13 *Owa te yokohaba te amake*
 owa tee yoko -haba tee ama -ke
 1SG.O 2PL.S bring misfortune on FUT+F 2PL.S SEC DECL+F
 pron pron vt pron sec

"You're going to cause me to suffer."

14 *Faya , te towakamaki he ni ya*
 faya tee to- ka- ka -makI hee ni ya
 so 2PL.S away COMIT go/come following 3SG.O to ADJU
 conj pron vi pron prt prt

"You two go to him."

15 *Te towakamakihi*
 tee to- ka- ka -makI -hi
 2PL.S away COMIT go/come following IMP+F
 pron vi

"You two go to him."

16 *Te towakamakibeya*
 tee to- ka- ka -makI -be -ya
 2PL.S away COMIT go/come following IMMED+F now
 pron vi

"You two go."

17 *Owa te yokoriyahi*
 owa tee yoko -ra -yahi
 1SG.O 2PL.S bring misfortune on NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron pron vt

"Don't cause me to suffer."

18 *Ota towakamakiene , yotohoti hiyi*
 otaa to- ka- ka -makI -hene yotohoti hiya
 1EX.S away COMIT go/come following IRR+F rear part be bad
 pron vi pn vi

nofararene

nofa -ra -hare -ne
 recently NEG IP.E+M BKG+M
 prt

"We don't want to go. His rear end smells bad."

19 *Yotohoti , te name yotohoti , hiyi nofare*
 yotohoti tee na -ma+M yotohoti hiya nofa -ra+M
 rear part bend over AUX back rear part be bad recently NEG
 pn vi aux pn vi prt

amane

ama -ne
 SEC BKG+M
 sec

"When he bends over, his rear end smells bad."

20 *Yotohoti amosare ama*
 yotohoti amosa -ra+M ama
 rear part be good NEG SEC
 pn vi sec

"His rear end is bad."

BAKAYONA

21 *Faya me hinofare* , *mera ha nifako* , *me* ,
 faya me hi- nofa -ra+M , mera haa na -fako+M , me ,
 so 3PL.S OC want NEG 3PL.O call AUX constantly 3PL
 conj pron vt pron vt aux pron

mera ha nifakohimatamonaka
 mera haa na -fako -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.O call AUX constantly FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt aux

'They didn't want him. He called them constantly.'

22 *Mera ha nifako* , *nisori* *wine*
 mera haa na -fako+M , nisori wina+M
 3PL.O call AUX constantly 3SG.POSS.younger brother lie in hammock
 pron vt aux nm vi

me hikatakora , *me* , *me*
 me hi- ka- takora+F me me
 3PL.O OC COMIT be in hammock with 3PL.O 3PL.O
 pron vt pron pron

hikatakoremoneke
 hi- ka- takora -hemete -mone -ke
 OC COMIT be in hammock with FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'He called them constantly. His younger brother was with them in the hammock.'

23 *Fatirawabonehe* *kakatorarawe* , *fare*
 fati -rawa -bone -he ka- takora -rawa+M , fare
 3SG.POSS.wife F.PL INT+F DUP COMIT be in hammock with F.PL same+M
 nf vt dem

noko me hinihi *hinofari* *ahi*
 noko me hi- to- niha- ha hi- nofa -haari ahi
 attraction 3PL.S OC CH CAUS be OC recently IP.E+M then
 pn pron vt prt dem

'He was with his wives-to-be in the hammock, because they desired him sexually.'

24 *Anoti* *hiyare* , *anoti* *me*
 anoti hiya -ra+M , anoti me
 3SG.POSS older brother be bad NEG 3SG.POSS older brother 3PL.S
 nm vi nm pron

hinofarahi , *Hoo ati yana tonematamona*
 hi- nofa -ra+M , hoo ati yana to- na -himata -mona
 OC like NEG whew voice start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vt interj pn vi aux

'His older brother was ugly. They didn't like his older brother. "Whew." He spoke.'

25 *Oof* , *otefeba* *me wasi nofara* *rama ahi*
 oof , o- tefe -ba me wasi nofa -ra+F rama ahi
 hoo 1SG.POSS food FUT 3PL.S cook recently NEG unusual then
 interj pn pron vt prt prt dem

""Oof, they don't ever cook food for me.""

26 *Kame* , *fa kabi kamatamako*
 ka -ma+M , faha kabi ka- na -mata -mako
 go/come back water dip out COMIT AUX short time for this reason+M
 vi nf vt aux

'He came back. He didn't get water at the port.'

BAKAYONA

27 **Kamematamonaka**

ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He came back.'

28 **Kame** , **haha** **hinematamonaka**

ka -ma+M , ha- haa hi- na -himata -mona -ka
 go/come back DUP call OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vt aux

'He came back. He called him.'

29 **Fati** **kakatorarawe** **wine** **ra ha**
 fati ka- takora -rawa+M wina+M ra haa
 3SG.POSS.wife COMIT be in hammock with F.PL lie in hammock O call
 nf vt vi prt vt

nematamonane

na -himata -mona -ne
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 aux

'He called him as he lay in the hammock with his wives.'

30 **Bakayona** , **Bakayona**
 Bakayona Bakayona
 (man's name) (man's name)
 npropm npropm

""Bakayona, Bakayona.""

31 **Hoo**
 hoo
 huh?
 interj

""Yes?""

32 **Tikama**
 ti- ka -ma
 2SG.S go/come back
 vi

""Come here.""

33 **Tika** **hano onawaibe**
 ti- ka hano o- na- waa -be
 2SG.POSS POSS line 1SG.S CAUS be located IMMED+F
 prt pn vt

""I'm going to make lines on you.""

34 **Tika** **hano onawaibe**
 ti- ka hano o- na- waa -be
 2SG.POSS POSS line 1SG.S CAUS be located IMMED+F
 prt pn vt

""I'm going to make lines on you.""

35 **Tikamahi** **ahi**
 ti- ka -ma -hi ahi
 2SG.S go/come back IMP+F here
 vi dem

""Come here.""

BAKAYONA

51 *Kaborao mo kaniharawa fa fa*
 kaborao moo ka- niha- na -rawa+F , faha , faha
 steel drum be full COMIT CAUS AUX F.PL water water
 nf vi aux nf nf

wataribone ya makoni
 wata -ra -bone ya makoni
 exist NEG INT+F ADJU for this reason
 vi prt conj

"They filled the drum, because there wasn't going to be any water."¹⁵³

52 *Oka oka korasao te oka korasao*
 o- ka , o- ka korasao tee , o- ka korasao
 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS heart 2PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS heart
 prt prt nf pron prt nf

te kakitih haro ahi
 tee ka- iti -hi haaro ahi
 2PL.S COMIT take out IMP+F that one+F here
 pron vt dem dem

"You take out my heart."

53 *Te kakiti*
 tee ka- iti
 2PL.S COMIT take out
 pron vt

"You take it out."

54 *Oka wahati oka oka yoto*
 o- ka wahati , o- ka , o- ka yoto ,
 1SG.POSS POSS liver 1SG.POSS POSS 1SG.POSS POSS intestines
 prt pn prt prt pn

oka sowi oka sowi otene te
 o- ka sowi , o- ka sowi , o- tenehe tee
 1SG.POSS POSS penis 1SG.POSS POSS penis 1SG.POSS scrotum 2PL.S
 prt pn prt pn pn pron

bobi kasi forima niyahi ati
 bobi ka- na -kosa.NFIN forima na -yahi , ati
 slit COMIT AUX middle do properly AUX DIST.IMP+F say
 vt aux vi aux vt

nematamona
 na -himata -mona
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 aux

"You cut out my liver, my intestines, my penis, and my scrotum, right," he said.'

55 *Oko sowi te bobi nakosi amosiya*
 o- ka sowi tee bobi na -kosa.NFIN amosa -yahi
 1SG.POSS POSS penis 2PL.S slit AUX middle be good DIST.IMP+F
 prt pn pron vt aux vi

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

"You cut out my penis well."

¹⁵³ It should be *wataribonemakoni*, without *ya*.

BAKAYONA

56 *Yama te* , *yama hiwe ya yama te*
 yama tee , yama hiwe ya yama tee
 thing 2PL.S thing heat+F ADJU thing 2PL.S
 nf pron nf pn prt nf pron

kawatareriyahi

ka- wata -rI -ra -yahi
 COMIT put raised surface NEG DIST.IMP+F
 vt

"Don't leave them by the fire."

57 *Yama siri ya yama te kawatariya*
 yama siri.NOM ya yama tee ka- wata -rI -yahi
 thing be cold ADJU thing 2PL.S COMIT put raised surface DIST.IMP+F
 nf vi prt nf pron vt

"Leave them in a cool place."

58 *Owa te noki na*
 owa tee noki na
 1SG.O 2PL.S wait for AUX
 pron pron vt aux

"You wait for me."

59 *Te te yoro niyahi*
 tee , tee yoro na -yahi
 2PL.S 2PL.S stay AUX DIST.IMP+F
 pron pron vi aux

"You two stay here."

60 *Te yoro naro ee te yoro ni ya*
 tee yoro na -haaro , ee , tee yoro na.NOM+F ya ,
 2PL.S stay AUX PFUT+F (pause) 2PL.S stay AUX ADJU
 pron vi aux interj pron vi aux prt

yana onaba owa awine oni
 yana o- to- na -haba owa awine o- ni
 start 1SG.S CH AUX FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi aux pron sec prt

"When you have stayed here, if you stay here, I will start up."

61 *Faya anoti* , *anoti* *tabasi*
 faya anoti , anoti tabasi
 so 3SG.POSS older brother 3SG.POSS older brother roast on grill
 conj nm nm vt

hinematamonaka

ahi
 hi- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'Then his older brother roasted him on a grill.'

62 *Sai nematamonaka*
 sai na -himata -mona -ka
 sizzle AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'His fat was dripping and sizzling on the fire.'

BAKAYONA

71 **Faya tika tafi tai toahi**
 faya ti- ka tafa.NFIN tai to- ha -hi
 so 2SG.POSS POSS eat be ahead CH AUX IMP+F
 conj prt vi vi aux

"You go ahead and eat."

72 **Ota tafaba ota awineni**
 otaa tafa -haba otaa awine -ni
 1EX.S eat FUT+F 1EX.S seem+F BKG+F
 pron vi pron sec

"I guess we are going to eat."

73 **Te kakamahi**
 tee ka- ka -ma -hi
 2PL.S COMIT go/come back IMP+F
 pron vi

"You two come here."

74 **Tera okatafibeya**
 tera o- ka- tafa -be -ya
 2PL.O 1SG.S COMIT eat IMMED+F now
 pron vt

"I want to eat with you."

75 **Tera okatafibeya ati nematamonaka**
 tera o- ka- tafa -be -ya ati na -himata -mona -ka
 2PL.O 1SG.S COMIT eat IMMED+F now say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt vt aux

"I want to eat with you," he said.'

76 **Ati yana tonematamona , yana tonehinoho**
 ati yana to- na -himata -mona , yana to- na -hino -ho
 voice start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M start CH AUX IP.N+M DUP
 pn vi aux vi aux

'He started up, and his voice started up.'

77 **Yana toneno ati yana tonematamonaka**
 yana to- na -hino ati yana to- na -himata -mona -ka
 start CH AUX IP.N+M voice start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux pn vi aux

'He started up, and his voice started up.'

78 **Faya behe hikawematamonaka**
 faya behe hi- ka- na -waha -himata -mona -ka
 so turn over OC COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vt aux

'He turned him over.'

79 **Behe hikawame , behe**
 behe hi- ka- na -waha -ma+M , behe
 turn over OC COMIT AUX change back turn over
 vt aux vt

hikawame ati yana tone , Tiü
 hi- ka- na -waha -ma+M ati yana to- na+M , tiü
 OC COMIT AUX change back voice start CH AUX (high pitched sound)
 aux pn vi aux sound

BAKAYONA

ati nematamonaka ahi
 ati na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt aux dem

'He turned him over again. "Tiii," he went.'

80 **Yana tone , fati , sowiri fati**
 yana to- na+M , fati , sowiri fati
 start CH AUX 3SG.POSS.wife penis 3SG.POSS.wife
 vi aux nf pn nf

hiwakiti , hinaka korasao tabaha , me , mera
 hi- ka- iti+M , hinaka korasao taba+F , me , mera
 OC COMIT take out 3SG.POSS heart be together 3PL 3PL.O
 vt pron nf vi pron pron

towakitikosematamonane ahi , faha ya ahi ,
 to- ka- iti -kosa -himata -mona -ne ahi , faha ya ahi ,
 CH COMIT pick up middle FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M then stream ADJU there
 vt dem nf prt dem

mera towakebana ahi
 mera to- ka- ka -hibana ahi
 3PL.O away COMIT go/come FUT+M then
 pron vt dem

'He started up. His wife took his penis. She took his heart, too. He picked them up, to take them away up the stream.'

81 **Faya Bakayona , Bakayona tafe Bakayona**
 faya Bakayona , Bakayona tafa+M Bakayona
 so (man's name) (man's name) eat (man's name)
 conj npropm npropm vi npropm

tafematamonaka fa kihemonaha , fa fawa
 tafa -himata -mona -ka faha kiha -himona -ha , faha fawa
 eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M water have REP+M DUP water disappear
 vi nf vt nf vi

nabanihi
 na -haba -ni -hi
 AUX FUT+F IP.N+F DUP
 aux

'Bakayona ate. Bakayona ate, thinking he had water; but it was about to disappear.'

82 **Fa fawa nemetemone amake**
 faha fawa na -hemete -mone ama -ke
 stream disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 nf vi aux sec

'The stream disappeared.'

83 **Fa fawa na , fa iita remetemone**
 faha fawa na+F , faha i- ita na -ra -hemete -mone
 stream disappear AUX water DUP stay AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 nf vi aux nf vi aux

'The stream disappeared. The water didn't stay.'

84 **Fa kori toemetemoneke ahi**
 faha kori to- ha -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 stream naked+F CH be FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf pn vc dem

'The stream was bare.'

BAKAYONA

85 *Fa kori toa* , *Bakayona tafematamonaka*
 faha kori to- ha+F , Bakayona tafa -himata -mona -ka
 stream naked+F CH be (man's name) eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf pn v npropm vi

ahi nisori , *nisori kabahari*
 ahi nisori nisori kaba -haari
 then 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3SG.POSS.younger brother eat IP.E+M
 dem nm nm vt

ahi .
 ahi
 then
 dem

'The stream was bare. Bakayona ate, eating his younger brother.'

86 *Nisori kabe* , *Hoo bakasi owa*
 nisori kaba+M , hoo bakasi o- awa
 3SG.POSS.younger brother eat humph thirst 1SG.S feel
 nm vt interj nf vt

oke .
 o- ke
 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt

'He ate his younger brother. "Oh man, I'm thirsty."'

87 *Bakasi owini* .
 bakasi o- awa -ni
 thirst 1SG.S feel BKG+F
 nf vt

""I'm thirsty.""

88 *Ami* .
 ami
 mother
 nf

""Mother.""

89 *Mati ohi na oi ni fawa na wina* ,
 mati ohi na+F ohi na.NFIN fawa na+F wina+F
 3SG.POSS.mother cry AUX cry AUX stop AUX lie in hammock
 nf vi aux vi aux vi aux vi

Ohi tirabone tikatao ati nare .
 ohi ti- na -ra -habone tikatao ati na -hare
 cry 2SG.S AUX NEG INT+F 2SG.POSS.son say AUX IP.E+M
 vi aux nm vt aux

'His mother was crying. She stopped crying, as she lay in her hammock. "Your son said you shouldn't cry."'

90 *Ohi rima tinahi* .
 ohi na -rima ti- na -hi
 cry AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux aux

""Don't cry.""

91 *Oi rima tinahi* .
 ohi na -rima ti- na -hi
 cry AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux aux

""Don't cry.""

BAKAYONA

92 *Tikatao* *tinarabo* *nima* *ne* *ati*
tikatao ti- narabo nima na+M ati
2SG.POSS.son 2SG.POSS ear communicate to AUX voice
nm pn vt aux pn

timitara *tike*
ti- mita -hara ti- ke
2SG.S hear IP.E+F 2SG.S DECL+F
vt prt

"You heard your son tell you."

93 *Faya* *mati* *ha* *ne* , *Hiba* , *ami* , *ami* ,
faya mati haa na+M , hiba , ami , ami ,
so 3SG.POSS.mother call AUX wait mother mother
conj nf vt aux interj nf nf

ami
ami
mother
nf

'He called his mother. "Wait a minute. Mother.'

94 *Haa* ?
haa
huh?
interj

"What?"

95 *Ami* *fa* *tikihirini* ?
ami faha ti- kiha -ra -ni
mother water 2SG.S have NEG BKG+F
nf nf vt

"Mother, don't you have water?"

96 *Fa* *kabi* *ona* *owinini*
faha kabi o- na+F o- wina -ni
water dip out 1SG.S AUX 1SG.S lie in hammock BKG+F
nf vt aux vi

"I could have gone to get water, but I'm lying here."

97 *Titafa* *fa* *kabi* *tira* *tiwa* *awine* *tini*
ti- tafa+F faha kabi ti- na -ra+F tiwa awine ti- ni
2SG.S eat water dip out 2SG.S AUX NEG 2SG.S seem+F 2SG.S BKG+F
vi nf vt aux pron sec prt

?

"Did you eat instead of going to get water?"

98 *Fa* , *fa* *hibati* *fawa* *nemetemoneke*
faha , faha hibati fawa na -hemete -mone -ke
stream stream long time ago disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
nf nf nf vi aux

'The stream had already disappeared.'

99 *Fa* *fawa* *na* , *fa* *fawa* *nemetemoneni*
faha fawa na+F , faha fawa na -hemete -mone -ni
stream disappear AUX stream disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
nf vi aux nf vi aux

'The stream had disappeared.'

BAKAYONA

100 **Fa** **fawa** **na** , **tafame** **Hiba** , **fa**
 faha fawa na+F , tafa -ma+M hiba , faha
 water disappear AUX eat back wait water
 nf vi aux vi interj nf

ofamatibeya

o- fawa -mata -be -ya
 1SG.S drink short time IMMED+F now
 vt

'The stream had disappeared. He came back and ate. "Just a minute, let me drink some water.'

101 **Faya** **tafe** **yana** **tone** , **Hiba** , **fa**
 faya tafa+M yana to- na+M , hiba , faha
 so eat start CH AUX wait water
 conj vi vi aux interj nf

ofamatibeya

o- fawa -mata -be -ya
 1SG.S drink short time IMMED+F now
 vt

'He ate, and then left. "Just a minute, I'm going to drink some water.'

102 **Yifo** **witi** **itikabote** **yifo** **witi** **karikari**
 yifo witi iti -kabote yifo witi kari- kari
 fire coal take out quickly fire coal DUP wave
 nf pn vt nf pn vt

nematamonaka

na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'He grabbed a brand from the fire. He waved the brand in front of him [to show the way].'

103 **Yifo** **witi** **kari** **ne** **tokome** , **fa** , **fa**
 yifo witi kari na+M to- ka -ma+M , faha , faha
 fire coal wave AUX away go/come back water water
 nf pn vt aux vi nf nf

wataremetemoneke

wata -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'He went waving the brand. There was no water.'

104 **Fa** **watara** , **Fa** , **fa** **fawa** **na** **awineni**
 faha wata -ra+F , faha , faha fawa na+F awine -ni
 water exist NEG stream stream disappear AUX seem+F BKG+F
 nf vi nf nf vi aux sec

'There was no water. "The stream seems to have disappeared.'

105 **Fa** **kari** **nematamona** **ahi**
 faha kari na -himata -mona ahi
 stream wave AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 nf vt aux dem

'He waved the brand to illuminate the stream.'

106 **Tokomake** **tonamakehite**
 to- ka -makI to- na -makI -hitI
 away go/come following away AUX following along the way
 vi aux

BAKAYONA

tokomake , **yama** , **Fa watakere**
to- ka -makI , yama , faha wata -ke -re
away go/come following thing water exist DECL+F NEG+F
vi nf nf vi

'He went along slowly. "There is no water."'

107 **Tokatimamake** **hinaka** **yifo** **witi** **owiha**
to- ka -tima -makI hinaka yifo witi owi+F
away go/come upstream following 3SG.POSS fire coal go out
vi pron nf pn vi

kame , **yama** **kari** **ni** **tokisamaki** **yama**
ka -ma+M , yama kari na.NFIN to- ka -risa -makI+M yama
go/come back thing wave AUX away go/come down following thing
vi nf vt aux vi nf

kari **ne** **ya** , **kamematamona** **fahi**
kari na.NOM+M ya , ka -ma -himata -mona fahi
wave AUX ADJU go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then
vt aux prt vi dem

'He went upstream. His brand went out, and he came back. He went downstream waving the brand. He waved the brand on the stream, and then came back.'

108 **Kame** , **Hoo** **bakasi** **owa** **owa** **tiwa**
ka -ma+M , hoo bakasi owa o- awa ti- awa
go/come back humph thirst 1SG.O 1SG.S feel 2SG.S see
vi interj nf pron vt vt

'He came back. "Whew, look how thirsty I am."'

109 **Bakasi** **owa** -- **tiwati** **watari**
bakasi o- awa ti- ati wata -ra.NFIN
thirst 1SG.S feel 2SG.POSS voice exist NEG
nf vt pn vi

tiwitare **tiwa** -- **bakasi** **owa** **oke**
ti- ita -rI tiwa bakasi o- awa+F o- ke
2SG.S sit raised surface 2SG.S thirst 1SG.S feel 1SG.S DECL+F
vi pron nf vt prt

"I'm thirsty." Be quiet as you sit there.¹⁵⁴

110 **Bakasi** **owa** **owa** **tiweheye**
bakasi owa o- awa+F ti- awa -heye
thirst 1SG.O 1SG.S feel 2SG.S see
nf pron vt vt

"Look how thirsty I am."

111 **Ami** **fahara** ?
ami faha -ra
mother water NPQ
nf nf

"Mother, where is water?"

112 **Ami** **faha**
ami faha
mother water
nf nf

"Mother, water."

154 Siko was talking to a child who was present.

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113 *Fa okiharini*

faha o- kiha -ra -ni
water 1SG.S have NEG BKG+F
nf vt

"I don't have any water."

114 *Fara owa haha nabanane*

fara owa ha- haa na.NOM+M -bana -ne
same+F 1SG.O DUP call AUX FUT BKG+M
dem pron vt aux

"Why does he keep calling me?"

115 *Titafa fa kabi tira tiwa awine tini*

ti- tafa+F faha kabi ti- na -ra+F tiwa awine ti- ni
2SG.S eat water dip out 2SG.S AUX NEG 2SG.S seem+F 2SG.S BKG+F
vi nf vt vt pron sec prt

"You were eating and you didn't go get water."

116 *Fa watararake haro*

faha wata -ra -hara -ke haaro
water exist NEG IP.E+F DECL+F that one+F
nf vi dem

"There is no water here."

117 *Fa fawa narake*

faha fawa na -hara -ke
stream disappear AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
nf vi aux

"The stream disappeared."

118 *Fa iitabite ra yifo witi kari ni*

faha i- ita -bite na -ra+F yifo witi kari na.NFIN
water DUP sit a little AUX NEG fire coal wave AUX
nf vi aux nf pn vt aux

okomake

o- to- ka -makI faha wata -ra -hara ahi
1SG.S away go/come following water exist NEG IP.E+F then
vi nf vi dem

"I went waving a brand, and there wasn't any water, not even a little."

119 *Hiba*

hiba
wait
interj

"Just a minute."

120 *Yana totasematamona*

yana to- na -tasa -himata -mona
start CH AUX again FP.N+M REP+M
vi aux

'He got ready to leave again.'

121 *Yana totase yifo nanafi nama na*

yana to- na -tasa+M yifo nanafi nama na
start CH AUX again firewood DUP be big AUX SUPER AUX
vi aux nf vi aux aux

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iti	yifo	towakifewame			Bakasi
iti+M	yifo	to- ka- ka	-fI	-waha -ma+M	bakasi
take out	firewood	away COMIT	go/come	water change back	thirst
vt	nf	vt			nf

owa	owa	tiwa	ati	tokomematamona
o- awa+F	owa	ti- awa	ati	to- ka -ma -himata -mona
1SG.S feel	1SG.O	2SG.S see	voice	away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M
vt	pron	vt	pn	vi

'He got ready to leave again. He picked up a bigger piece of firewood. He took the piece of firewood to the water. "Look at how thirsty I am," he said as he went.'

122 Tokome		tokisamaki	
to- ka -ma+M		to- ka -risa -makI+M	
away go/come back		away go/come down following	
vi		vi	

tokisamaki		fa	wataremetemoneke
to- ka -risa -makI+M		faha	wata -ra -hemete -mone -ke
away go/come down following		water	exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vi		nf	vi

'He left. He went downstream. There was no water.'

123 Fa	aahaba	fa	kori	fa	kori	ki
faha	a- ahaba	faha	kori	faha	kori	kii
water	DUP end	stream	naked+F	stream	naked+F	look at
nf	vi	nf	pn	nf	pn	vt
nawahare	fa	kori	ki	nawaharematamonaka		
na -wahaI	faha	kori	kii	na -wahaI -himata -mona -ka		
AUX all over	stream	naked+F	look at	AUX all over FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M		
aux	nf	pn	vt	aux		

'The water was gone. He looked all over at the empty streambed.'

124 Kame	Fa	ofabone	fa	fa	moni
ka -ma+M	faha	o- fawa -habone	faha	faha	moni
go/come back	water	1SG.S drink INT+F	water	water	sound
vi	nf	vt	nf	nf	pn

kakemetemone		moni	kaki	nofa	amake
ka -kI -hemete -mone		moni	ka -kI	nofa+F	ama -ke
go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F		sound	go/come coming	recently	SEC DECL+F
vi		pn	vi	prt	sec

haro
haaro
that one+F
dem

'He came back. "I want to drink water, and it is going to rain like it always does."'

125 Fa	moni	o	tona	moni	kake
faha	moni	oo	to- na+F	moni	ka -kI
water	sound	rumble	CH AUX	sound	go/come coming
nf	pn	prt	aux	pn	vi

botoririri		awa	tomisematamonaka
botoririri		awa	to- na -misa -himata -mona -ka
(sound of approaching rain)		be open	CH AUX up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
sound		vi	aux

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ahi , **hinaka** **fa** **tokiyomabonehe**
 ahi hinaka faha to- ka -yoma -habone -he
 then 3SG.POSS water away go/come through INT+F DUP
 dem pron nf vi

'The sound of the approaching rain could be heard, botoririri. He opened his mouth, so the rain would go into it.'

126 **Fa** **ahabemetemoneke**
 faha ahaba -hemete -mone -ke
 water end FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi

'The rain stopped.'

127 **Oo** , **bakasi** **owarimakoni** **ahabine**
 oo bakasi o- awa -ra -makoni ahaba -ne
 oh no thirst 1SG.S see NEG for this reason+F end CONT+F
 interj nf vt vi

haro , **fa** **kakeraro**
 haro faha ka -kI -ra -haaro
 that one+F water go/come coming NEG IP.E+F
 dem nf vi

'"Oh, no, the rain stopped and I am still thirsty."'

128 **Faya** **kame** **kamamatematamonaka**
 faya ka -ma+M ka -ma -mata -himata -mona -ka
 so go/come back go/come back short time FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi vi

'He came back. He came back for the time being.'

129 **Kame** , **kame** **Bakasi** **owa** **owa** **tiwaheye**
 ka -ma+M ka -ma+M bakasi owa owa ti- awa -heye
 go/come back go/come back thirst 1SG.O 1SG.O 2SG.S feel
 vi vi nf pron pron vt

'He came back. "Look at how thirsty I am."'

130 **Oi** **ni** **yana** **tonematamona**
 ohi na.NFIN yana to- na -himata -mona
 cry AUX start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi aux vi aux

'He began to cry.'

131 **Bakasi** **owini**
 bakasi o- awa -ni
 thirst 1SG.S feel BKG+F
 nf vt

'"I'm thirsty."'

132 **Bakasi** **owibana**
 bakasi o- awa+F -bana
 thirst 1SG.S feel FUT
 nf vt

'"I'm going to be thirsty."'

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133 **Bakasi owibana**

bakasi o- awa+F -bana
 thirst 1SG.S feel FUT
 nf vt

"I'm going to be thirsty."

134 **Ami oko fabana**

ami o- ka faha -bana
 mother 1SG.POSS POSS water FUT
 nf prt nf

"Mother, give me some water."

135 **Ami oko fabana**

ami o- ka faha -bana
 mother 1SG.POSS POSS water FUT
 nf prt nf

"Mother, give me some water."

136 **Fa watakerene**

faha wata -ke -re -ne
 water exist DECL+F NEG+F IRR+F
 nf vi

"There is no water."

137 **Fa watari ya bakasi tikasawarihi**

faha wata -ra.NOM+F ya bakasi ti- ka- sawari -hi
 water exist NEG ADJU thirst 2SG.S COMIT frustrate IMP+F
 nf vi prt nf vt

"There is no water, so endure your thirst."

138 **Okatao te ai nofa teni**

okatao tee ahi na nofa+F tee -ni
 my son 2PL.S mess with AUX recently 2PL.S BKG+F
 nm pron vt aux pron

"You messed with my son."

139 **Okatao te , okatao tikabara tikene okatao**

okatao tee , okatao ti- kaba -ra ti- ke -ne okatao
 my son 2PL my son 2SG.S eat NEG 2SG.S DECL+F IRR+F my son
 nm pron nm vt prt nm

tikaba , **bakasi** **tikasawarihi** **ati** **nemetemone**
 ti- kaba+F , bakasi ti- ka- sawari -hi ati na -hemete -mone
 2SG.S eat thirst 2SG.S COMIT frustrate IMP+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vt nf vt vt aux

"You ate my son, so endure your thirst," she said.'

140 **Te ene okobi onofara oni**

tee ehene o- kaba o- nofa -ra+F o- ni
 2PL.POSS victim of 1SG.S eat 1SG.S recently NEG 1SG.S BKG+F
 pron pn vt prt prt

"I never eat what you kill."

141 **Te ene okobi onofa , okatao te ,**

tee ehene o- kaba o- nofa+F , okatao tee ,
 2PL.POSS victim of 1SG.S eat 1SG.S recently my son 2PL.S
 pron pn vt prt nm pron

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bobobi toineni
 bo- bobi to- ha -ne -ni
 DUP slit CH AUX CONT+F BKG+F
 vt aux

"I don't eat what you kill, but you cut up my son."

142 **Faya biti fa towakitime fa** ,
 faya biti faha to- ka- ka -tima+M faha
 so 3SG.POSS.son water away COMIT go/come upstream water
 conj nm nf vt nf
towakitime wiwina toematamona nakani ya
 to- ka- ka -tima+M wi- wina to- ha -himata -mona nakani ya
 away COMIT go/come upstream DUP live CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M upstream ADJU
 vt vi aux nf prt

'Then her son took the water upstream and lived upstream.'

143 **Faya wiwina toe nisori me narabi**
 faya wi- wina to- ha+M nisori me narabi
 so DUP live CH AUX 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.POSS ear+F
 conj vi aux nm pron pn

nima namatematamonaka
 nima na -mata -himata -mona -ka
 communicate to AUX short time FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux

'He lived there. He had told his younger brothers to do something [when he was still alive].'

144 **Nisori me narabi nima ne** ,
 nisori me narabi nima na+M
 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.POSS ear+F communicate to AUX
 nm pron pn vt aux

Okomi ka okomi ka faha ,
 o- ka ami ka o- ka ami ka faha
 1SG.POSS POSS mother POSS 1SG.POSS POSS mother POSS water
 nf prt nf prt nf

okomi ka fa ahabi ya fa aya
 o- ka ami ka faha ahaba.NOM+F ya faha aya
 1SG.POSS POSS mother POSS water end ADJU water this
 nf prt nf vi prt nf dem

totoha ni ya te kakamake te
 to- to- ha na.NOM+F ya tee ka- ka -makI tee
 DUP CH be AUX ADJU 2PL.S COMIT go/come following 2PL.S
 vc prt pron vi pron

kakatimamakiya
 ka- ka -tima -makI -yahi
 COMIT go/come upstream following DIST.IMP+F
 vi

'He had told his younger brothers to do something. "When my mother's water is all gone, when there is just this much left, you two come, come upstream."'

145 **Te kakatima**
 tee ka- ka -tima
 2PL.S COMIT go/come upstream
 pron vi

"You two come upstream."

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146 *Te kakatima*
 tee ka- ka -tima
 2PL.S COMIT go/come upstream
 pron vi

"You two come upstream."

147 *Te kakatima*
 tee ka- ka -tima
 2PL.S COMIT go/come upstream
 pron vi

"You two come upstream."

148 *Te kakatimamakiya*
 tee ka- ka -tima -makI -yahi
 2PL.S COMIT go/come upstream following DIST.IMP+F
 pron vi

"You two come upstream."

149 *Faya me towakamakia me , yama me*
 faya me to- ka- ka -makI+F me , yama me
 so 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S thing 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron nf pron

tisa nemetemoneke ahi
 tisa na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 shoot with bow AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt aux dem

'The two of them went upstream. They shot arrows.'

150 *Yama me tisa na me , yama me*
 yama me tisa na+F me , yama me
 thing 3PL.S shoot with bow AUX 3PL.S thing 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux pron nf pron

tisa nemetemoneke ahi
 tisa na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 shoot with bow AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt aux dem

'They shot arrows.'

151 *Arakawa ati kamatase*
 arakawa ati ka -ma -tasa+M
 chicken voice go/come back again
 nm pn vi

'The rooster came back and crowed.'¹⁵⁵

152 *Yama me tisa na wati me yaba wati me*
 yama me tisa na+F wati me yaba+F wati me
 thing 3PL.S shoot with bow AUX arrow 3PL.S take out arrow 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux nm pron vt nm pron

tisa na , me towakatimamakia
 tisa na+F , me to- ka- ka -tima -makI+F
 shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.S away COMIT go/come upstream following
 vt aux pron vi

wati me tisa tonamakehite , wati
 wati me tisa to- na -makI -hitI , wati
 arrow 3PL.S shoot with bow away AUX following along the way arrow
 nm pron vt aux nm

155 This is a comment by Siko.

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me tisa na me towakamakiwai
 me tisa na+F me to- ka- ka -makI -waha.NOM+F
 3PL.S shoot with bow AUX 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following change
 pron vt aux pron vi

ya wati me tisa tasa wati me
 ya wati me tisa na -tasa+F wati me
 ADJU arrow 3PL.S shoot with bow AUX again arrow 3PL.S
 prt nm pron vt aux nm pron

tisa na me anoti
 tisa na+F me anoti
 shoot with bow AUX 3PL.S 3SG.POSS older brother
 vt aux pron nm

itarimatamonane

ita -rI -himata -mona -ne
 sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi

'Their older brother was sitting there.'

153 **Itari ni ya wati bokehimatamonaka**
 ita -rI+M ni ya wati boka -himata -mona -ka
 sit raised surface to ADJU arrow enter water FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi prt prt nm vi

aba me aba me kawini nofehinoho
 aba me aba me ka- wina nofa -hino -ho
 fish 3PL fish 3PL.S COMIT live recently IP.N+M DUP
 nm pron nm pron vt prt

'As he sat there an arrow hit the water. He was living where there were many fish.'

154 **Wati kamakimata awaka ahi**
 wati ka -makI -himata awa -ka ahi
 arrow go/come following FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M then
 nm vi sec dem

'The arrow came.'

155 **Faya me amo nemetemoneke**
 faya me amo na -hemete -mone -ke
 so 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj pron vi aux

'They slept.'

156 **Me amo na me tafemetemoneke ahi**
 me amo na+F me tafa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi aux pron vi dem

'They slept. They ate.'

157 **Me tafu me me ka baterao baterao yayama**
 me tafu+F me me ka baterao baterao ya- yama
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL POSS riverboat riverboat DUP make
 pron vi pron pron prt nf nf vt

hiani nafihemetemoneni ahi
 hi- to- ha -hani nafi -hemete -mone -ni ahi
 OC CH AUX IP.N+F be big FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F then
 aux vi dem

'They ate. He had made a riverboat, and it was big.'

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158 *Baterao itemetemoneke ahi*
 baterao ita -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 riverboat sit FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F there
 nf vi dem

'The riverboat was there in the water.'

159 *Yama me , Niso yama te te kana*
 yama me , niso yama tee tee ka- na
 thing 3PL younger brother thing 2PL.S put inside COMMIT AUX
 nf pron nm nf pron vt aux

ahi
 ahi
 there
 dem

'"Younger brothers, put the things there inside."'

160 *E tokisibeya*
 ee to- ka -risa -be -ya
 1IN.S away go/come down IMMED+F now
 pron vi

'"Let's go downstream."'

161 *Yama te te kanahi*
 yama tee tee ka- na -hi
 thing put inside 2PL.S COMMIT AUX IMP+F
 nf vt pron aux

'"Put the things inside."'

162 *Yama , yama me te kanabone me , yama me*
 yama yama me tee ka- na -habone me , yama me
 thing thing 3PL.S 2PL COMMIT AUX INT+F 3PL thing 3PL.S
 nf nf pron pron aux pron nf pron

iso nemetemoneke
 iso na -hemete -mone -ke
 carry off AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux

'They carried the things, to put them inside.'

163 *Yama me iso na me , yama me iso na*
 yama me iso na+F me , yama me iso na+F
 thing 3PL.S carry off AUX 3PL.S thing 3PL.S carry off AUX
 nf pron vt aux pron nf pron vt aux

me , yama iso ni ahaba , Fa te naha
 me , yama iso na.NFIN ahaba+F , faha tee naha
 3PL.S thing carry off AUX end water 2PL.S open
 pron nf result aux vi nf pron vt

kana
 ka- na
 COMMIT AUX
 aux

'They carried the things. "Release the water."'

164 *Betira te , betira te itimisa te koro*
 betira tee , betira tee iti -misa+F tee koro
 rock 2PL.S rock 2PL.S pick up up 2PL.S throw
 nf pron nf pron vt pron vt

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, **fa me naha kanemetemoneni**
 faha me naha ka- na -hemete -mone -ni
 water 3PL.S open COMMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 nf pron vt aux

'The ones who were going to change into something else started up. They released the water.'

170 **Fa moni so tonemetemone**
 faha moni soo to- na -hemete -mone
 water sound lie CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nf pn vi aux

'The sound of the rushing water could be heard.'

171 **Oooo me fa tokisemetemoneke**
 oooo me faha to- ka -risa -hemete -mone -ke
 (sound of water) 3PL water away go/come down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 sound pron nf vi

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'The water made a big rushing sound as it went downstream.'

172 **Fa tokisa hahi inohowe fare**
 faha to- ka -risa+F haahi inohowe fare
 water away go/come down this one+M alligator sp same+M
 nf vi dem nm dem

yobi nofe ya inowe abowi homa
 yobi nofa.NOM+M ya inohowe abohi homa.LIST
 go back and forth recently ADJU alligator sp dead body lie on ground
 vi prt prt nm pn vi

faya inohowe abowi home homahi ni ya
 faya inohowe abohi homa+M homa+M ni ya
 so alligator sp dead body lie on ground lie on ground to ADJU
 conj nm pn vi vi prt prt

fa fowe kisemetemoneke
 faha fowe ka -risa -hemete -mone -ke
 flood go/come down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi

'The water went downstream. The alligator lay dead in the place where he had gone back and forth. The alligator lay dead. The high water came to him as he lay there.'

173 **Fa fowe kisa fa kisemetemoneke**
 faha fowe ka -risa+F faha ka -risa -hemete -mone -ke
 flood go/come down water go/come down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi nf vi

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'The high water came.'

174 **Bati ati yana tone bati**
 bati ati yana to- na+M bati
 3SG.POSS.father voice start CH AUX 3SG.POSS.father
 nm pn vi aux nm

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kakisamineni

ka- ka -risa -ma -ne -ni
COMIT go/come down back CONT+F BKG+F
vi

"When my water is gone you are coming downstream."

190 **Owati**

o- ati ka- sawari -hare
1SG.POSS voice COMIT frustrate IP.E+M
pn vt

kasawarihare

"He didn't listen to me."

191 **Fa**

, **fa** **abake**
faha faha ahaba -ke
water water end DECL+F
nf nf vi

"The water is all gone."

192 **Fa**

abarani
faha ahaba -hara -ni
water end IP.E+F BKG+F
nf vi

"The water is all gone."

193 **Wiye**

waine **ha**
wiye waa -ne haa
container+F stand CONT+F DEM
pn vi dem

"The vessel is there."

194 **Fa**

ota **kakisamake** **waha**
faha otaa ka- ka -risa -ma -ke waha
water 1EX.S COMIT go/come down back DECL+F now
nf pron vt prt

"We brought the water downstream, now."

195 **Fare**

inohowe **nisori** **kakaba** **hie**
fare inohowe nisori ka- kaba hi- to- ha+M
same+M alligator sp 3SG.POSS.younger brother DUP eat OC CH AUX
dem nm nm vt aux

tohiye

, **fare** **inohowe** **yobi** **kani**
to- hiya+M fare inohowe yobi ka- na
CH be different same+M alligator sp go back and forth COMIT AUX
vi dem nm vi aux

nofahi

, **ahabe** **home** **ya** **fa** **kisa** **fa**
nofa+M ahaba+M homa.NOM+M ya faha ka -risa+F faha
recently die lie on ground ADJU water go/come down water
prt vi vi prt nf vi vi nf

mahika

, **nen** **inohowe** **fa** **mahika** **nen**
mahika na -hino inohowe faha mahika na -hino
consume a lot AUX IP.N+M alligator sp water consume a lot AUX IP.N+M
vt aux nm nf vt aux

ati

yana **tonematamonaka**
ati yana to- na -himata -mona -ka
voice start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
pn vi aux

"The water flowed to where the alligator, the one who had eaten his younger brother and had changed into an

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animal, and who had gone around [searching for water], had died and was lying. He drank lots of water and his voice started up.'

196	Obe		obe		obe			
	obe		obe		obe			
	(call of alligator)		(call of alligator)		(call of alligator)			
	sound		sound		sound			
	obe		obe	,	obe oo		fare	
	obe		obe		obe oo		fare	
	(call of alligator)		(call of alligator)		(call of alligator)		same+M	
	sound		sound		sound		dem	
	homi		nofe		ya	,	fare	homi
	homa		nofa.NOM+M		ya		fare	homa
	lie on ground		recently		ADJU		same+M	lie on ground
	vi		prt		prt		dem	vi
	barawa		nawematamonaka				fa	ihi
	barawa	na	-waha -himata	-mona -ka			faha	ihi
	belch	AUX	change	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	water	because of+F
	vi	aux					nf	post

"Obe, obe oo," he said, croaking, right where he always lay, because of the water.'

197	Faya	me	tohiyemetemoneke				fahi	
	faya	me	to- hiya		-hemete	-mone -ke	fahi	
	so	3PL.S	CH be different		FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then
	conj	pron	vi					dem

'They turned into something else.'

198	Me	tohiyaba		memetemone	,	me	hiwato	
	me	to- hiya		-haba		me -mete -mone	me	hi- wato
	3PL.S	CH be different	FUT+F	3PL	FP.N+F	REP+F	3PL.S	OC know
	pron	vi		pron			pron	vt

awineke
awine -ke
seem+F DECL+F
sec

'I think he knows about the people who turned into something else.'

199	Ara	tiwatohi			
	Ara	ti- wato -hi			
	Alan	2SG.S know	IMP+F		
	npropm	vt			

'Alan, you know.'

200	Tiwatoni		?
	ti- wato -ni		
	2SG.S know	BKG+F	
	vt		

'Do you know?'

201	Haro	,	me	tohiyemetemone		mati	
	haaro		me	to- hiya		-hemete -mone	mati
	that one+F		3PL.S	CH be different		FP.N+F	REP+F
	dem		pron	vi			pron

'The ones who turned into something else.'

BAKAYONA

202 *Yara me watari ya , yara me*
 yara me wata -ra.NOM+F ya , yara me
 Brazilian 3PL.S exist NEG ADJU Brazilian 3PL.S
 npropm pron vi prt npropm pron

watari ya me toiyemetemone
 wata -ra.NOM+F ya me to- hiya -hemete -mone
 exist NEG ADJU 3PL.S CH be different FP.N+F REP+F
 vi prt pron vi

'They turned into something else when there were no Brazilians.'

203 *Me tokisimetemone amake ahi*
 me to- ka -risa.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi
 3PL.S away go/come down FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F then
 pron vi sec dem

'They went downstream.'

204 *Afa memetemone kofenato me tohineke*
 afa me -mete -mone kofenato me to- ha -ne -ke
 this+F 3PL FP.N+F REP+F governor 3PL.S CH be CONT+F DECL+F
 dem pron nm pron vc

'They are the ones who became the people of the governor.'

205 *Tokisamatamona ahi*
 to- ka -risa.NOM+M -mata -mona ahi
 away go/come down FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi dem

'He went downstream.'

206 *Me yana tona me bati mera , bati*
 me yana to- na+F me bati mera bati
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S 3SG.POSS.father 3PL.O 3SG.POSS.father
 pron vi aux pron nm pron nm

mera te ne , bati me te
 mera tee na+M bati me tee
 3PL.O put inside AUX 3SG.POSS.father 3PL.O put inside
 pron vt aux nm pron vt

nematamona , bati , nisori mati
 na -himata -mona bati nisori mati
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M 3SG.POSS.father 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL
 aux nm nm pron

hinakaki , hinakaki , hinaka bitimirawaha
 hinaka aki , hinaka aki , hinaka bitimi -rawa -ha
 3SG.POSS grandmother 3SG.POSS grandmother 3SG.POSS niece F.PL DUP
 nf nf pron nf

'They were ready to leave. He put his father and the others on the boat. His father, his younger brothers, his grandmother, his nieces.'

207 *Me nafimetemoneke*
 me nafi -mete -mone -ke
 3PL.POSS all FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pn

'It was all of them.'

BAKAYONA

208 *Me* *nafi* *te* *kane* *mera*
 me nafi tee ka- na+M mera
 3PL.POSS all put inside COMMIT AUX 3PL.O
 pron pn vt aux pron

towakisematamonaha

to- ka- ka -risa -himata -mona -ha
 away COMMIT go/come down FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 vt

'He put them all on board. He took them downstream.'

209 *Me* *towakisematamonaka*
 me to- ka- ka -risa -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.O away COMMIT go/come down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt

'He took them downstream.'

210 *Me* *winaremetemoneke*
 me wina -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S live NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They didn't live there [anymore].'

211 *Me* *nafi* *toemetemoneke*
 me nafi to- ha -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.POSS all CH be FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pn vc

'All of them [left].'

212 *E* *taboroteba* , *e* *taboroteba* *e*
 ee taboro -tee -ba ee taboro -tee -ba ee
 1IN.POSS place HAB FUT 1IN.POSS place HAB FUT 1IN.S
 pron pn pron pn pron

awibeya

awa -be -ya
 see IMMED+F now
 vt

'''Let's look at the place that will be our village.'''

213 *E* *tokisabanake* , *ahi*
 ee to- ka -risa -habana -ke ahi
 1IN.S away go/come down FUT+F DECL+F there
 pron vi dem

'''Let's go downstream.'''

214 *E* *tokisaba* , *aya* , *aya* *yama* *wini*
 ee to- ka -risa -haba aya aya yama wina.NFIN
 1IN.S away go/come down FUT+F this this thing live
 pron vi dem dem nf vi

onofa ***okere*** ***ahi***
 o- nofa o- ke -re ahi
 1SG.S want 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F here
 vt prt dem

'''Let's go downstream. I don't want to live in this place here.'''

BAKAYONA

222 *Yara me , yara me , yara me*
 yara me , yara me , yara me
 Brazilian 3PL Brazilian 3PL Brazilian 3PL.S
 npropm pron npropm pron npropm pron

tohawaineke

to- ha -waha -ne -ke
 CH be change CONT+F DECL+F
 vc

'They were Brazilians now.'

223 *Yara me tohawaineke waha*
 yara me to- ha -waha -ne -ke waha
 Brazilian 3PL.S CH be change CONT+F DECL+F now
 npropm pron vc prt

'They were Brazilians now.'

224 *Kofenatoteba , kofenatoteba tokisematamona*
 kofenato -tee -ba , kofenato -tee -ba to- ka -risa -himata -mona
 governor HAB FUT governor HAB FUT away go/come down FP.N+M REP+M
 nm nm vi

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

'The one who would become the governor went downstream.'

225 *Yama honaremetemone amake*
 yama hona -ra -hemete -mone ama -ke
 thing have something NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 nf vi sec

'Everything was empty.'

226 *Yama tabori towakosarawemetemoneni , me*
 yama tabori to- ha -kosa -rawa -hemete -mone -ni , me
 thing place+F CH be left middle F.PL FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 3PL.POSS
 nf pn vi prt pron

nafi tokisa

nafi to- ka -risa+F mati
 all away go/come down 3PL.S
 pn vi pron

'The villages were left alone, because everyone went downstream.'

227 *Me ka fowa kabarihi*
 me ka fowa kaba -rihi
 3PL POSS manioc eat NEG.LIST
 pron prt nm result

'Their manioc was not eaten.'

228 *Me ka fowa kabarematamonaka*
 me ka fowa kaba -ra -himata -mona -ka
 3PL POSS manioc eat NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron prt nm result

'Their manioc was not eaten.'

BAKAYONA

229 *Me tokisa me , bara me , hikehike ka*
 me to- ka -risa+F me , bara me , hike- hike ka
 3PL.S away go/come down 3PL.S other+F 3PL DUP far of
 pron vi pron adj pron nf prt

me yaka nabise kake me tabori wasiki
 me yaka na -bisa+M ka -kI me tabori wasi -kI+M
 3PL.O visit AUX also go/come coming 3PL.POSS place+F find coming
 pron vt aux vi pron pn vt

wete tonama , wete tonamematamona fahi
 wete to- na -ma.LIST , wete to- na -ma -himata -mona fahi
 return away AUX back return away AUX back FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi aux vi aux dem

'They went downstream. He visited some people far away. He came. He came upon their village. He went back.'

230 *Me fawa narake*
 me fawa na -hara -ke
 3PL.S disappear AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

'''They are gone.'''

231 *Ota owa , ota owa winate*
 ota owa , ota owa wina -tee
 1SG.POSS.affinal relative 1SG.POSS.affinal relative live HAB
 nm nm vi

fawa nareka
 fawa na -hare -ka
 disappear AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'''Our affinal relative, who lived there, is gone.'''

232 *Ota owa fawa narene*
 ota owa fawa na -hare -ne
 1SG.POSS.affinal relative disappear AUX IP.E+M BKG+M
 nm vi aux

'''Our affinal relative is gone.'''

233 *Ota owa hibaka toemata ?*
 ota owa hibaka to- ha -himata
 1SG.POSS.affinal relative where CH be FP.N+M
 nm interrog vc

'''Where is our affinal relative?'''

234 *Ha ona okomawaine o waha*
 haa o- na+F o- ka -ma -waha -ne o- waha
 call 1SG.S AUX 1SG.S go/come back change CONT+F 1SG.S now
 vi aux vi prt prt

'''I called out, and now I have come back.'''

235 *E tokabisa ahi*
 ee to- ka -bisa ahi
 1IN.S away go/come also then
 pron vi dem

'''Let's go away, too.'''

BAKAYONA

236 *Me tokimetemone amake ahi*
 me to- ka.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi
 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then
 pron vi vc dem

"They went away."

237 *Me tokimetemone ama ahi*
 me to- ka.NOM+F -mete -mone ama ahi
 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F be then
 pron vi vc dem

"They went away."

238 *Me toka me e banabisahi*
 me to- ka+F me ee bana -bisa -hi
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S 1IN.S move away also IMP+F
 pron vi pron pron vi

"They went away. Let's us move away, too."

239 *Ota owa fawa nareka*
 ota owa fawa na -hare -ka
 1SG.POSS.affinal relative disappear AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 nm vi aux

ota owa

ota owa
 1SG.POSS.affinal relative
 nm

"Our affinal relative is gone."

240 *Me kariwa me awine me*
 me ka -riwaha+F me awine me
 3PL.S go/come across 3PL.S seem+F 3PL.O
 pron vi pron sec pron

onarake

ati o- na -hara -ke
 say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 vt

"I think they crossed [the river]."

241 *Fa fa fawa nofara fa fawa*
 faha , faha fawa na nofa -ra+F faha fawa
 water water disappear AUX recently NEG water disappear
 nf nf vi prt nf vi

nofa haha me me one bisa me one bisa
 na nofa+F , haaha me , me one bisa , me one bisa
 AUX recently this+F 3PL 3PL other+F also 3PL other+F also
 prt dem pron pron adj prt pron adj prt

fa fawa na Foro Foroteba fawa na fa
 faha fawa+F na+F , Foro , Foro -tee -ba fawa+F na+F , faha
 water drink AUX Purus Purus HAB FUT drink AUX water
 nf vt aux npropf npropf vt aux nf

kawanabisa fa kawanabisa
 ka- wana -bisa+F , faha ka- wana -bisa+F ,
 COMIT be attached also water COMIT be attached also
 vi nf vi

BAKAYONA

hiemetemone

hi- to- ha -hemete -mone
 OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 aux

'They put it in vessels and drank it.'

247 *Faya betira me , me fa kawina me fawa ,*
 faya betira me , me faha ka- wina+F me fawa+F ,
 so rock 3PL 3PL water COMIT be inside 3PL.S drink
 conj nf pron pron nf vi pron vt
yamata me waware toa me , yamata me
 yamata me wa- waa -rI to- ha+F me , yamata me
 food 3PL.S DUP cook raised surface CH AUX 3PL.S food 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux pron nf pron

waware toemetemone fahi
 wa- waa -rI to- ha -hemete -mone fahi
 DUP cook raised surface CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 vt aux dem

'They drank the water that was in [the rock]. They cooked food.'

248 *Yamata me ware yamata me kaba , me*
 yamata me waa -rI yamata me kaba+F , me
 food 3PL.S cook raised surface food 3PL.S eat 3PL.S
 nf pron vt nf pron vt pron

tafi ya
 tafi.NOM ya
 wake up ADJU
 vi prt

'They cooked food. They ate food, when they woke up.'

249 *Yamata me kaba me tafi ya*
 yamata me kaba+F me tafi.NOM ya
 food 3PL.S eat 3PL.S wake up ADJU
 nf pron vt pron vi prt

'They ate food, when they woke up.'

250 *Me amo , fa , fa wati nofaramone*
 me amo.LIST , faha , faha wata nofa -ra -hamone
 3PL.S sleep water water exist recently NEG REP+F
 pron vi nf nf vi prt

haro , Foro ka fa ebote
 haaro , Foro ka faha ehebote
 that one+F Purus POSS water big
 dem npropf prt nf adj

'They also slept. "There is no river, no big Purus River."'

251 *Fa ebote wati nofaramoneni , me fanawi ati*
 faha ehebote wata nofa -ra -hamone -ni , me fanawi ati
 water big exist recently NEG REP+F BKG+F women say
 nf adj vi prt nf vt

nemetemoneke
 na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'"There is no big river," the women said.'

BAKAYONA

252 *Fa me tonaka fa me*
 faha me to- na- ka+F faha me
 water 3PL.S away CAUS go/come water 3PL.O
 nf pron vt nf pron

hikasawariamone me kamakia fa me
 hi- ka- sawari -hamone , me ka -makI+F faha me
 OC COMIT frustrate REP+F 3PL.S go/come following water 3PL.S
 vt pron vi nf pron

fawamakine haro
 fawa -makI -ne haaro
 drink following CONT+F that one+F
 vt dem

"They went to get water, but there was no river, so they came [to the place where the water is in the rock] and drank water."

253 *Fa ota kiyo nofa amake*
 faha otaa kiyo nofa+F ama -ke
 water 1EX.S chase recently SEC DECL+F
 nf pron vt prt sec

"We are always chasing water."

254 *Fa kori fa kori tokisineke*
 faha kori , faha kori to- ka -risa -ne -ke
 stream naked+F stream naked+F away go/come down CONT+F DECL+F
 nf pn nf pn vi

haro
 haaro
 that one+F
 dem

"The bare streambed is going downstream."

255 *Ha betira fa kiemete itaha te fawi nofani*
 haa betira faha kiha -hemete ita+F tee fawa nofa -hani
 DEM rock water have FP.N+F sit 2PL.S drink recently IP.N+F
 dem nf nf vt vi pron vt prt

ofawaine oke bakasi owi
 o- fawa -waha -ne o- ke , bakasi owi
 1SG.S drink change CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F thirst 1SG.S feel
 vt prt nf vt

onofa owa
 na o- nofa+F owa
 AUX 1SG.S recently 1SG.S
 aux pron

"I am drinking the water which sits [in the rock] and has a rock, because I am always thirsty."

256 *Bakasi owi onofa ama oke*
 bakasi o- awa o- nofa+F ama o- ke
 thirst 1SG.S feel 1SG.S recently SEC 1SG.S DECL+F
 nf vt prt sec prt

"I am always thirsty."

257 *Fa ofi onofara bani me okoba*
 faha o- fawa o- nofa -ra+F bani me o- kaba+F
 water 1SG.S drink 1SG.S recently NEG animal 3PL.O 1SG.S eat
 nf vt prt nm pron vt

BAKAYONA

'They got water with vessels. They bathed with water that was in vessels. They bathed.'

262 *Aafi onofa ama o*
 a- afi na o- nofa+F ama o-
 DUP bathe AUX 1SG.S recently SEC 1SG.S
 vi aux sec prt

"It's been a long time since I bathed."

263 *Me afi nemetemoneke*
 me afi na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S bathe AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

'They bathed.'

264 *Me afi na me , me afi na me , me afi*
 me afi na+F me , me afi na+F me , me afi
 3PL.S bathe AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S bathe AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S bathe
 pron vi aux pron pron vi aux pron vi
ni abi ya , fa me fawa , fa
 na.NFIN ahaba.NOM+F ya , faha me fawa+F , faha
 AUX end ADJU water 3PL.S drink water
 aux vi prt nf pron vt nf

fawematamonaka

fawa -himata -mona -ka
 drink FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'They bathed. When they were done bathing, they drank water. He drank water.'

265 *Betoto betoto betoto betoto nyaa fa*
 betoto betoto betoto betoto nyaa faha
 glug glug glug glug (expression of drinking pleasure) water
 sound sound sound sound interj nf
fawi etoraba ra me fafawa toine
 fawa.NFIN eheto -raba na -ra+F me fa- fawa to- ha -ne
 drink be good a bit AUX NEG 3PL.S DUP drink CH AUX CONT+F
 result vi aux pron vt aux

nini

na.NOM+F -ni
 AUX IP.N+F
 aux

"Glug, glug, glug, glug. Nyaa, they are drinking really good water."

266 *Yati fehe amani , yati fehe*
 yati fehe ama -ni , yati fehe
 stone water+F be BKG+F stone liquid+F
 nf pn vc nf pn

"It's water from the rock."

267 *Yati itaha fehe ota fawi nofa fa , fa bari*
 yati ita+F fehe otaa fawa nofa+F faha , faha bari
 stone sit water+F 1EX.S drink recently water water impede
 nf vi pn pron vt prt nf nf vt

kanemete

ka- na -hemete , sai -hene -he , wamimenehe
 COMIT AUX FP.N+F leak out IRR+F DUP soil HYPOTH+F
 aux vi nf

"We are drinking water which was held back long ago by the rock. If it were earth, it would leak out."

BAKAYONA

268 **Wami amara ya fa iita toemetemoneke**
 wami ama -ra+F ya faha i- ita to- ha -hemete -mone -ke
 soil be NEG ADJU water DUP sit CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vc prt nf vi aux

'The water was in something that was not earth.'

269 **Yati tori kokowi nisaha ya fa itaha ra me**
 yati tori ko- kowi na -risa+F ya faha ita+F ra me
 stone inside+F DUP be deep AUX down ADJU water sit O 3PL.S
 nf pn vi aux prt nf vi prt pron

fafawa toemetemone , okiti aati
 fa- fawa to- ha -hemete -mone o- ka iti a- ati
 DUP drink CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather DUP say
 vt aux nm vt

toematamona okobi aati toemari ama
 to- ha -himata -mona o- ka abi a- ati to- ha -himari ama
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP say CH AUX FP.E+M SEC
 aux nm vt aux sec

'They drank water that was in the depths of the rock, my grandfather said, my father said.'

270 **Faya fa me fawa me E ka fa te**
 faya faha me fawa+F me ee ka faha tee
 so water 3PL.S drink 3PL.S 1IN POSS water 2PL.S
 conj nf pron vt pron pron prt nf pron

katomarima nahi , te afi na te
 katoma -rima na -hi tee afi na tee
 damage NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F 2PL.S bathe AUX 2PL.S
 vt aux pron vi aux pron

'They drank water. "Don't use too much of our water, when you are bathing."'

271 **Fa te kabi na te afi towiti na**
 faha tee kabi na tee afi to- na -witI.LIST na+F
 water 2PL.S dip out AUX 2PL.S bathe away AUX out AUX
 nf pron vt aux pron vi aux aux

ahi
 ahi
 there
 dem

'"Put water in a vessel and bathe away [from the spring]."'

272 **Faya me hikanatama hikene aati**
 faya me hi- ka- na- tama hi- ke -ne a- ati
 so 3PL.S OC COMIT CAUS be many OC DECL+F IRR+F DUP say
 conj pron vt prt vt

toaremetemone
 to- ha -ra -hemete -mone
 CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 aux

'There were lots of people, but it didn't matter.'

273 **Aaba na toaremetemone**
 a- ahaba.LIST na to- ha -ra -hemete -mone
 DUP end AUX CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 vi aux aux

'It was never all used up.'

BAKAYONA

274 *Hibaka itariya* ?
 hibaka ita -ri -ya
 where sit CQ+F now
 interrog vi
 'Where was it?'

275 *E awara awineke*
 ee awa -ra+F awine -ke
 1IN.S see NEG seem+F DECL+F
 pron vt sec
 'Who knows?'

276 *Afa amaremete Bosao tohawaine*
 afa ama -ra -hemete Bosao to- ha -waha -ne
 this+F be NEG FP.N+F (name of place) CH be change CONT+F
 dem vc npropf vc

haro
 haaro
 that one+F
 dem

'Isn't that what is now Bosao?'

277 *Faya me kamakia me fa me fawamake*
 faya me ka -makI+F me , faha me fawa -makI
 so 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S water 3PL.S drink following
 conj pron vi pron nf pron vt
 , *hoo matafo me matafo me ti na yama*
 hoo matafo me , matafo me tii na+F , yama
 whew vine sp 3PL vine sp 3PL.S cut through AUX thing
 interj nm pron nm pron vt aux nf
wiye ya matafo me nowi niha matafo fene
 wiye ya , matafo me nowi niha- na+F , matafo fehene
 container+F ADJU vine sp 3PL.S drip CAUS AUX vine sp liquid+M
 pn prt nm pron vi aux nm pn
me fawa mato fehe mato fe me fawa faha
 me fawa+F , mato fehe , mato fe me fawa+F , faha
 3PL.S drink vine liquid+F vine liquid+F 3PL.S drink water
 pron vt nf pn nm pn pron vt nf
 , *fa watawata ri*
 faha wata- wata na -ra.NOM+F
 water DUP exist AUX NEG
 nf vi aux

'They came. They drank water. They cut *matafo* vine. They let the water drip from the *matafo* into a vessel. They drank the water of the *matafo* vine, the water of a vine. They drank the water of a vine. There was never water.'

278 *Mato fe ofi onofa*
 mato fehe o- fawa o- nofa+F ,
 vine liquid+F 1SG.S drink 1SG.S recently
 nf pn vt prt
okomakine oke
 o- ka -makI -ne o- ke
 1SG.S go/come following CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vi prt
 "'I have come, because I always drink the water of a vine.'"

BAKAYONA

279 *Mato fe me fawawa toa me , fa bite*
 mato fehe me fa- fawa to- ha+F me , faha bite
 vine liquid+F 3PL.S DUP drink CH AUX 3PL.S water small+F
 nf pn pron vt aux pron nf adj

me fawamake me , Fa fotoba amake
 me fawa -makI me , faha foto -haba ama -ke
 3PL.S drink following 3PL.S water appear FUT+F SEC DECL+F
 pron vt pron nf vi sec

"They always drank water of a vine. They came and drank the water of the spring. "The river will appear."

280 *Fa fotoba amani*
 faha foto -haba ama -ni
 water appear FUT+F SEC BKG+F
 nf vi sec

"The river will appear."

281 *Efe me hikabematamona ama hari , yawita*
 efe me hi- kaba -himata -mona ama hari
 this+M 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+M REP+M SEC that one+M
 dem pron vt sec dem yawita
 peach palm nm

"The peach palm [nut] is what they ate."

282 *Yawita kakamake yawita*
 yawita ka- ka -makI yawita
 peach palm COMIT go/come following peach palm
 nm vt nm

kawari , yawita
 ka- waa -rI+M , yawita
 COMIT cook raised surface peach palm
 vt nm

kawarimatamona
 ka- waa -rI -himata -mona
 COMIT cook raised surface FP.N+M REP+M
 vt

"He brought peach palm nuts. He boiled the peach palm nuts."

283 *Oof yawita fene watare oyoki*
 oof yawita fehene wata -ra+M o- yoka
 hoo peach palm water+F exist NEG 1SG.S roast on coals
 interj nm pn vi vt

onofe , yawita oyoki onofe
 o- nofa+M , yawita o- yoka o- nofa+M
 1SG.S recently peach palm 1SG.S roast on coals 1SG.S recently
 prt nm vt prt

amaka
 ama -ka
 SEC DECL+M
 sec

"I always roast the peach palm nuts, because there is no water [to boil them]. I always roast the peach palm nuts."

284 *Yoke kabi eto nofe amaka*
 yoka+M kaba.NFIN eheto nofa+M ama -ka
 roast on coals eat be good recently SEC DECL+M
 result result vi prt sec

"Roasted they are very good to eat."

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285 **Faya yawita yoki nofe yawita**
 faya yawita yoka nofa+M yawita
 so peach palm roast on coals recently peach palm
 conj nm vt prt nm

kakamake yawita
 ka- ka -makI yawita
 COMIT go/come following peach palm
 vt nm

kawariwahematamonane
 ka- waa -rI -waha -himata -mona -ne
 COMIT cook raised surface change FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vt

'He always roasted peach palm nuts. He brought the peach palm nuts. Now he boiled the peach palm nuts.'

286 **Faya hikaware me hikabematamona fahi**
 faya hi- ka- waa -rI me me hi- kaba -himata -mona fahi
 so OC COMIT cook raised surface 3PL.S OC eat FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj vt pron vt dem

'He boiled them and they ate them.'

287 **Yawita me kaba bani me me kakawi**
 yawita me kaba+F bani me me ka- kawi
 peach palm 3PL.S eat animal 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat with something
 nm pron vt nm pron pron vt

nemetemoneke ahi
 na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux dem

'They ate peach palm nuts with meat.'

288 **Oof owa , owa fa tonakame , bi ,**
 oof owa owa faha to- na- ka -ma+M bihi
 hoo one+M one+M water away CAUS go/come back palm sp
 interj adj adj nf vt nf

bi boni , bi boni wareha ti
 bihi boni bihi boni waa -rI+F tii
 palm sp fruit+F palm sp fruit+F stand raised surface cut through
 nf pn nf pn vi vt

nakosa , noki bobi nakosi amosa ya me ka
 na -kosa.LIST noki bobi na -kosa.NFIN amosa+F ya me ka
 AUX middle end+F slit AUX middle be good ADJU 3PL POSS
 aux pn result aux vi prt pron prt

fa wiye toha hawa , hawa boni hawa
 faha wiye to- ha+F hawa hawa hawa boni hawa
 water container+F CH AUX palm sp palm sp fruit+F palm sp
 nf pn vc nf nf pn nf

boni yaboha , hawa , hawa fa kanaha , yara
 boni yabo+F hawa hawa faa ka- na+F yara
 fruit+F be long palm sp palm sp open COMIT AUX split
 pn vi nf nf vi aux vi

kanaha , fa kabi kane , fa kakiba
 ka- na+F faha kabi ka- na+M faha ka- iba.LIST
 COMIT AUX water dip out COMIT AUX water COMIT set down
 aux nf vt aux nf vt

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hinaka honofe ya fa yoto kane ahi ,
 hinaka honofe ya faha yoto ka- na+M ahi
 3SG.POSS plant sp ADJU water cover COMMIT AUX then
 pron nm prt nf result aux dem

tafehimatamonaka

tafa -himata -mona -ka
 eat FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'One of them went for water. He cut off a *bihi* bract where it was attached to the palm. If the end is sliced right, it becomes their vessel for water. The *hawa* palm sheath, which is long, which opens, and splits. He got water in the vessel. He put it on the ground. He covered his water with his wild banana leaf. He ate.'

289 **Tafe** , **Oko** **fa** **yoto** **kana** **oko** **fa**
 tafa+M o- ka faha yoto ka- na+F o- ka faha
 eat 1SG.POSS POSS water cover COMMIT AUX 1SG.POSS POSS water
 vi prt nf result aux prt nf

saibe

sai -be
 leak out IMMED+F
 vi

'He ate. "My water is covered, it's going to leak out."'

290 **Fa** **sairaba** **awinekene**
 faha sai -ra -haba awine -ke -ne
 water leak out NEG FUT+F seem+F DECL+F IRR+F
 nf vi sec

""The water won't leak out.""

291 **Fa** **yoto** **kanakene**
 faha yoto ka- na -ke -ne
 water cover COMMIT AUX DECL+F IRR+F
 nf result aux

""The water is covered.""

292 **Yama** **boni** **atari** **bayia** **aware** **awane**
 yama boni atari bayi+F awa -ra+M awa -ne
 thing fruit+F nail+F be thick see NEG seem+M BKG+M
 nf pn pn vi result sec

""The sheath is thick.""

293 **Bakasi** **e** **awibe**
 bakasi ee awa -be
 thirst 1IN.S feel IMMED+F
 nf pron vt

""We are going to be thirsty.""

294 **E** **aawa** **nofara** **ama**
 ee a- awa na nofa -ra+F ama
 1IN.S DUP feel AUX recently NEG SEC
 pron vt prt sec

""We have been thirsty.""

295 **Bakasi** **e** **awi** **nofarake** , **fa** **bite** **kaya**
 bakasi ee awa nofa -hara -ke faha bite kaya
 thirst 1IN.S feel recently IP.E+F DECL+F water small+F lie
 nf pron vt prt nf adj vi

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nimetenari

na -mete -naari
AUX FP.N+F ?
aux

"We have always been thirsty, it's great to have this spring."

296 *Fa bite e bako se namakineke*
faha bite ee bako see na -makI -ne -ke
water small+F 1IN.POSS chest open AUX following CONT+F DECL+F
nf adj pron pn vt aux

"The bit of water wets our insides."

297 *Himatabiyo fa fawa nemete ?*
himatabiyo faha fawa na -hemete
why water disappear AUX FP.N+F
interrog nf vi aux

"Why did the river disappear?"

298 *Nafi fawa ni ya himata e fawene e*
nafi fawa na.NOM+F ya himata ee fawa -hene ee
all disappear AUX ADJU what? 1IN.S drink IRR+F 1IN.S
pn vi aux prt interrog pron vt pron

amari ?

ama -ri
SEC CQ+F
sec

"If it all disappeared, what would we drink?"

299 *Fa me wasihemete me ka fa isi ni*
faha me wasi -hemete me ka faha isi ni
water 3PL.S find FP.N+F 3PL POSS water little bit
nf pron vt pron prt nf pn

ofamakine o
o- fawa -makI -ne o-
1SG.S drink following CONT+F 1SG.S
vt prt

"I am drinking a little of the water that they found here."

300 *Faha nafira aaba tera*
faha nafi -ra+F a- ahaba na -tee -ra+F
water be big NEG DUP end AUX HAB NEG
nf vi vi aux

"The water is not big, but it never is used up."

301 *Me fawa ni ya aba me , awa me kaka*
me fawa na.NOM+F ya aba me , awa me kaka
3PL.S disappear AUX ADJU fish 3PL tree 3PL.S DUP chop
pron vi aux prt nm pron nf pron vt

toemete me ka awa owama si
to- ha -hemete me ka awa o- awa -ma+F sii
CH AUX FP.N+F 3PL POSS tree 1SG.S see back stand
aux pron prt nf vt vi

tonarake tafe wawata raro
to- na -hara -ke , tafe wawata na -ra -haaro
CH AUX IP.E+F DECL+F crops+F DUP exist AUX NEG IP.E+F
aux pn vi aux

"They are gone, and I am seeing the trees that they cut down lying on the ground here, and there is nothing

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planted."

302 *Faya me hora na me , me hora*
 faya me hora na+F me , me hora
 so 3PL.S exclaim AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S exclaim
 conj pron vi aux pron pron vi

nemetemoneke

na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

"They exclaimed.'

303 *Me hora na me me hora ni saiha me*
 me hora na me me hora na.NFIN sai+F me
 3PL.S exclaim AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S exclaim AUX be heard 3PL.POSS
 pron vi aux pron pron vi aux vi pron

, *Hibaka me tokarimeteya*

hibaka me to- ka -ri -mete -ya
 where 3PL.S away go/come CQ+F FP.N+F now
 interrog pron vi

"They could be heard exclaiming. "Where did they go?"

304 *Me tokariwahemete me awine kowani ka ya*
 me to- ka -riwaha -hemete me awine kowani ka ya
 3PL.S away go/come across FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F other side LOC ADJU
 pron vi pron sec nf prt prt

."They must have gone across to the other side [of the river]."

305 *Me wina me awine kowani ya*
 me wina+F me awine kowani ya
 3PL.S live 3PL.S seem+F other side ADJU
 pron vi pron sec nf prt

."They must be living on the other side."

306 *Kowani me winihinihini , me ka , me ka koyari*
 kowani me wina -hinihini , me ka , me ka koyari
 other side 3PL.S live NEG+F 3PL POSS 3PL POSS paddle
 nf pron vi pron prt pron prt nm

koyari yama ni awemako

koyari yama na.NFIN awa+M -mako
 paddle work on AUX see for this reason+M
 nm result aux vt voice be BKG+M
 pn vc

."They don't live on the other side," one of them said, because he saw their paddle stuff.'

307 *Koyari yama ni so kanikime ibe waka ni*
 koyari yama na.NFIN soo na -kanikima+M ibe waka na.NFIN
 paddle work on AUX lie AUX scattered piece break AUX
 nm result aux vi aux pn vi aux

ahi , koyari owa hetete nari ahi
 ahi , koyari owa hete -te na -haari ahi
 then paddle other+M be stuck DUP AUX IP.E+M then
 dem nm adj vi aux dem

."There are pieces of broken paddles scattered on the ground, and other paddles stuck in the rafters."

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308 *Me tokisemete me onarake*
 me to- ka -risa -hemete me ati o- na -hara -ke
 3PL.S away go/come down FP.N+F 3PL.O say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vi pron vt

ahi .
 ahi
 then
 dem

"I think they went downstream."

309 *Me tokisimete amake ahi , me ati*
 me to- ka -risa.NOM+F -mete ama -ke ahi , me ati
 3PL.S away go/come down FP.N+F be DECL+F there 3PL.S say
 pron vi vc dem pron vt

nemetemoneke
 na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

"They went downstream," they said.'

310 *Afa ama faro* .
 afa ama faaro
 this+F be that+F
 dem vc dem

"That's it."

311 *Nisori , anoti* ,
 nisori anoti
 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3SG.POSS older brother
 nm nm

anoti fare kakatoma na hiemata
 anoti fare ka- katoma.LIST na hi- to- ha -himata
 3SG.POSS older brother same+M DUP attack AUX OC CH AUX FP.N+M
 nm dem vt aux aux

ehene me tohate me awineke , fari ,
 ehene me to- ha -tee me awine -ke , faari ,
 result of+M 3PL.S CH be HAB 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F that one+M
 pn pron vc pron sec dem

ee , Bakayona .
 ee Bakayona
 yes (man's name)
 interj npropm

"This happened to them because of Bakayona, the younger brother whose older brother killed him."

312 *Bakayona ehene me toha me awineke*
 Bakayona ehene me to- ha+F me awine -ke
 (man's name) result of+M 3PL.S CH be 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
 npropm pn pron vc pron sec

fari .
 faari
 that one+M
 dem

"This happened to them because of Bakayona."

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313	Bakayona Bakayona (man's name) npropm	,	Bakayona Bakayona (man's name) npropm	,	me me 3PL.S pron	aafo a- afo DUP blow snuff into vt
	hiemata hi- to- ha -himata OC CH AUX FP.N+M aux		anoti anoti 3SG.POSS older brother nm		bobi bobi slit vt	hikanise hi- ka- na -risa+M OC COMIT AUX down aux
	anoti anoti 3SG.POSS older brother nm		tabasi tabasi roast on grill vt		hine hi- na+M OC AUX aux	fa faha water nf

nasaikenoho
na- sai -ke -no -ho
CAUS be empty DECL+F IP.N+M DUP
vt

"The others blew snuff into Bakayona [to make him a shaman] and his older brother slit his back and roasted him, and he made the water go away."

314	Owato o- wato 1SG.S know vt	oka o- ka 1SG.S DECL+M prt
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"I know him."

315	Owato o- wato 1SG.S know vt	owaha o- na -waha.LIST 1SG.S AUX change aux
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"Now I know him."

316	Me fanawi me fanawi women nf	yoyoko yo- yoko DUP bring misfortune on vt	hiematamona hi- to- ha -himata -mona OC CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M aux
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"The women caused him to suffer."

317	Anoti anoti 3SG.POSS older brother nm	bobi bobi slit vt	hikanisematamona hi- ka- na -risa -himata -mona OC COMIT AUX down FP.N+M REP+M aux
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"His older brother slit his back."

318	Hinaka hinaka 3SG.POSS pron	sehoti sehoti saw nf	wina wina+F hang vi	,	hinaka hinaka 3SG.POSS pron	sehoti sehoti saw nf	wina wina+F hang vi	amake ama -ke SEC DECL+F sec	fara fara same+F dem
	fa faa that dem	tenenemata tenene -mata grill+M FP.N+M pn	wai waa.NOM stand vi		ya ya ADJU prt				

"His saw is hanging there. His saw is hanging there where his grill is."

319	Kai kaha.NFIN be toasted vi	bote bote old adj	itaririhi ita -rihi sit raised surface vi	,	-rihi -rihi NEG.LIST
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""There are no old pieces of his charred meat.""

320	Faya	kamaki		mera	awebona	me	tabori
	faya	ka	-makI+M	mera	awa -hibona	me	tabori
	so	go/come	following	3PL.O	see INT+M	3PL.POSS	place+F
	conj	vi		pron	vt	pron	pn

wasimakematamona

wasi -makI -himata -mona
find following FP.N+M REP+M
vt

'He came. He wanted to see them, and he came upon their village.'

321	Me	tabori	toarake			
	me	tabori	to- ha -hara -ke			
	3PL.POSS	place+F	CH be IP.E+F DECL+F			
	pron	pn	vc			

""This is their village.""

322	Me	tabori	toa	me	,	me	awara	me
	me	tabori	to- ha+F	me		me	awa -ra+F	me
	3PL.POSS	place+F	CH be	3PL.POSS		3PL.S	see NEG	3PL.S
	pron	pn	vc	pron		pron	result	pron

fawa nineke

fawa na -ne -ke
disappear AUX CONT+F DECL+F
vi aux

""This is their village. They aren't here, they are gone.""

323	Me	ka	yama	bote	so	kanikimamone		tinani
	me	ka	yama	bote	soo	na -kanikima -hamone	ati ti-	na -hani
	3PL	POSS	thing	old	lie	AUX scattered REP+F	say 2SG.S	AUX IP.N+F
	pron	prt	nf	adj	vi	aux	vt	

yama	nafi	me	towakisemete			me	ka	yama	,
yama	nafi	me	to- ka- ka	-risa	-hemete	me	ka	yama	
thing	all	3PL.S	away COMIT	go/come	down	FP.N+F	3PL	POSS	thing
nf	pn	pron	vt				pron	prt	nf

koyari	waka	ni	,	yama	yiwaha	,	yama	yama
koyari	waka	na.NFIN		yama	yiwaha		yama	yama
paddle	break	AUX		thing	pot		thing	work on
nm	vi	aux		nf	nf		nf	result

tehanihi

na -tee -hani -hi
AUX HAB IP.N+F DUP
aux

""They took all their things, and their old things are scattered on the ground: broken paddles, pots, and other things that were made.""

324	Yiwaha	,	yiwaha	,	yiwaha	yokana	,	yiwaha	yokana	,	yiwaha	yokana
	yiwaha		yiwaha		yiwaha	yokana		yiwaha	yokana		yiwaha	yokana
	pot		pot		pot	true		pot	true		pot	true
	nf		nf		nf	adj		nf	adj		nf	adj

waka	nani		ibe	ita	,	yiwa tebe	,	yiwa tebeba	yama
waka	na -hani		ibe	ita.LIST		yiwaha tebe		yiwaha tebe -ba	yama
break	AUX IP.N+F		piece	sit		ceramic pot		ceramic pot FUT	make
vi	aux		pn	vi		nf		nf	result

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nemete , **nabowanihi** **ita** **awa** **fore** ,
na -hemete na- aboha -hani -hi ita.LIST awa forI.LIST ,
AUX FP.N+F CAUS die IP.N+F DUP sit tree lie on top
aux vt vi nf vi

narake
na -hara -ke
AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
aux

"Pots, cooking pots. Pieces of broken pots are on the ground. There is also a stick on top."

325 **Me yana tonemete fahi** .
me yana to- na -hemete fahi
3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F then
pron vi aux dem

"They left."

326 **Me ihi owimakoni owati**
me ihi o- awa -makoni o- ati
3PL.POSS result of+F 1SG.S see for this reason+F 1SG.POSS voice
pron pn vt pn

amake
ama -ke
be DECL+F
vc

"I'm saying this because I see what they made."

327 **Me me ka koyari yama ni owahareka** .
me me ka koyari yama na.NFIN o- awa -hare -ka
3PL 3PL POSS paddle work on AUX 1SG.S see IP.E+M DECL+M
pron pron prt nm result aux vt

"I saw the pieces of their paddles."

328 **Yama yama tehani ibe so so** ,
yama yama na -tee -hani ibe soo soo
thing work on AUX HAB IP.N+F piece lie lie
nf result aux pn vi vi

kanikimarani , **ibe awahabonehe me**
na -kanikima -hara -ni , ibe awa -habone -he me
AUX scattered IP.E+F BKG+F piece see INT+F DUP 3PL.S
aux pn result pron

hinehete , **ee** , **yama ibe mawawa naro ahi**
ati hi- na -hete , ee , yama ibe mawa -wa na -haaro ahi
say OC AUX RP.N+F yes thing piece be red DUP AUX IP.E+F then
vt interj nf pn vi aux dem

"The red pieces of stuff they made are scattered on the ground because they wanted them to be seen."

329 **Ibe mawawa na yama tehanihi** , **ibe so**
ibe mawa -wa na+F , yama na -tee -hani -hi , ibe soo
piece be red DUP AUX make AUX HAB IP.N+F DUP piece lie
pn vi aux result aux pn vi

kanikimara
na -kanikima -hara -ke
AUX scattered IP.E+F DECL+F
aux

"Red pieces of stuff they made are scattered on the ground."

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330 *Waso* , *waso* , *waso* , *waso* *kini* *nima* , *waso* *kini* *nima* *yama*
 waso , waso , waso , waso kini nima , waso kini nima yama
 leaf leaf leaf leaf green like leaf green like thing
 nf nf nf nf adj prt nf adj prt nf
 , *yama* *ni* *na* *bayira* , *so* *kanikimarake*
 yama na.NFIN na+F bayi -ra+F , soo na -kanikima -hara -ke
 make AUX AUX be thick NEG lie AUX scattered IP.E+F DECL+F
 result aux aux vi vi aux

"Something thin like new leaves is scattered on the ground."

331 *Me* *toiya* , *me* *toiya* *me* *awineke*
 me to- hiya+F , me to- hiya+F me awine -ke
 3PL.S CH be different 3PL.S CH be different 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
 pron vi pron vi pron sec
 , *Bakayona* *ehene* *Bakayona*
 Bakayona ehene Bakayona
 (man's name) because of+M (man's name)
 npropm post npropm

"They turned into something else because of Bakayona."

332 *Bakayona* , *Bakayona* *mera* *tonahiye*
 Bakayona , Bakayona mera to- na- hiya+M
 (man's name) (man's name) 3PL.O CH CAUS be different
 npropm npropm pron vt
awaka *me* *aafo* *hiemata*
 awa -ka me a- afo hi- to- ha -himata
 seem+M DECL+M 3PL.S DUP blow snuff into OC CH AUX FP.N+M
 sec pron vt aux

"Bakayona changed them, after they blew snuff into him."

333 *Mera* *tonahiye* *awaka* , *owati* *ati*
 mera to- na- hiya+M awa -ka , o- ati ati
 3PL.O CH CAUS be different seem+M DECL+M 1SG.POSS voice say
 pron vt sec pn vt
nara *oni*
 na -hara o- ni
 AUX IP.E+F 1SG.POSS BKG+F
 aux prt

"I say he changed them."

334 *Yama* *era* *totonahiya* *amake*
 yama era to- to- na- hiya ama -ke
 thing 1IN.O DUP CH CAUS be different be DECL+F
 nf pron pn vc

"People can change into something else that way."

335 *Mera* *tokanahiyeno* *awaka* , *me*
 mera to- ka- na- hiya -hino awa -ka , me
 3PL.O CH COMIT CAUS be different IP.N+M seem+M DECL+M 3PL.S
 pron vt sec pron
hinabowahari
 hi- na- aboha -haari
 OC CAUS die IP.E+M
 vt

"He changed them into something else, because they killed him."

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- 336 **Me** **hinabowe** , **hinaka** **sehoti** **ini** **amaama**
 me hi- na- aboha+M , hinaka sehoti ini ama- ama
 3PL.S OC CAUS die 3SG.POSS saw blade+F DUP be bloody
 pron vt pron nf pn vi
- na** **winarake** **ahi** , **anoti** ,
 na+F wina -hara -ke ahi , anoti
 AUX hang IP.E+F DECL+F there 3SG.POSS older brother
 aux vi dem nm
- nisori** **bobi** **kanisano** **karo**
 nisori bobi ka- na -risa.NOM+M -no karo
 3SG.POSS.younger brother slit COMIT AUX down IP.N+M which+F
 nm vt aux prt
- "They killed him. His saw, its blade red with blood, is hanging there, the one he used to slash his younger brother's back."
- 337 **Fati** **hiyokorawa** **hika** ,
 fati hi- yoko -rawa.LIST hi- ka ,
 3SG.POSS.wife OC bring misfortune on F.PL OC DECL+M
 nf vt prt
- fati** , **fatirawaha** .
 fati , fati -rawa -ha
 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife F.PL DUP
 nf nf
- "His wives caused him to suffer."
- 338 **Fatirawa** **hiyokorawa** **hine**
 fati -rawa hi- yoko -rawa.LIST hi- na+M
 3SG.POSS.wife F.PL OC bring misfortune on F.PL OC AUX
 nf vt aux
- "His wives caused him to suffer."
- 339 **Hiwa** , **hiwa** **abaka** .
 hiwa , hiwa ahaba -ka
 only.M only.M die DECL+M
 pron pron vi
- "Let him die."
- 340 **Faya** **me** **yama** **hineno** **ati** **saihare** **ahi**
 faya me yama hi- na -hino ati sai -hare ahi
 so 3PL.S make OC AUX IP.N+M voice be heard IP.E+M then
 conj pron vt aux pn vi dem
- "The voice of the one they made can be heard."
- 341 **Me** **yama** **hineno** **ati** **saiareka** **ahi** ,
 me yama hi- na -hino ati sai -hare -ka ahi
 3PL.S make OC AUX IP.N+M voice be heard IP.E+M DECL+M then
 pron vt aux pn vi dem
- inohowe** , **inohowe** , **enete** **kayaboari**
 inohowe , inohowe , enete ka- yabo -haari
 alligator sp alligator sp jaw+M COMIT be long IP.E+M
 nm nm pn vi
- "The voice of the one they made can be heard, the alligator, with the long jaw."
- 342 **Hofe** **ati** **saiharene**
 hofa+M ati sai -hare -ne
 be in water voice be heard IP.E+M BKG+M
 vi pn vi

BAKAYONA

"He is in the water, and his voice can be heard."

343 Obe	obe	obe	ati
obe	obe	obe	ati
(call of alligator)	(call of alligator)	(call of alligator)	say
sound	sound	sound	vt

nareka

na -hare -ka
AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
aux

"He says, 'Obe.'"

344 Me	tokisaroni	ati	narene	ati
me	to- ka	-risa -haro -ni	ati na -hare -ne	ati
3PL.S	away go/come	down RP.E+F BKG+F	say AUX IP.E+M BKG+M	voice
pron	vi	vt	aux	pn

omitari

o- mita -haari
1SG.S hear IP.E+M
vt

"They went downstream,' he says. I heard him."

345 Nisori	hinahiyemata
nisori	hi- to- na- hiya -himata
3SG.POSS.younger brother	OC CH CAUS be different FP.N+M
nm	vt

nisori	kabahi	nisori
nisori	kaba+M	nisori
3SG.POSS.younger brother	eat	3SG.POSS.younger brother
nm	vt	nm

hinahiyemata	,	winabisebona	ati	ne
hi- to- na- hiya -himata	,	wina -bisa -hibona	ati	na+M
OC CH CAUS be different FP.N+M	,	live also INT+M	say	AUX
vt	,	vi	vt	aux

winareka

wina -hare -ka
live IP.E+M DECL+M
vi

"His younger brother, who he ate, changed him. He lives there because he told him to."

346 Hiba	,	ebe	,	ebe	inohowe	ino	?
hiba	,	ebe	,	ebe	inohowe	ino	
wait		dear		dear	alligator sp	name+M	
interj		voc		voc	nm	pn	

'Wait a minute. Dear, what is the name of the alligator?'

347 Ee	,	Bakayona
ee	,	Bakayona
yes		(man's name)
interj		npropm

'Right, Bakayona.'

348 Ee	,	Makayona	,	Makayona	,	Makayona	,	Makayona
ee	,	Makayona	,	Makayona	,	Makayona	,	Makayona
yes		(man's name)		(man's name)		(man's name)		(man's name)
interj		npropm		npropm		npropm		npropm

BAKAYONA

, **Makayonamatamonane**

Makayona -mata -mona -ne
 (man's name) FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 npropm

'Right, it was Makayona.'

349 **Makayona**

Makayona
 (man's name)
 npropm

nisori

nisori
 3SG.POSS.younger brother
 nm

bobi

bobi
 slit
 vt

kanisematamonaka

ka- na -risa -himata -mona -ka
 COMIT AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

, **me**

me
 3PL.S
 pron

tohiyateba

to- hiya -tee -haba
 CH be different HAB FUT+F
 vi

mati

mati
 3PL.S
 pron

'Makayona slit his younger brother's back, and the people changed into something else.'

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

Free Translation

Some of their relatives lived far away. They lived not far from the place where the Yimas lived. They lived there, a not very large group. They were not very numerous. They lived out there. They also ate *aba* fish.

They lived there. They went out to shoot *aba* fish with arrows. While they were out, some Yimas came. The Yimas came and they didn't see them, because they came back when it was getting dark. The sun went down, and they would come home in the dark.

They arrived home. They ate. They were going to sleep. The others lived in another house. They also ate. They slept. They were going to sleep, and one of them went out to urinate. He opened the door.

"Oh, there's the one I dreamed about. There is a spirit standing there. It's a spirit."

But it was a Yima.

"I dreamed about my son. That must be him."

"Are you him?"

"Yes, I am him. Father, it's me. I was standing out here near you as you were about to sleep, and you came out."

"It's my son. I dreamed about you."

"I'm standing here because you dreamed about me."

"Spirit, go away."

"Father, you go back in. Go to sleep. I will stand here watching," he said.

"I'm not going to go back in. You go away."

"All right, I'm going. I will go."

He went. He stopped at a dark place, in the shadow of the branch of a tree.

"Father."

"What?"

"I'm watching you. Father, I am going."

"Fowi," he whistled, as he went. He sat down quickly. He went to where the others of his group were. He spoke to the others there.

"They are going to sleep. I deceived him. I called him 'father.'"

The man from the house came back. He went in.

"All of you leave. Take down the hammocks. They are strangers. They are Yimas. Come on, all the women leave."

The women rolled up the hammocks. They left through the other door. They went. They all disappeared. They went to the other village. As they went they burned something. They walked during the night with resin torches.

They came. They arrived. It was there. It was Ayawa Homabase. They arrived to where the others lived, at dawn. They walked during the night with resin torches.

One of them came out to urinate. He saw a torch.

"Someone is coming with a torch at the edge of the garden." There were lots of torches.

"Someone is coming holding a torch, at dawn. They are coming here. Look at them all in a line."

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

They must have seen some enemies," they said.

They came. There were many torches in a line at dawn. They walked. They arrived.

"Why did you come?"

"Why did we come? The Yimas came. They were Yimas. I came upon him as he was standing, about to leave. He went after the others. We hid from him and left in the night. He went along bent over. He is still going on the trail. We left him behind. We left. We walked in the night."

"You go and look. Take arrows. Duck. The spear will go past. But an arrow will hit. You go along the trail slowly."

They went. They took arrows. They arrived at the village. They looked around.

"There must be someone inside."

They opened the door. There were footprints all over of the enemies who had been looking for them. If they had kept sleeping, they would have died. They had escaped.

He lay in wait, and I am telling about him.

"You are standing there, and I dreamed about you. I dreamed about my son."

"Father, it is me standing here," he said. "You dreamed about me as I stood here. Father, go back. Go back and sleep. I'm going to stay here watching."

"I saw a Yima," he said.

"I saw you." He deceived him.

"Father, go back. Go back and sleep. I'm going to stand here watching for dangerous animals or spirits."

"You leave. I'm going to sleep, you don't wait for me. You leave."

"Father, I'm leaving. I'm going."

In the shade of a tree, you have seen it...he went to the shade of the tree.

"Father."

"What?"

"I see you. Father, I'm leaving. Fowi."

He sat down quickly. He went along stooped over. He went walking.

"He's a stranger. They are Yimas." He came back in. "Wake up. Wake up. All of you wake up. Let's walk in the night."

So they rolled up their hammocks. They went out the other door. They went. They went around and around on their trail. They came out. They came out far away. They walked at night.

The footprints of the Yimas looking for them were all over.

They went after them. They didn't find anyone to shoot. They had gone. There were their footprints of them going away. They saw the evidence of them.

"Wow, they have gone away! Why didn't he shoot, he was sitting right there."

"Where are you? I almost shot him. I would have shot him with an arrow. I told you to bring my arrows. He would go to the others with arrows in his back."

They looked for them. "They left. They went away. You can see how long their feet are by their footprints in the mud," he said. "They went away. They would have eaten us."

"I'm going to go back and sleep, so you leave," I said. He left. He sat down quickly. He got up. He went on, stooping. I watched him. He went into the forest, and I came back in. I came back into the house. Then we moved to another place. We walked through the night. We arrived at the other village. We almost all died. The Yimas almost killed us."

"They went away. I wish they would have died. Let's go after them."

"Wait until they kill someone. I'm going to get my arrows ready. I'm going to shoot them. He's going to come again."

They got arrows ready. They put points on their arrows. They put poison on the arrows.

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

"Wait a minute. Don't do anything yet. They are going to come here," they said. "We will be ready for them. Go get the arrows and run over there. Go ambush them. He will come. When he comes, you shoot him in the chest. Be careful. If they come here, they will die."

They waited for them a long time. They waited for them, but they didn't come. They never came back.

In the dry season they planted gardens.

"Be vigilant. When one goes, another take his place. When you hear something, don't stay standing. Come running. If you see them in back of you or in front of you, go off the trail. Run away. Run along the stream back to the village. There is a trail along the stream."

"I'm going to look at them."

He went. He stopped out a ways. "It's the Base Kabi stream." He stopped at the Base Kabi stream.

"I guess they didn't come."

He looked for a while and then left. He came back. "I'll go back slowly." He came slowly back. He was looking back along the way.

He came back. He arrived back late in the afternoon.

"Where are they?"

"They didn't come. Could they be afraid? They must be afraid."

"I don't think they are afraid. You said they are afraid. They are going to eat your brains. The Yimas aren't afraid. The footprints of them going away are still there. No one made new footprints."

"I go in the forest, near a stream. I don't walk in the mud."

"You take turns going."

"All right, I will go. I will be the one. I will shoot him quickly, and run. I will shoot him quickly, and they will go running back."

He went again. He went and looked.

"Don't leave the leaves of your rear end on the log. Throw the leaves that you sit on away. Don't leave footprints."

"I didn't leave footprints."

He went. He sat waiting. After sitting for a while, he got up. He came back. There wasn't anyone there again. He came back. He got back, and they slept. Then another one went. They kept going after them. They didn't ever come.

Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Haha</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>me</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>hikehike</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>wiwina</i>
	haaha	me		me	one	hike- hike	ya	wi- wina
	this+F	3PL		3PL	other+F	DUP far	ADJU	DUP live
	dem	pron		pron	adj	nf	prt	vi

<i>toemetemone</i>	<i>ahi</i>
to- ha -hemete -mone ahi	
CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F then	
aux	dem

'Some of their relatives lived far away.'

2	<i>Me</i>	<i>wiwina</i>	<i>toemetemone</i>	<i>yima</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>wini</i>
	me	wi- wina	to- ha -hemete -mone	yima	me	wina.NFIN
	3PL.S	DUP live	CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F	Yima	3PL.S	live
	pron	vi	aux	npropm	pron	vi

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

yabori **ya** .
yabo -ra.NOM+F ya
be far NEG ADJU
vi prt
'They lived not far from the place where the Yimas lived.'

3 **Faya** **me** **wina** **me** , **me** **tatama** **raba** **na** **mati**
faya me wina+F me , me ta- tama na -raba na+F mati
so 3PL.S live 3PL.S 3PL.S DUP be many AUX a bit AUX 3PL.S
conj pron vi pron pron vi aux aux pron

'They lived there, a not very large group.'

4 **Me** **tatama** **raba** **na** **me** **towinama** **me**
me ta- tama na -raba na+F me to- wina -ma+F me
3PL.S DUP be many AUX a bit AUX 3PL.S away live back 3PL.S
pron vi aux aux pron vi pron

aba **me** **me** **kakaba** **toabisa** **mati** .
aba me me ka- kaba to- ha -bisa+F mati
fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX also 3PL.S
nm pron pron vt aux pron

'They were not very numerous. They lived out there. They also ate *aba* fish.'

5 **Aba** **me** **me** **kakaba** **toabisa** **me** **winaha** **aba**
aba me me ka- kaba to- ha -bisa+F me wina+F aba
fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX also 3PL.S live fish sp
nm pron pron vt aux pron vi nm

me **me** **sa** **nabone** **me** **tokaha** **me**
me me saa na -habone me to- ka+F me
3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX INT+F 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.POSS
pron pron vt aux pron vi pron

nowati **ya** , **yima** **me** , **yima** **me** **kakemetemone**
nowati ya , yima me , yima me ka -kI -hemete -mone
behind ADJU Yima 3PL Yima 3PL.S go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F
pn prt npropm pron npropm pron vi

fahi .
fahi
then
dem

'They also ate *aba* fish. They lived there. They went out to shoot *aba* fish with arrows. While they were out, some Yimas came.'

6 **Yima** **me** **kakehani** **me** **me** **hiwarani**
yima me ka -kI -hani me me hi- awa -ra -hani
Yima 3PL.S go/come coming IP.N+F 3PL.O 3PL.S OC see NEG IP.N+F
npropm pron vi pron pron vt

me , **me** **kakayomarisaba** **mati** .
me , me ka- kayoma -risa -haba mati
3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT darken down FUT+F 3PL.S
pron pron vi pron

'The Yimas came and they didn't see them, because they came back when it was getting dark.'

7 **Me** **kakayomarisaba** , **bahi** **fawa** **nise** **me**
me ka- kayoma -risa -haba , bahi fawa na -risa+M me
3PL.S COMIT darken down FUT+F sun disappear AUX down 3PL.S
pron vi nm vi aux pron

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

kobo nama me tafemetemoneke
 kobo na -ma+F me tafa -hemete -mone -ke
 arrive AUX back 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux pron vi

'The sun went down, and they would come home in the dark. They arrived home. They ate.'

8 **Me tafa me , faya me tafa me , me amo**
 me tafa+F me , faya me tafa+F me , me amo
 3PL.S eat 3PL.S so 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep
 pron vi pron conj pron vi pron pron vi
nabone me haha me winabisa me , tafabisa me
 na -habone me haaha me wina -bisa+F me , tafa -bisa+F me
 AUX INT+F 3PL this+F 3PL.S live also 3PL.S eat also 3PL.S
 aux pron dem pron vi pron vi pron

me amo nemetemoneke fayo
 me amo na -hemete -mone -ke faaro
 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F
 pron vi aux dem

'They ate. They were going to sleep. The others lived in another house. They also ate. They slept.'

9 **Me amo na me , me amo nabone so**
 me amo na+F me , me amo na -habone soo
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX INT+F urinate
 pron vi aux pron pron vi aux vi

nebona , so nebona
 na -hibona , soo na -hibona
 AUX INT+M urinate AUX INT+M
 aux vi aux

tokiyomamematamonaka
 to- ka -yoma -ma -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come through back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'They slept. They were going to sleep, and one of them went out to urinate.'

10 **Nokobi , nokobi se kanematamonaka ahi**
 nokobi nokobi see ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 door door open COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nf nf vt aux dem

'He opened the door.'

11 **Nokobi se kane , Aa efe watari owe ama**
 nokobi see ka- na+M , aa efe wata -ri o- awa+M ama
 door open COMIT AUX aha this+M dream PN 1SG.S see SEC
 nf vt aux interj dem pn vt sec

hari
 haari
 that one+M
 dem

'He opened the door. "Oh, there's the one I dreamed about."'

12 **Inamati wari hari**
 inamati waa -haari haari
 spirit stand look+M that one+M
 nm vi dem

""There is a spirit standing there.""

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

13 *Inamati wa hari*
 inamati waa.CONT+M haari
 spirit stand that one+M
 nm vi dem

""There is a spirit standing there.""

14 *Inamati ama*
 inamati ama
 spirit be
 nm vc

""It's a spirit.""

15 *Inamati wa hari yimanoho*
 inamati waa.CONT+M haari yima -no -ho
 spirit stand that one+M Yima IP.N+M DUP
 nm vi dem nm

""There is a spirit standing there." But it was a Yima.'

16 *Yimano Inamati waka hari*
 yima -no inamati waa -ka haari
 Yima IP.N+M spirit stand DECL+M that one+M
 nm nm vi dem

""There is a spirit standing there." But it was a Yima.'

17 *Okatao watari owa okatao okatao watari*
 okatao wata -ri o- awa+F okatao okatao wata -ri
 my son dream PN 1SG.S see my son my son dream PN
 nm pn vt nm nm pn

owara oke
 o- awa -hara o- ke
 1SG.S see IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vt prt

""I dreamed about my son.""

18 *Efe amare ama*
 efe ama -ra+M ama
 this+M be NEG SEC
 dem vc sec

""That must be him.""

19 *Efe ama tini*
 efe ama ti- ni
 this+M be 2SG.S BKG+F
 dem vc prt

""Are you him?""

20 *Ee efe ama oke*
 ee efe ama o- ke
 yes this+M be 1SG.S DECL+F
 interj dem vc prt

""Yes, I am him.""

21 *Efe ama oni*
 efe ama o- ni
 this+M be 1SG.S BKG+F
 dem vc prt

""I am him.""

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

22 *Abi* , *abi* , *abi* *efe* *ama* *oke*
 abi , abi , abi efe ama o- ke
 father father father this+M be 1SG.S DECL+F
 nm nm nm dem vc prt

"Father, it's me."

23 *Amo* *tinabone* *amo* *tinabone* *tiwa*
 amo ti- na -habone amo ti- na -habone tiwa
 sleep 2SG.S AUX INT+F sleep 2SG.S AUX INT+F 2SG.O
 vi aux vi aux pron

okowa , *tikiyomamine* *tike*
 o- ka- waa+F , ti- ka -yoma -ma -ne ti- ke
 1SG.S COMIT stand 2SG.S go/come through back CONT+F 2SG.S DECL+F
 vt vi prt

"I was standing out here near you as you were about to sleep, and you came out."

24 *Okatao* *ama* *nanoho*
 okatao ama na.NOM+M -no -ho
 my son be AUX IP.N+M DUP
 nm vc aux

"It's my son."

25 *Tika* *watari* *owara* *oke*
 ti- ka wata -ri o- awa -hara o- ke
 2SG.POSS POSS dream PN 1SG.S see IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt pn vt prt

"I dreamed about you."

26 *Owimakoni* *oko* *watari* *tiwine*
 o- waa -makoni o- ka wata -ri ti- awa -ne
 1SG.S stand for this reason+F 1SG.POSS POSS dream PN 2SG.S see CONT+F
 vi prt pn vt

tini
 ti- ni
 2SG.S BKG+F
 prt

"I'm standing here because you dreamed about me."

27 *Owimakoni* *oko* *watari* *tiwine*
 o- waa -makoni o- ka wata -ri ti- awa -ne
 1SG.S stand for this reason+F 1SG.POSS POSS dream PN 2SG.S see CONT+F
 vi prt pn vt

tini
 ti- ni
 2SG.S BKG+F
 prt

"I'm standing here because you dreamed about me."

28 *Inamati* , *tikamahi*
 inamati , ti- to- ka -ma -hi
 spirit 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
 nm vi

"Spirit, go away."

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

29 *Abi* , *abi* *tikamahi* *ha* *tiwa*
 abi , abi ti- to- ka -ma -hi haa tiwa
 father father 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F DEM 2SG
 nm nm vi dem pron

"Father, you go back in."

30 *Abi* *tikama* *ha* *tiwa*
 abi ti- to- ka -ma haa tiwa
 father 2SG.S away go/come back DEM 2SG
 nm vi dem pron

"Father, you go back."

31 *Amo* *tibeya*
 amo ti- na -be -ya
 sleep 2SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 vi aux

"Go to sleep."

32 *Yama* *owakatombone* *owine* *oni*
 yama o- ka- katoma -habone o- waa -ne o- ni
 thing 1SG.S COMIT look at INT+F 1SG.S stand CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 nf vt vi prt

ati *nematamonaka*
 ati na -himata -mona -ka
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux

"I will stand here watching," he said.'

33 *Yama* *owakatombone* *owine* *oni*
 yama o- ka- katoma -habone o- waa -ne o- ni
 thing 1SG.S COMIT look at INT+F 1SG.S stand CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 nf vt vi prt

"I will stay here watching."

34 *Abi* , *abi* *tikiyomamahi*
 abi , abi ti- to- ka -yoma -ma -hi
 father father 2SG.S away go/come through back IMP+F
 nm nm vi

"Father, you go back in."

35 *Okiyomama* *hiba*
 o- to- ka -yoma -ma+F hiba
 1SG.S away go/come through back wait
 vi interj

okiyomama *ati* *ne*
 o- to- ka -yoma -ma+F ati na+M
 1SG.S away go/come through back say AUX
 vi vt aux

"I'm not going to go back in."

36 *Tikamahi*
 ti- to- ka -ma -hi
 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
 vi

"You go away."

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

37 *Ee* , *okomiba*
 ee , o- to- ka -ma -baha+F
 yes 1SG.S away go/come back before
 interj vi
 "All right, I'm going."

38 *Okomibana*
 o- to- ka -ma+F -bana
 1SG.S away go/come back FUT
 vi
 "I will go."

39 *Tokomematamonaka* *ahi*
 to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi
 away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem
 'He went.'

40 *Tokome* , *tokome* , *yama* , *yama*
 to- ka -ma+M , to- ka -ma+M , yama , yama
 away go/come back away go/come back thing thing
 vi vi nf nf
sokirine *iti* *ya* , *awa* , *awa* *ini* , *awa*
 soki -rine ita.NOM+F ya , awa , awa ini , awa
 be dark PN be located ADJU tree tree branch+F tree
 pn vi prt nf nf pn nf
ini *kawini* *yome* *ya* , *faya* *ma* *toname*
 ini ka- wina.NOM+F yome ya , faya maa to- na -ma+M
 branch+F COMMIT hang shadow+F ADJU so stop away AUX back
 pn vi pn prt conj vi aux

Abi
 abi
 father
 nm

'He went. He stopped at a dark place, in the shadow of the branch of a tree. "Father."

41 *Haa* ?
 haa
 huh?
 interj
 "What?"

42 *Tiwa* *owakatoma* *oke*
 tiwa o- ka- katoma o- ke
 2SG.O 1SG.S COMMIT look at 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron vt prt
 "I'm watching you."

43 *Abi* *okomibonehe*
 abi o- to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone -he
 father 1SG.S away go/come back INT+F DUP
 nm vi
 "Father, I am going."

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

52 *Tokiyomamematamona*

to- ka -yoma -ma -himata -mona
away go/come through back FP.N+M REP+M
vi

'He went in.'

53 *Te nafi banahi*

tee nafi bana -hi
2PL.POSS all move away IMP+F
pron pn vi

""All of you leave.""

54 *Te nafi banahi*

tee nafi bana -hi
2PL.POSS all move away IMP+F
pron pn vi

""All of you leave.""

55 *Yifo te tisahi*

yifo tee tisa -hi
hammock 2PL.S undo IMP+F
nm pron vt

""Take down the hammocks.""

56 *Inamati me amani*

inamati me ama -ni
someone 3PL.S be BKG+F
nm pron vc

""They are other people.""

57 *Yima me amani*

yima me ama -ni
Yima 3PL.S be BKG+F
npropm pron vc

""They are Yimas.""

58 *Yima me amani*

yima me ama -ni
Yima 3PL.S be BKG+F
npropm pron vc

""They are Yimas.""

59 *Hima , hima me fanawi nafi banahi*

hima , hima me fanawi nafi bana -hi
let's go let's go women all move away IMP+F
interj interj nf pn vi

""Come on, all the women leave.""

60 *Me fanawi yifo taboha , me fanawi yifo taboha nokobi*

me fanawi	yifo	taboha	,	me fanawi	yifo	taboha	nokobi
women	hammock	roll up		women	hammock	roll up	door
nf	nm	vt		nf	nm	vt	nf

<i>one</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ya</i>	,	<i>nokobi</i>	<i>one</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>me</i>
one	ka	ya		nokobi	one	ka	ya	me
other+F	LOC	ADJU		door	other+F	LOC	ADJU	3PL.S
adj	prt	prt		nf	adj	prt	prt	pron

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

tokemetemoneke **ahi**
to- ka -hemete -mone -ke ahi
away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
vi dem
'The women rolled up the hammocks. They left through the other door.'

61 **Me toka me , me nafi fawa**
me to- ka+F me , me nafi fawa
3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S 3PL.POSS all disappear
pron vi pron pron pn vi

nemetemoneke **ahi**
na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
aux dem
'They went. They all disappeared.'

62 **Me tokomake me tokomaki ya yama**
me to- ka -makI me to- ka -makI.NOM ya yama
3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.S away go/come following ADJU thing
pron vi pron vi prt nf

me sari nemetemoneke
me sari na -hemete -mone -ke
3PL.S burn AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron vt aux
'They went to the other village. As they went they burned something.'

63 **Yama me sari na me , wami hiri ni ya**
yama me sari na+F me , wami hiri na.NOM+F ya
thing 3PL.S burn AUX 3PL.S tree sp catch fire AUX ADJU
nf pron vt aux pron nf vi aux prt

me yaka naba me , kamimetemone
me yaka na nahaba+F me , ka -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone
3PL.S walk AUX at night 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
pron vi aux pron vi

amake ahi
ama -ke ahi
be DECL+F then
vc dem

'They burned something. They walked during the night with resin torches. They came.'

64 **Me kobo namimetemone ama**
me kobo na -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone ama
3PL.S arrive AUX back FP.N+F REP+F be
pron vi aux vc

'They arrived.'

65 **Faimetemone amake ahi**
fahi -mete -mone ama -ke ahi
there FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F there
dem vc dem

'It was there.'

66 **Ayawa Homabase amake**
Ayawa Homabase ama -ke
(name of village) be DECL+F
npropf vc

'It was Ayawa Homabase.'

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

73 *Yama hiri ni yaka nemetemoneke*
 yama hiri na.NFIN yaka na -hemete -mone -ke
 thing catch fire AUX move AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi aux vi aux

"There were lots of torches in a line.'

74 *Inamati wami tama kane kamaki hari*
 inamati wami tama ka- na+M ka -makI+M haari
 someone tree sp hold onto COMIT AUX go/come following that one+M
 nm nf vt aux vi dem

yama we kamaki ya
 yama wehe ka -makI.NOM ya
 thing light+F go/come following ADJU
 nf pn vi prt

"Someone is coming holding a torch, at dawn."

75 *Faya me kamakiya haro*
 faya me ka -makI -ya haaro
 so 3PL.S go/come following now that one+F
 conj pron vi dem

"They are coming here."

76 *Me horo na me tiwa haro*
 me horo na+F me ti- awa haaro
 3PL.S be in a line AUX 3PL.O 2SG.S see that one+F
 pron vi aux pron vt dem

"Look at them all in a line."

77 *Me noki awani me amarini me ati*
 me noki awa -hani me ama -ra -ni me ati
 3PL.POSS eye+F see IP.N+F 3PL.S be NEG BKG+F 3PL.S say
 pron pn vi pron vc pron vt

nemetemoneke
 na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

"They must have seen some enemies," they said.'

78 *Me noki awani me amani*
 me noki awa -hani me ama -ni
 3PL.POSS eye+F see IP.N+F 3PL.POSS SEC BKG+F
 pron pn vi pron sec

"They saw some enemies."

79 *Me kamakiemetemone ahi*
 me ka -makI -hemete -mone ahi
 3PL.S go/come following FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron vi dem

"They came.'

80 *Yama hiri ni yaka nemetemoneke ahi*
 yama hiri na.NFIN yaka na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 thing catch fire AUX move AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf vi aux vi aux dem

"There were many torches in a line.'

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

81 *Yama we kamaki ya yama hiri ni yaka*
 yama wehe ka -makI.NOM ya yama hiri na.NFIN yaka
 thing light+F go/come following ADJU thing catch fire AUX move
 nf pn vi prt nf vi aux vi

na me yaka na , me kobo namakia me me
 na+F me yaka na+F , me kobo na -makI+F me me
 AUX 3PL.S walk AUX 3PL.S arrive AUX following 3PL.S 3PL.S
 aux pron vi aux pron vi aux pron pron

kobo na me , Himata te ebe na te
 kobo na+F me , himata tee ebe na+F tee
 arrive AUX 3PL.S what? 2PL.S purpose AUX 2PL.S
 vi aux pron interrog pron vt aux pron

kamaki ?
 ka -makI.NOM
 go/come following
 vi

"There were many torches in a line at dawn. They walked. They arrived. "Why did you come?"

82 *Oof himata ota ebe na ota kamaki* ?
 oof himata otaa ebe na+F otaa ka -makI.NOM
 hoo what? 1EX.S purpose AUX 1EX.S go/come following
 interj interrog pron vt aux pron vi

"Why did we come?"

83 *Yima me kamakike , ahi yima mati* .
 yima me ka -makI -ke , ahi yima mati
 Yima 3PL.S go/come following DECL+F there Yima 3PL
 npropm pron vi dem npropm pron

"The Yimas came."

84 *Yima , Yima me amake* .
 yima , yima me ama -ke
 Yima Yima 3PL.S be DECL+F
 npropm npropm pron vc

"They were Yimas."

85 *Yana tone weno owasime me one*
 yana to- na+M waa -hino o- to- wasi -ma+M me one
 start CH AUX stand IP.N+M 1SG.S away find back 3PL other+F
 vi aux vi vt pron adj

tonakame tokome ota , kemowareka
 to- na- ka -ma+M to- ka -ma+M otaa , kehemō -hare -ka
 away CAUS go/come back away go/come back 1EX.S hide IP.E+M DECL+M
 vt vi pron vt

ota bana ota fahi yama soki ya .
 otaa bana+F otaa fahi yama soki.NOM ya
 1EX.S move away 1EX.S then thing be dark ADJU
 pron vi pron dem nf vi prt

"I came upon him as he was standing, about to leave. He went after the others. He went. We hid from him and left in the night."

86 *Tokome mowi tonamaiti*
 to- ka -ma+M mowi to- na -ma -hitI+M
 away go/come back bend away AUX back along the way
 vi vi aux

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

95 *Te tokoma tosi niya*
 tee to- to- ka -ma to- na -sii na -yahi
 2PL.S DUP away go/come back CH AUX slowly along the way AUX DIST.IMP+F
 pron vi aux aux

"You go along the trail slowly."

96 *Me tokomimetemone amake*
 me to- ka -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F
 pron vi vc

"They went."

97 *Me tokoma me me wati me bokori kana*
 me to- ka -ma+F me me wati me bokori ka- na+F
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL arrow 3PL.S hold COMIT AUX
 pron vi pron pron nm pron vt aux

me tokoma me me
 me to- ka -ma+F me me
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron

tokometemoneke
 to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

"They went. They took arrows. They went."

98 *Me tokoma me kobo tonama me*
 me to- ka -ma+F me kobo to- na -ma+F me
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S arrive away AUX back 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi aux pron

tabora me tokoma yama me yete kana me
 tabora me to- ka -ma+F yama me yete ka- na+F me
 village 3PL.S away go/come back thing 3PL.S hunt COMIT AUX 3PL.S
 nf pron vi nf pron vt vi pron

Foye awane
 foya+M awa -ne
 be inside seem+M BKG+M
 vi sec

"They went. They arrived. They arrived at the village. They looked around. "There must be someone inside."

99 *Yama noki bori me se nawaha me tame*
 yama noki bori me see na -waha+F me tame
 thing lid+F 3PL.S open AUX change 3PL.POSS footprint+F
 nf pn pron vt aux pron pn

yobiri nemetemoneke yama me siba
 yobi -ri na -hemete -mone -ke yama me siba
 go back and forth DISTR AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F thing 3PL.S look for
 vi aux nf pron vt

nani mati
 na -hani mati
 AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S
 aux pron

"They opened the door. There were footprints all over of the enemies who had been looking for them."

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

100 *Me tame yobiri na yama me*
 me tame yobi -ri na+F yama me
 3PL.POSS footprint+F go back and forth DISTR AUX thing 3PL.S
 pron pn vi aux nf pron

siba na me , yama me siba nani me ,
 siba na+F me , yama me siba na -hani me ,
 look for AUX 3PL.S thing 3PL.S look for AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S
 vt aux pron nf pron vt aux pron

yifo , me amo nasa ni ya , me
 yifo , me amo na -saa na.NOM+F ya , me
 hammock 3PL.S sleep AUX still AUX ADJU 3PL.S
 nm pron vi aux aux prt pron

abenemetemoneke

ahaba -hene -mete -mone -ke
 die IRR+F FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'Their footprints were all over. They had looked for them. They had looked for them. If they had kept sleeping, they would have died.'

101 *Me abene me , me , hine me*
 me ahaba -hene me , me , hine me
 3PL.S die IRR+F 3PL.S 3PL 3.REFL 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron pron pron

kasomemetemoneke

ka- soma -hemete -mone -ke
 COMMIT help FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'They would have died. They had escaped.'

102 *Faya hine me kasoma me , na*
 faya hine me ka- soma+F me , na
 so 3.REFL 3PL.S COMMIT help 3PL.S lie in wait
 conj pron pron vt pron vi

nematamonaha

na -himata -mona -ha o- kamina -ne o- ni
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP 1SG.S tell CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 aux vt prt

'They had escaped. He lay in wait, and I am telling about him.'

103 *Hoo wamako watari ama nanoho*
 hoo waa -mako wata -ri ama na.NOM+M -no -ho
 humph stand for this reason+M dream PN be AUX IP.N+M DUP
 interj vi pn vc aux

""You are standing there, and I dreamed about you.""

104 *Wamako watari ama nanoho*
 waa -mako wata -ri ama na.NOM+M -no -ho
 stand for this reason+M dream PN be AUX IP.N+M DUP
 vi pn vc aux

""You are standing there, and I dreamed about you.""

105 *Okatao watari owara oke*
 okatao wata -ri o- awa -hara o- ke
 my son dream PN 1SG.S see IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 nm pn vt prt

""I dreamed about my son.""

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

106 *Abi* , *abi* *owini*
 abi , abi o- waa -ni
 father father 1SG.S stand BKG+F
 nm nm vi

"Father, it is me standing here."

107 *Abi* *owini* *ati* *nematamona*
 abi o- waa -ni ati na -himata -mona
 father 1SG.S stand BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm vi vt aux

"Father, it is me standing here," he said.'

108 *Owa* *oko* *watari* *tiwine*
 o- waa+F o- ka wata -ri ti- awa -ne
 1SG.S stand 1SG.POSS POSS dream PN 2SG.S see CONT+F
 vi prt pn vt

tinihi
 ti- na.NOM+F -ni -hi
 2SG.S AUX IP.N+F DUP
 aux

"You dreamed about me as I stood here."

109 *Abi* *tikamahi*
 abi ti- to- ka -ma -hi
 father 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
 nm vi

"Father, go back."

110 *Amo* *tinamibeya*
 amo ti- to- na -ma -be -ya
 sleep 2SG.S away AUX back IMMED+F now
 vi vi

"Go back and sleep."

111 *Yama* *owakatombone* *owine* *oni*
 yama o- ka- katoma -habone o- waa -ne oni ni
 thing 1SG.S COMIT look at INT+F 1SG.S stand CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 nf vt vi prt

"I'm going to stay here watching."

112 *Yima* , *yima* *owahara* *oni* *ati*
 yima , yima o- awa -hara o- ni ati
 Yima Yima 1SG.S see IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F say
 npropm npropm vt prt vt

nematamonaka *ahi*
 na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

"I saw a Yima," he thought.'

113 *Tiwa* *owahara* *oni*
 tiwa o- awa -hara o- ni
 2SG.O 1SG.S see IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 pron vt prt

"I saw you."

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

123 *Awa ini* , *awa ini* *yome* *te* *awaterini*
 awa ini , awa ini yome tee awa -tee -ra -ni
 tree branch+F tree branch+F shadow+F 2PL.S see HAB NEG BKG+F
 nf pn nf pn pn pron vt

haro , *awa* , *awa waha ini* *yome ya*
 haaro , awa , awa waa+F ini yome ya
 that one+F tree tree stand branch+F shadow+F ADJU
 dem nf nf vi pn pn prt

tokomematamonaka

to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'In the shade of a tree, you have seen it...he went to the shade of the tree.'

124 *Tokome* , *tokome* , *Abi*
 to- ka -ma+M , to- ka -ma+M , abi
 away go/come back away go/come back father
 vi vi nm

'He went. "Father."'

125 *Haa* ?
 haa
 huh?
 interj

""What?""

126 *Tiwa owakatoma* *oke*
 tiwa o- ka- katoma o- ke
 2SG.O 1SG.S COMIT look at 1SG.S DECL+F
 pron vt prt

""I see you.""

127 *Abi okomini*
 abi o- to- ka -ma -ni
 father 1SG.S away go/come back BKG+F
 nm vi

""Father, I'm leaving.""

128 *Fowi*
 fowi
 (sound of whistling)
 sound

""Fowi.""

129 *Itakabote ne mowi tonamaiti* *tokome*
 ita -kabote na+M mowi to- na -ma -hitI+M to- ka -ma+M
 sit quickly AUX bend away AUX back along the way away go/come back
 vi aux vi aux vi

yaka ni tokome hinamati ama kanenoho
 yaka na.NFIN to- ka -ma+M hinamati ama ka- na -hino -ho
 walk AUX away go/come back someone be COMIT AUX IP.N+M DUP
 vi aux vi nm vc aux

'He sat down quickly. He went along stooped over. He went. He went walking. "He's a stranger."'

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

130 *Yima me amani*
 yima me ama -ni
 Yima 3PL.S be BKG+F
 npropm pron vc

"They are Yimas."

131 *Kiyomame yama , faya , Te tafihi*
 ka -yoma -ma+M yama , faya , tee tafihi -hi
 go/come through back thing so 2PL.S wake up IMP+F
 vi nf conj pron vi

'He came back in. "Wake up."

132 *Te tafihi*
 tee tafihi -hi
 2PL.S wake up IMP+F
 pron vi

"Wake up."

133 *Te tafihi te nafi*
 tee tafihi -hi tee nafi
 2PL.S wake up IMP+F 2PL.POSS all
 pron vi pron pn

"All of you wake up."

134 *Te tafihi te nafi*
 tee tafihi -hi tee nafi
 2PL.S wake up IMP+F 2PL.POSS all
 pron vi pron pn

"All of you wake up."

135 *Ee yaka nabibeya*
 ee yaka na nahaba -be -ya
 1IN.S walk AUX at night IMMED+F now
 pron vi aux

"Let's walk in the night."

136 *Faya me , yifo me tabohemetemone ahi*
 faya me , yifo me tabo -hemete -mone ahi
 so 3PL hammock 3PL.S roll up FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron nm pron vt dem

'So they rolled their hammocks up.'

137 *Nokobi one ka ya me tasi tonemetemoneke*
 nokobi one ka ya me tasi to- na -hemete -mone -ke
 door other+F LOC ADJU 3PL.S emerge CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf adj prt prt pron vi aux

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

'They went out the other door.'

138 *Me tasi tona me toka me hawi ya*
 me tasi to- na+F me to- ka+F me hawi ya
 3PL.S emerge CH AUX 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.POSS trail ADJU
 pron vi aux pron vi pron nf prt

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

<i>me</i>	<i>moto</i>	<i>nawa</i>		<i>towitzia</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>tasi</i>	<i>tona</i>	<i>me</i>		
me	moto	na	-waha	to-	na	-witI+F	me	tasi	to-	na+F	me
3PL.S	loop	AUX	change	away	AUX	out	3PL.S	emerge	CH	AUX	3PL.S
pron	vi	aux		aux			pron	vi	aux		pron

<i>kamimetemone</i>		<i>ama</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ahi</i>	.	
ka	-ma.NOM+F	-mete	-mone	ama	haa	ya	ahi
go/come	back	FP.N+F	REP+F	be	DEM	ADJU	then
vi				vc	dem	prt	dem

'They went out. They went. They went around and around on their trail. They came out. The came out far away.'

139	<i>Me</i>	<i>kama</i>		<i>me</i>	,	<i>yaka</i>	<i>nabemetemoneke</i>	
	me	ka	-ma+F	me		yaka	na nahaba	-hemete -mone -ke
	3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S		walk	AUX at night	FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
	pron	vi		pron		vi	aux	

ahi
ahi
then
dem

'They came out. They walked at night.'

140	<i>Yima</i>	<i>yama</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>siba</i>	<i>nani</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>tame</i>
	yima	yama	me	siba	na -hani	me		tame
	Yima	thing	3PL.S	look for	AUX IP.N+F	3PL.POSS		footprint+F
	npropm	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron		pn

<i>yobiri</i>		<i>nemetemoneke</i>	<i>ahi</i>	.
yobi	-ri	na -hemete -mone -ke	ahi	
go back and forth	DISTR	AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	there	
vi		aux	dem	

'The footprints of the Yimas looking for them were all over.'

141	<i>Yama</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>siba</i>	<i>nani</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>tame</i>
	yama	me	siba	na -hani	me	tame
	thing	3PL.S	look for	AUX IP.N+F	3PL.POSS	footprint+F
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	pn

<i>yobiri</i>		<i>na</i>	<i>me</i>	,	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>
yobi	-ri	na+F	me		me	me
go back and forth	DISTR	AUX	3PL.POSS		3PL.O	3PL.S
vi		aux	pron		pron	pron

<i>hinakama</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>			
hi-	to-	na-	ka	-ma+F	me	me
OC	away	CAUS	go/come	back	3PL.O	3PL.S
vt					pron	pron

<i>hiwasimaremetemoneke</i>		<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	,		
hi-	to-	wasi	-ma -ra -hemete -mone -ke		me	me
OC	away	find	back NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F		3PL.O	3PL.S
vt					pron	pron

<i>sa</i>		<i>hinabone</i>	<i>mati</i>	.
saa		hi-	na -habone	mati
shoot with arrow	OC	AUX	INT+F	3PL.O
vt		aux		pron

'The footprints of the Yimas looking for them were all over. They went after them. They didn't find anyone to shoot.'

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

142 *Faya me tokomani me tame*
 faya me to- ka -ma -hani me tame
 so 3PL.S away go/come back IP.N+F 3PL.POSS footprint+F
 conj pron vi pron pn

tokoma me ihi me hiwamake
 to- ka -ma+F me ihi me hi- to- awa -makI
 away go/come back 3PL.POSS result of+F 3PL.S OC away see following
 vi pron pn pron vt

Me tokotokoma raba rini
 me toko- to- ka -ma na -raba na -ra -ni
 3PL.S DUP away go/come back AUX a bit AUX NEG BKG+F
 pron vi aux aux

"They had gone. There were their footprints of them going away. They saw the evidence of them. "Wow, they have gone away!"

143 *Inamati sa hikarano ahi*
 inamati saa hi- ka- na -ra.NOM+M -no ahi
 someone shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX NEG IP.N+M there
 nm vt aux dem

itakabote nari
 ita -kabote na -haari
 sit quickly AUX IP.E+M
 vi aux

"Why didn't he shoot, he was sitting right there."

144 *Hibaka tiharinihi*
 hibaka ti- to- ha -ri -ni -hi
 where 2SG.S CH be CQ+F IP.N+F DUP
 interrog vc

"Where are you?"

145 *Sa okarenaha*
 saa o- ka- na -ra -hina -ha
 shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX NEG IRR+M DUP
 vt aux

"I almost shot him."

146 *Sa okanenaka*
 saa o- ka- na -hina -ka
 shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX IRR+M DECL+M
 vt aux

"I would have shot him with an arrow."

147 *Oko wati tekamaki*
 o- ka wati ti- ka- ka -makI
 1SG.POSS POSS arrow 2SG.S COMIT go/come following
 prt nm vt

orara oke
 ati o- na -ra -hara o- ke
 say 1SG.S AUX NEG IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 vt prt

"I told you to bring my arrows."

148 *Wati weye ni tokomenaha me one ni*
 wati weye na.NFIN to- ka -ma -hina -ha me one ni
 arrow carry AUX away go/come back IRR+M DUP 3PL other+F to
 nm vt aux vi pron adj prt

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

ya
ya
ADJU
prt

"He would go to the others with arrows in his back."

149 *Me me , me me siba nani Me*
me me , me me siba na -hani me
3PL 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S look for AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S
pron pron pron pron vt aux pron

tokomanike

to- ka -ma -hani -ke
away go/come back IP.N+F DECL+F
vi

"They looked for them. "They left."

150 *Me nowati tokomara ahi*
me nowati to- ka -ma -hara ahi
3PL.POSS behind away go/come back IP.E+F there
pron pn vi dem

"They went away."

151 *Atabo me tai nani me tame yabobo*
atabo me tai na -hani me tame yabo -bo
mud 3PL.S step on AUX IP.N+F 3PL.POSS footprint+F be long DUP
nf pron vt aux pron pn vi

ati nematamonaka

ati na -himata -mona -ka
say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vt aux

"You can see how long their feet are by their footprints in the mud," he said.'

152 *Faya me tokomani , me , ota*
faya me to- ka -ma -hani , me , otaa
so 3PL.S away go/come back IP.N+F 3PL.S 1EX.O
conj pron vi pron pron

kabarawene

kaba -rawa -hene ama -ke
eat F.PL IRR+F SEC DECL+F
vt sec

"They went away. They would have eaten us."

153 *Amo onamabone tikamahi ha*
amo o- to- na -ma -habone ti- to- ka -ma -hi haa
sleep 1SG.S away AUX back INT+F 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F DEM
vi aux vi dem

tiwa

, *ona tokomareka*
tiwa , ati o- na+F to- ka -ma -hare -ka
2SG say 1SG.S AUX away go/come back IP.E+M DECL+M
pron vt vi

"I'm going to go back and sleep, so you leave,' I said. He left."

154 *Tokome itakabote nare*
to- ka -ma+M ita -kabote na -hare
away go/come back sit quickly AUX IP.E+M
vi vi aux

"He left. He sat down quickly."

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

161 *Me* , *me* *e* *totonakamaki* *ra*
 me , me ee to- to- na- ka -makI na -ra+F
 3PL 3PL.O 1IN.S DUP away CAUS go/come following AUX NEG
 pron pron pron vt aux

"Let's go after them."

162 *Hiba* *me* *ihi* *itimatahi* *mata*
 hiba me ihi iti -mata -hi mata
 wait 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist short time IMP+F for now
 interj pron pn vi prt

"Wait until they kill someone."

163 *Oko* *watiba* *wari* *omatibe*
 o- ka wati -ba wari o- na -mata -be
 1SG.POSS POSS arrow FUT turn 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F
 prt nm vt aux

"I'm going to get my arrows ready."

164 *Me* *sa* *niba* *narake* *waha*
 me saa na -baha.LIST na -hara -ke waha
 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX before AUX IP.E+F DECL+F now
 pron result aux aux prt

"I'm going to shoot them."

165 *Tasi* *namakiba* *amane*
 tasi na -makI -hiba ama -ne
 emerge AUX following FUT+M SEC BKG+M
 vi aux sec

"He's going to come again."

166 *Tasi* *namakiba* *amane*
 tasi na -makI -hiba ama -ne
 emerge AUX following FUT+M SEC BKG+M
 vi aux sec

"He's going to come again."

167 *Wati* *me* , *wati* *me*
 wati me , wati me
 arrow 3PL.S arrow 3PL.S
 nm pron nm pron

nawariemetemoneke

na- waa -rI -hemete -mone -ke
 CAUS stand raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

"They got arrows ready."

168 *Wati* *me* *wari* *na* *me* *faya* *wati* *me* , *wati* *me*
 wati me wari na+F me faya wati me , wati me
 arrow 3PL.S turn AUX 3PL.S so arrow 3PL.S arrow 3PL.S
 nm pron vt aux pron conj nm pron nm pron
were *na* *wati* *me* *were* *na* *me* , *me* *me* , *Hibare* *mata*
 were na+F wati me were na+F me , me me , hibare mata
 coat AUX arrow 3PL.S coat AUX 3PL.S 3PL 3PL wait for now
 vt aux nm pron vt aux pron pron pron interj prt

"They put points on their arrows. They put poison on the arrows. "Wait a minute."

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

169 *Te* *awaraba* *namatahi*
tee awaraba na -mata -hi
2PL.S leave alone AUX short time IMP+F
pron vi aux

"Don't do anything yet."

170 *Me* *kamakiaba* *me* *amani* , *me* *ati*
me ka -makI -haba me ama -ni , me ati
3PL.S go/come following FUT+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F 3PL.S say
pron vi pron sec pron vt

nemetemoneke

na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux

"They are going to come here," they said.'

171 *Hine* *me* *kabanamake* *me* *yama*
hine me ka- habana -makI me yama
3.REFL 3PL.S COMIT order someone against following 3PL.S thing
pron pron vt pron nf

tahi *tekitikosawiti* *ya* *tika* *kana*
tahi ti- to- ka- iti -kosa -witI.NOM ya ti- ka kana
killer 2SG.S away COMIT pick up middle out ADJU 2SG.POSS POSS run
pn vt prt prt vi

ni *tokiya* *ahi* *ha* *ya* *ahi*
na.NFIN to- ka -yahi ahi haa ya ahi
AUX away go/come DIST.IMP+F there DEM ADJU there
aux vi dem dem prt dem

"We will be ready for them. Go get the arrows and run over there."

172 *Titikosawawitibe*
ti- to- iti -kosa -waha -witI -be
2SG.S away take out middle change out IMMED+F
vi

"Go ambush them."

173 *Kameba* *amane*
ka -ma -hiba ama -ne
go/come back FUT+M SEC BKG+M
vi sec

"He will come."

174 *Kame* *bako* *sa* *tikabaya*
ka -ma+M bako saa ti- ka- na -ba -ya
go/come back chest+M shoot with arrow 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMMED+M now
vi pn vt aux

"When he comes, you shoot him in the chest."

175 *Te* *te* *watoyahi*
tee tee wato -yahi
2PL.O 2PL.S know DIST.IMP+F
pron pron vt

"Be careful."

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

176 *Me tasi namaki ya me ababanake bisa*
 me tasi na -makI.NOM ya me ahaba -habana -ke bisa
 3PL.S emerge AUX following ADJU 3PL.S die FUT+F DECL+F also
 pron vi aux prt pron vi prt

"If they come here, they will die."

177 *Faya me me nonoki hia me me me*
 faya me me no- noki hi- to- ha+F me , me me
 so 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP wait for OC CH AUX 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S
 conj pron pron vt aux pron pron pron

nonoki hiemetemoneke
 no- noki hi- to- ha -hemete -mone -ke
 DUP wait for OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux

'They waited for them a long time.'

178 *Me me nonoki hia me me me*
 me me no- noki hi- to- ha+F me , me me
 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP wait for OC CH AUX 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron pron vt aux pron pron pron

nonoki hia me kamaki watora
 no- noki hi- to- ha+F me , ka -makI.NFIN wato -ra+F
 DUP wait for OC CH AUX 3PL.S go/come following know NEG
 vt aux pron vi vt

me me kamaki wawato
 me , me ka -makI.NFIN wa- wato
 3PL.POSS 3PL.S go/come following DUP know
 pron pron vi vt

toaremetemoneke
 to- ha -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'They waited for them a long time. They waited for them, but they didn't come. They never came back.'

179 *Me kakamaki toaremetemoneke*
 me ka- ka -makI to- ha -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S DUP go/come following CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

'They never came back.'

180 *Me me nonoki hia me kamakira*
 me me no- noki hi- to- ha+F me ka -makI -ra+F
 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP wait for OC CH AUX 3PL.S go/come following NEG
 pron pron vt aux pron vi

me yama , yama hiwe awa me natafa me Yama te
 me yama , yama hiwe awa me na- tafa+F me yama tee
 3PL.S thing dry season garden 3PL.S CAUS eat 3PL.S thing 2PL.S
 pron nf nf nf pron vt pron nf pron

kakatoma
 ka- katoma
 COMIT look at
 vt

'They waited for them a long time. They didn't come. In the dry season they planted gardens. "Be vigilant."¹⁵⁶

156 There is a word after *yama hiwe* that is unclear.

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

181 *Yama te kakatomibe*
 yama tee ka- katoma -be
 thing 2PL.S COMIT look at IMMED+F
 nf pron vt

"Be vigilant."

182 *Te totokomahi*
 tee to- to- ka -ma -hi
 2PL.S DUP away go/come back IMP+F
 pron vi

"When one goes, another take his place."

183 *Tinarabo hawi ya tiwariyahi*
 ti- narabo hawi.NOM ya ti- waa -ra -yahi
 2SG.POSS ear work ADJU 2SG.S stand NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pn vi prt vi

"When you hear something, don't stay standing."

184 *Tika kana ni kamiyahi*
 ti- ka kana na.NFIN ka -ma -yahi
 2SG.POSS POSS run AUX go/come back DIST.IMP+F
 prt vi aux vi

"Come running."

185 *Me tiwi ya , tinowati ka ya*
 me ti- awa.NOM+F ya ti- nowati ka ya
 3PL.O 2SG.S see ADJU 2SG.POSS behind LOC ADJU
 pron vt prt pn prt prt

tinokosi ya me kami tiwi ya
 ti- nokosi ya me ka -ma.NFIN ti- awa.NOM+F ya
 2SG.POSS in front of ADJU 3PL.S go/come back 2SG.S see ADJU
 pn prt pron vi vt prt

waha tina
 waha ti- to- na
 turn 2SG.S CH AUX
 vi aux

"If you see them in back of you or in front of you, go off the trail."

186 *Tika kana ni tokiya ha ya*
 ti- ka kana na.NFIN to- ka -yahi haa ya
 2SG.POSS POSS run AUX away go/come DIST.IMP+F DEM ADJU
 prt vi aux vi dem prt

"Run away."¹⁵⁷

187 *Fa witi ka ya tika kana ni*
 faha witi ka ya ti- ka kana na.NFIN
 stream edge LOC ADJU 2SG.POSS POSS run AUX
 nf pn prt prt prt vi aux

kabasawamibeya ahi
 ka -basa -waha -ma -be -ya ahi
 go/come edge change back IMMED+F now then
 vi dem

"Run along the stream back to the village."

157 There is a phrase in Portuguese at the beginning, that means, "Go off into the forest, run along the stream, arrive at the village."

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

188 *Hawi homabasi nofa amake*
 hawi homa -basa nofa+F ama -ke
 trail lie on ground edge recently SEC DECL+F
 nf vi prt sec

"There is a trail along the stream."

189 *Me totowama omatibe*
 me to- to- awa -ma o- na -mata -be
 3PL.O DUP away see back 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F
 pron vt aux

"I'm going to look at them."

190 *Tokome tokome ma*
 to- ka -ma+M to- ka -ma+M maa
 away go/come back away go/come back stop
 vi vi vi
tonamamatamona amake hike ya
 to- na -ma.NOM+M -mata -mona ama -ke hike ya
 away AUX back FP.N+M REP+M be DECL+F far ADJU
 aux vc nf prt

'He went. He went. He stopped out a ways.'

191 *Base Kabi amake ahi*
 Base Kabi ama -ke ahi
 (name of stream) be DECL+F there
 npropf vc dem

"It's the Base Kabi stream."

192 *Base Kabi ya ma toname Me*
 Base Kabi ya maa to- na -ma+M me
 (name of stream) ADJU stop away AUX back 3PL.S
 npropf prt vi aux pron

kamakira me awineke
 ka -makI -ra+F me awine -ke
 go/come following NEG 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
 vi pron sec

'He stopped at the Base Kabi stream. "I guess they didn't come."

193 *Yama kakakatoma kawahe ya yana tone*
 yama ka- ka- katoma ka- na -waha.NOM+M ya yana to- na+M
 thing DUP COMIT look at COMIT AUX change ADJU start away AUX
 nf vt aux prt vi aux

kame Totokoma tosi
 ka -ma+M to- to- ka -ma to- na -sii
 go/come back DUP away go/come back CH AUX slowly along the way
 vi vi aux

obe
 o- na -be
 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 sound

'He looked for a while and then left. He came back. "I'll go back slowly."

194 *Kakama tosi ne kiki*
 ka- ka -ma to- na -sii na+M ki- kii
 DUP go/come back CH AUX slowly along the way AUX DUP look
 vi aux aux vi

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

202 *Titati* *afone* *me* *yome* *nawahabanani*
 ti- tati *afone* me yome na -waha -habana -ni
 2SG.POSS head soft core 3PL.S swallow AUX change FUT+F BKG+F
 pn pn pron vt aux

"They are going to eat your brains."

203 *Yama* *watoterawara* *amake* , *yima* *mati*
 yama wato -tee -rawa -ra+F ama -ke yima mati
 thing be afraid HAB F.PL NEG SEC DECL+F Yima 3PL
 nf vi sec npropm pron

"The Yimas aren't afraid."

204 *Me* *nowati* , *me* *nowati* *bote* *tokoma* *me*
 me nowati me nowati bote to- ka -ma+F me
 3PL.POSS after 3PL.POSS after old away go/come back 3PL.POSS
 pron pn pron pn adj vi pron
tame *tokomasa* *na* *me* *awineke*
 tame to- ka -ma -saa na+F me awineke -ke
 footprint+F away go/come back still AUX 3PL.POSS seem+F DECL+F
 pn vi aux pron sec

"The footprints of them going away are still there."

205 *Me* *tame* *tokomarake*
 me tame to- ka -ma -hara -ke
 3PL.POSS footprint+F away go/come back IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron pn vi

"There are footprints of them going away."

206 *Atabo* *tai* *nisararake*
 atabo tai na -risa -ra -hara -ke
 mud step on AUX down NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
 nf result aux

"No one made new footprints."

207 *Yama* *ka* *ya* *ookahara* *oke* *ahi* ,
 yama ka ya o- o- to- ka -hara ke ahi
 forest LOC ADJU DUP 1SG.S away go/come IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F there
 nf prt prt vi prt dem

fa *tori* *karo*
 faha tori karo
 stream bed+F LOC
 nf pn prt

"I go in the forest, near a stream."

208 *Atabo* *tai* *onisara*
 atabo tai o- na -risa -ra+F
 mud step on 1SG.S AUX down NEG
 nf vt aux

"I don't walk in the mud."

209 *Te* *owa* , *manakobisa* *te* *owa* *tokomatasa*
 tee owa manakobisa tee owa to- ka -ma -tasa.LIST
 2PL.POSS man then 2PL.POSS man away go/come back again
 pron nm conj pron nm vi

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

, **manakobisa te owa tokomatasa** ,
 manakobisa tee owa to- ka -ma -tasa.LIST
 then 2PL.POSS man away go/come back again
 conj pron nm vi

nebanaka
 na -hibana -ka
 AUX FUT+M DECL+M
 aux

"You take turns going."

210 **Ee ha owabanake**
 ee haa owa -bana -ke
 yes DEM 1SG FUT DECL+F
 interj dem pron

"All right, I will go."

211 **Ha owabanani**
 haa owa -bana -ni
 DEM 1SG.O FUT IP.N+F
 dem pron

"I will be the one."

212 **Sa okanibote onebanaka** ,
 saa o- ka- na -bote o- na -hibana -ka
 shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX quickly 1SG.S AUX FUT+M DECL+M
 vt aux aux

kana onaba owa
 kana o- na -haba owa
 run 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S
 vi aux pron

"I will shoot him quickly, and run."

213 **Sa okanibote onebanaka** ,
 saa o- ka- na -bote o- na -hibana -ka
 shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX quickly 1SG.S AUX FUT+M DECL+M
 vt aux aux

me kana ni wete tonamaba mati
 me kana na.NFIN wete to- na -ma -haba mati
 3PL.S run AUX return away AUX back FUT+F 3PL.POSS
 pron vi aux vi aux pron

"I will shoot him quickly, and they will go running back."

214 **Faya tokome tokome yama**
 faya to- ka -ma+M to- ka -ma+M yama
 so away go/come back away go/come back thing
 conj vi vi nf

towamatase Timete ka waso
 to- awa -ma -tasa+M ti- mete ka waso
 away see back again 2SG.POSS rear POSS leaf
 vt pn prt nf

kafoririyahi
 ka- forI -ra -yahi
 COMIT lie on top NEG DIST.IMP+F
 vi

'He went again. He went. He went and looked. "Don't leave the leaves of your rear end on the log."

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

215 *Waso koro tikawitiyahi*
 waso koro ti- to- ka- na -witI -yahi
 leaf throw 2SG.S away COMIT AUX out DIST.IMP+F
 nf vt aux

tiwitari karo
 ti- ita -rI.NOM karo
 2SG.S sit raised surface which
 vi prt

"Throw the leaves that you sit on away."

216 *Titeme tinawatarihi*
 ti- teme ti- na- wata -rihi
 2SG.POSS footprint 2SG.S CAUS be located NEG.LIST
 pn vt

"Don't leave footprints."

217 *Oteme onawatarara oke*
 o- teme o- na- wata -ra -hara o- ke
 1SG.POSS footprint 1SG.S CAUS be located NEG IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 pn vt prt

"I didn't leave footprints."

218 *Faya tokome tokome , yama noki ne*
 faya to- ka -ma+M to- ka -ma+M , yama noki na+M
 so away go/come back away go/come back thing wait for AUX
 conj vi vi nf vt aux

towitareme iitari
 to- ita -rI -ma+M , i- ita -rI
 away sit raised surface back DUP sit raised surface
 vi vi

kawahe ya yana ne kame
 ka- na -waha.NOM+M ya yana na+M ka -ma+M ,
 COMIT AUX change ADJU get up AUX go/come back
 aux prt vi aux vi

kamematamonaka
 ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He went. He went. He sat waiting. After sitting for a while, he got up. He came back.'

219 *Kame yama , yama*
 ka -ma+M yama yama
 go/come back thing thing
 vi nf nf

honatasaremetemoneke
 hona -tasa -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 have something again NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'He came back. There wasn't anyone there.'

220 *Faya yama honatasara , kame kobo*
 faya yama hona -tasa -ra+F , ka -ma+M kobo
 so thing have something again NEG go/come back arrive
 conj nf vi vi vi

THEY ESCAPED FROM THE YIMAS

name **ya** **me** **amo** **tasa** , **manakobisa** **owa**
na -ma.NOM+M ya me amo na -tasa+F , manakobisa owa
AUX back ADJU 3PL.S sleep AUX again then other+M
aux prt pron vi aux conj adj

tokomatasa , **me** **me** **yobi**
to- ka -ma -tasa.LIST , me me yobi
away go/come back again 3PL.O 3PL.S go back and forth
vi pron pron vi

hikana **me** , **me** **kakamaki**
hi- ka- na+F me , me ka- ka -makI
OC COMIT AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP go/come following
aux pron pron vi

toaremetemone **me** **amake** .
to- ha -ra -hemete -mone me ama -ke
CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F
aux pron sec

"There wasn't anyone there again. He came back. He got back, and they slept. Then another one went. They kept going after them. They didn't ever come."

221 **Me** **kamakira** **me** .
me ka -makI -ra+F me
3PL.S go/come following NEG 3PL.S
pron vi pron

"They didn't come."

MAYAWARI (2)

Free Translation

Those were the ones I told you about, the ones who planned to attack again, who cut up Mayawari.

Mayawari was going to wait [for game] at a *ko* tree.

"Mayawari."

"Huh?"

"Are you going to wait for game at the *ko* tree?"

"Yes, I am going to wait for game at the *ko* tree."

They went out to find them, and this is what the Yimas wanted. Mayawari set out to wait for game at the *ko* tree. He came singing. He was with his son. His son sang with him.

"Sing the song."

Mayawari's son sang with him. He came singing. He was going to wait for game at the *ko* tree, and he sang late in the afternoon. It's good to look at what is far ahead, but he was absorbed in the song.

The Yima was probably aiming [his spear] at him. "If I wanted to, I could spear you," he probably said. He was on the one side. His spear point broke on a *wakaro* tree.

There was another Yima on the other side.

There was a Yima woman lying there. Her vagina was open.

"Fiko, fiko, fiko. [He imitated the call of alarm of a brown capuchin as he fled off the trail into the forest.] Boy, there is something lying there."

The boy cried out. "Father, father."

He came back quickly. He came running back. He grabbed his son's arm. He ran with his son. He went running off into the forest with his son.

The point of the spear was stuck in the tree. "Koro" it went as he threw it, but he missed him. It went "karo" as it hit the *wakaro* tree.

"Oh no, I missed the game."

He went running up the hill, but there was another one waiting with a spear. He was aiming at him. He hit him.

"Aya."

He laughed at him. Mayawari cried out. He also killed Mayawari's son.

They left. They took him.

"Shall we cut him up?"

"Yes, you cut him up. We will carry him in pieces."

"You gut his son. Drape his son's intestines along a pole. Let them see his intestines."

So they took out his intestines. His intestines were extended along some sticks. His son's intestines were stuffed in the opening of split sticks.

When he came, he had been carrying arrows, but wasn't thinking. I don't know.

"Mayawari didn't come back. Go look at Mayawari. He said he was going to wait for game at the *ko* tree. He said he was going to come back right away. He disappeared with his boy."

He went. He apparently didn't take any arrows.

MAYAWARI (2)

"If he would have been alert, the enemy wouldn't have speared him," they always said.

He went. "They ate my son-in-law."

"Yooohoo," he said.

"Yooohoo," answered the Yima.

"I'm here, Mayawari's son-in-law. I want to die now that my father-in-law Mayawari is dead." The Yima appeared right away.

Mayawari's son-in-law looked. He stood for a bit. After he stood for a bit, the Yima, who had come into the area, spoke.

"He called out. Where is he?"

He ran really fast. He had arrows, he should have shot him. He came running back.

"Where are you?" The Yima called out, but no one was there.

He kept on running. He came on. When he got back, "Mayawari...Mayawari was speared by the Yimas. His son died with him."

Mayawari's son's father-in-law got right up. He grabbed some arrows. He went out. The two of them went running. They didn't find them.

They came back during the night. They appeared.

"He ate my nephew and left."

The ones who killed disappeared.

Interlinear Presentation

1	Me	ati	yama	wati		kanamani		afa
	me	ati	yama	wati		ka- na -ma -hani		afa
	3PL.POSS	voice	thing	plan against		COMIT AUX back IP.N+F		this+F
	pron	pn	nf	vt		aux		dem

memetemone		me	okominaro		me	amake	ahi
me -mete -mone		me	o- kamina -haro		me	ama -ke	ahi
3PL FP.N+F REP+F		3PL.O	1SG.S tell RP.E+F		3PL.O	SEC DECL+F	then
pron		pron	vt		pron	sec	dem

Mayawari	me	bobi	nemetemone		mati
Mayawari	me	bobi	na -hemete -mone		mati
(man's name)	3PL.S	slit	AUX FP.N+F REP+F		3PL.S
npropm	pron	vt	aux		pron

'Those were the ones I told you about, the ones who planned to attack again, who cut up Mayawari.'

2	Hoo	Mayawari	ko	karayawahebona		Mayawari
	hoo	Mayawari	koo	karayawaha -hibona		Mayawari
	whew	(man's name)	tree sp	wait at INT+M		(man's name)
	interj	npropm	nf	vt		npropm

'Mayawari was going to wait [for game] at a ko tree. "Mayawari."'

3	Hoo
	hoo
	huh?
	interj

""Huh?""

4	Ko	tikarawibana				
	koo	ti- karayawaha+F -bana				
	tree sp	2SG.S wait at		FUT		
	nf	vt				

""Are you going to wait for game at the ko tree?""

MAYAWARI (2)

5 *Ee* , *ko* *okarayawabone* *okene*
 ee , koo o- karayawaha -habone o- ke -ne
 yes tree sp 1SG.S wait at INT+F 1SG.S DECL+F IRR+F
 interj nf vt prt

"Yes, I am going to wait for game at the *ko* tree."

6 *Me* *atinihi* *ya* *me* *atinihi* *ya* *me*
 me ati -ni -hi ya me ati -ni -hi ya me
 3PL.POSS voice IP.N+F DUP ADJU 3PL.POSS voice IP.N+F DUP ADJU 3PL.O
 pron pn prt pron pn prt pron

me *yobi* *hikana* *me* , *Mayawari* *ko*
 me yobi hi- ka- na+F me , Mayawari koo
 3PL.S go back and forth OC COMIT AUX 3PL.O (man's name) tree sp
 pron vi aux pron npropm nf

karayawahebona *yana* *tonematamona*
 karayawaha -hibona yana to- na -himata -mona
 wait at INT+M start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vt vi aux

'They went out to find them, and this is what the Yimas wanted. Mayawari set out to wait for game at the *ko* tree.'

7 *Ayaki* *kame* *ayaki* *yana* *tone* , *biti*
 ayaka.NFIN ka -ma+M ayaka.NFIN yana to- na+M , biti
 sing go/come back sing start CH AUX 3SG.POSS.son
 vi vi vi vi aux nm

fame *biti* *ayaki* *wara* *tona* *hine* ,
 fama+M biti ayaka.NFIN wara to- na.LIST hi- na+M ,
 be with 3SG.POSS.son sing respond to CH AUX OC AUX
 vi nm vi vt aux aux

biti *ayaki* *wara* *tona* *hinematamonaka*
 biti ayaka.NFIN wara to- na.LIST hi- na -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS.son sing grab CH AUX OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vi vt aux aux

'He came singing. He was with his son. His son sang with him.'

8 *Biti* *fame* , *biti* , *Ayaka* *wara*
 biti fama+M , biti , Ayaka wara
 3SG.POSS.son be with 3SG.POSS.son song respond to
 nm vi nm nf vt

tinahi
 ti- to- na -hi
 2SG.S CH AUX IMP+F
 aux

'He was with his son. "Sing the song."'

9 *Mayawari* *biti* *ayaki* *wara* *tona* *hine*
 Mayawari biti ayaka.NFIN wara to- na.LIST hi- na+M
 (man's name) 3SG.POSS.son sing respond to CH AUX OC AUX
 npropm nm vi vt aux aux

ayaki *kame* *ko* *karayawahebona* *bai* *toke*
 ayaka.NFIN ka -ma+M koo karayawaha -hibona bahi to- ka.NOM+M
 sing go/come back tree sp wait at INT+M sun away go/come
 vi vi nf vt nm vi

MAYAWARI (2)

ya ayaka hiri ne , hihike ya e noko fiya
 ya ayaka hiri na+M , hike- hike ya ee noko fiya
 ADJU song say AUX DUP far ADJU 1IN.POSS eye pass
 prt nf vt aux nf prt pron pn vi

tokasamate
 to- ka- na -kosa -ma -tee , ayaka noko
 away COMIT AUX middle back HAB song attraction
 aux nf pn

tonihamako
 to- niha- ha -mako
 CH CAUS be for this reason+M
 vt

'Mayawari's son sang with him. He came singing. He was going to wait for game at the *ko* tree, and he sang late in the afternoon. It's good to look at what is far ahead, but he was absorbed in the song.'

10 **Boke hinemata awaka ahi**
 boke hi- na -himata awa -ka ahi
 threaten OC AUX FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M then
 vt aux sec dem

'He was probably aiming [his spear] at him.'

11 **Tiwa otibote onene ama oke ati**
 tiwa o- ita -bote o- na -hene ama o- ke ati
 2SG.O 1SG.S pierce quickly 1SG.S AUX IRR+F SEC 1SG.S DECL+F say
 pron vt aux sec prt vt

nemata awane
 na -himata awa -ne
 AUX FP.N+M seem+M BKG+M
 aux sec

'If I wanted to, I could spear you," he probably said.'

12 **Ha ya , ha ya wematamonaka**
 haa ya haa ya waa -himata -mona -ka
 DEM ADJU DEM ADJU stand FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 dem prt dem prt vi

'He was on the other side.'

13 **Hinaka wabise ini waineke wakaro ya**
 hinaka wabise ini waa -ne -ke wakaro ya
 3SG.POSS spear point+F be located CONT+F DECL+F tree sp ADJU
 pron nf pn vi nm prt

'His spear point broke on a *wakaro* tree.'

14 **Ha ya owa wa**
 haa ya owa waa.LIST
 DEM ADJU other+M stand
 dem prt adj vi

'There was another Yima on the other side.'

15 **Yama homemetemoneke**
 yama homa -hemete -mone -ke
 thing lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi

'There was [a Yima woman] lying there.'

MAYAWARI (2)

16	Yama	awa	nakemetemoneke		hinaka	yama noko
	yama	awa	na -kI -hemete -mone -ke		hinaka	yama noko
	thing	be open	AUX coming FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F		3SG.POSS	vagina
	nf	vi	aux		pron	nm

'Her vagina was open.'

17	Fiko		fiko		fiko	inamate	yama
	fiko		fiko		fiko	inamate	yama
	(cry of capuchin)		(cry of capuchin)		(cry of capuchin)	child	thing
	vi		vi		vi	nm	nf

homini

homa -ni
lie on ground BKG+F

vi

"'Fiko, fiko, fiko. Boy, there is something lying there.'"

18	Inamate	e	kanematamonane			
	inamate	ee	ka- na -himata -mona -ne			
	child	yell	COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M			
	nm	vi	aux			

'The boy cried out.'

19	Inamate	e	kanematamona		amane
	inamate	ee	ka- na -himata -mona	ama -ne	
	child	yell	COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M	SEC BKG+M	
	nm	vi	aux	sec	

'The boy cried out.'

20	Ee	abi	abi	abi	abi
	ee	abi	abi	abi	abi
	(crying out)	father	father	father	father
	interj	nm	nm	nm	nm

"'Father, father.'"

21	Wete	kabote	nematamonaka		ahi
	wete	na -kabote	na -himata -mona -ka		ahi
	return	AUX quickly	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M		then
	vi	aux	aux		dem

'He came back quickly.'

22	Kana	ni	kame		biti	mano	wara	tone
	kana	na.NFIN	ka -ma+M		biti	mano	wara	to- na+M
	run	AUX	go/come back		3SG.POSS.son	arm+M	grab	CH AUX
	vi	aux	vi		nm	pn	vt	aux

biti

biti , bete **kawahematamonaka**
3SG.POSS.son run ka- na -waha -himata -mona -ka
nm vi aux COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

'He came running back. He grabbed his son's arm. He ran with his son.'

23	Biti	bete	kawe		waha	tonematamonaka
	biti	bete	ka- na -waha+M		waha	to- na -himata -mona -ka
	3SG.POSS.son	run	COMIT AUX change		turn	CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	nm	vi	aux		vi	aux

'He went running off into the forest with his son.'

MAYAWARI (2)

24 **Wabise ini waineke**
 wabise ini waa -ne -ke
 spear point+F be located CONT+F DECL+F
 nf pn vi

'The point of the spear was stuck in the tree.'

25 **Koro hani hinihe rama ahi**
 koro hani hi- to- niha- na+M rama ahi
 (sound of something being thrown) miss OC CH CAUS AUX unusual then
 sound vt aux prt dem

'"Koro" it went as he threw it, but he missed him.'

26 **Karo wakaro**
 karo wakaro
 (sound of spear hitting tree) tree sp
 sound nm

'It went "karo" as it hit the *wakaro* tree.'

27 **Haha oko bani hasi neba amakara**
 haha o- ka bani hasi na -hiba ama -kara
 *** 1SG.POSS POSS animal escape AUX FUT+M SEC ?+M
 interj prt nm vi aux vc

'"Oh no, I missed the game."

28 **Bete ni tokomisame wabise rama ahi**
 bete na.NFIN to- ka -misa -ma+M wabise rama ahi
 run AUX away go/come up back spear unusual there
 vi aux vi nf prt dem

'He went running up the hill, but there was another one waiting with a spear.'

29 **Ma hikane rama ahi**
 maa hi- ka- na+M rama ahi
 stop OC COMIT AUX unusual then
 vi aux prt dem

'He was aiming at him.'

30 **Hitehimatamonaka ahi**
 hi- ita -himata -mona -ka ahi
 OC pierce FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt dem

'He hit him.'

31 **Aya**
 aya
 (expression of pain)
 interj

'"Aya."

32 **Faya haha hikanematamonaka ahi**
 faya haahaa hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 so laugh OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj vi aux dem

'He laughed at him.'

MAYAWARI (2)

33 *Mayawari* *kiya* *kane* *Mayawari* *biti* *nabowa*
 Mayawari kiya ka- na+M Mayawari biti na- aboha
 (man's name) yell COMIT AUX (man's name) 3SG.POSS.son CAUS die
 npropm vi aux npropm nm vt

nematamonaka *ahi*
 na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'Mayawari cried out. He also killed Mayawari's son.'

34 *Faya* *me* *tokoma* *me* , *me*
 faya me to- ka -ma+F me , me
 so 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron pron

hiwakame *Bobi* *naba* ?
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma+M bobi na -ba
 OC away COMIT go/come back slit AUX IMMED+M
 vt vt aux

'They left. They took him. "Shall we cut him up?'"

35 *Ee* , *bobi* *tinaho*
 ee , bobi ti- na -ho
 yes slit 2SG.S AUX IMP+M
 interj vt aux

""Yes, you cut him up.""

36 *E* *ibori* *nebanaka*
 ee ibori na -hibana -ka
 1IN.S carry AUX FUT+M DECL+M
 pron vt aux

""We will carry him in pieces.""

37 *Biti* *yoto* *titiho*
 biti yoto ti- iti -ho
 3SG.POSS.son intestines+M 2SG.S take out IMP+M
 nm pn vt

""You gut his son.""

38 *Biti* *yoto* *sawi* *tikanisa* *ahi*
 biti yoto sawi ti- ka- na -risa ahi
 3SG.POSS.son intestines+M drape 2SG.S COMIT AUX down there
 nm pn vt aux dem

""Drape his son's intestines along a pole.""

39 *Yoto* *me* *hiwabaya*
 yoto me hi- awa -ba -ya
 intestines+M 3PL.S OC see IMMED+M now
 pn pron vt

""Let them see his intestines.""

40 *Faya* *yoto* *me* *hiti* *yoto* *me* , *awa* *baka*
 faya yoto me hi- iti+M yoto me , awa baka
 so intestines+M 3PL.S OC take out intestines+M 3PL tree break
 conj pn pron vt pn pron nf result

MAYAWARI (2)

na ya yoto fito nawa
na+F ya yoto fito na -waha
AUX ADJU intestines+M run AUX change
aux prt pn vi aux

tonamakehitematamonaka

to- na -makI -hitI -himata -mona -ka ahi
away AUX following along the way FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
aux dem

'So they took out his intestines. His intestines were extended along some sticks.'

41 **Biti yoto hete kanisa faya**
biti yoto hete ka- na -risa.LIST faya
3SG.POSS.son intestines+M stick in COMIT AUX down so
nm pn result aux conj

kame wati tama kane hiwa awaremata
ka -ma+M wati tama ka- na+M hiwa awa -ra -himata
go/come back arrow hold onto COMIT AUX 3SG.REFL.M see NEG FP.N+M
vi nm vt aux pron vt

awaka

awa -ka
seem+M DECL+M
sec

'His son's intestines were stuffed in the opening of split sticks. When he came, he had been carrying arrows, but wasn't thinking.'

42 **E awakere**
ee awa -ke -re
1IN.S see DECL+F NEG+F
pron vt

'I don't know.'

43 **Mayawari Mayawari Mayawari Mayawari kakama**
Mayawari Mayawari Mayawari Mayawari ka- ka -ma
(man's name) (man's name) (man's name) (man's name) DUP go/come back
npropm npropm npropm npropm vi

re Mayawari totowamake tinahi ko
na -ra+M Mayawari to- to- awa -makI ti- na -hi koo
AUX NEG (man's name) DUP away see following 2SG.S AUX IMP+F tree sp
aux npropm vt aux nf

yete kanebona ati ne kamakabote nebona ati
yete ka- na -hibona ati na+M ka -ma -kabote na -hibona ati
hunt COMIT AUX INT+M say AUX go/come back quickly AUX INT+M say
vt aux vt aux vi aux vt aux vt

ne inamate fame fawa naka
na+M inamate fama+M fawa na.CONT+M -ka
AUX child be with disappear AUX DECL+M
aux nm vi vi aux

""Mayawari didn't come back. Go look at Mayawari. He said he was going to wait for game at the ko tree. He said he was going to come back right away. He disappeared with his boy.""

44 **Tokomake wati tama karemata**
to- ka -makI wati tama ka- na -ra -himata
away go/come following arrow hold onto COMIT AUX NEG FP.N+M
vi nm vt aux

MAYAWARI (2)

awaka

awa -ka
seem+M DECL+M
sec

'He went. He apparently didn't take any arrows.'

45 *Hine* *kabanamine* *rama* *hinamati*
hine ka- habana -ma.NOM+F -ne rama hinamati
3.REFL COMIT order someone against back IRR+F unusual someone
pron vt prt nm

sa *hikaremeteni* , *me* *aati*
saa hi- ka- na -ra -hemete -ni me a- ati
shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX NEG FP.N+F BKG+F 3PL.S DUP say
vt aux pron vt

toimaro *amani*
to- ha.NOM+F -maro ama -ni
CH AUX FP.E+F be BKG+F
aux vc

"If he would have been alert, the enemy wouldn't have speared him," they always said.'

46 *Faya* *tokomakematamonaka*
faya to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
so away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
conj vi

'He went.'

47 *Tokomake* , *Oko* *koma* *me* ,
to- ka -makI o- ka koma me
away go/come following 1SG.POSS POSS son-in-law 3PL
vi prt nm pron

oko *koma* *me* *kabakeni*
o- ka koma me kaba -ke -ni
1SG.POSS POSS son-in-law 3PL.S eat DECL+F IP.N+F
prt nm pron vt

'He went. "They ate my son-in-law."

48 *Hee* *ati* *nematamonaka*
hee ati na -himata -mona -ka
hey say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
interj vt aux

"Yoohoo," he said.'

49 *Hee*
hee
hey
interj

"Yoohoo."

50 *Mayawari* *ka* *koma* *owa* *naro* *haro*
Mayawari ka koma o- waa.LIST na -haaro haaro
(man's name) POSS son-in-law 1SG.S stand AUX look+F that one+F
npropm prt nm aux aux dem

"I'm here, Mayawari's son-in-law."

MAYAWARI (2)

51 *Mayawari ka koma hasi one oni*
 mayawari ka koma hasi o- na -ne o- ni
 titi POSS son-in-law escape 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 nm prt nm vi aux prt

"I want to die now that my father-in-law Mayawari is dead."

52 *Hibati ya tasi namematamona amane*
 hibati ya tasi na -ma -himata -mona ama -ne
 long time ago ADJU emerge AUX back FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M
 nf prt vi aux sec

'He appeared right away.'

53 *Yama kakatome wawa kawahe wawa*
 yama ka- katoma+M wa- waa ka- na -waha+M wa- waa
 thing COMIT look at DUP stand COMIT AUX change DUP stand
 nf vt vi aux vi
kawahe ya faya tasi nameno ati yana
 ka- na -waha+M ya faya tasi na -ma -hino ati yana
 COMIT AUX change ADJU so emerge AUX back IP.N+M voice start
 aux prt conj vi aux pn vi

tonematamonaka ahi
 to- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'He looked. He stood for a bit. After he stood for a bit, [the Yima], who had come into the area, spoke.'

54 *Ha nareka ahi*
 haa na -hare -ka ahi
 call AUX IP.E+M DECL+M then
 vi aux dem

"He called out."

55 *Hibaka toarani ha*
 hibaka to- ha.NOM+M -rani haa
 where CH be ? DEM
 interrog vc dem

"Where is he?"

56 *Hiwa katomematamonaka ahi*
 hiwa katoma -himata -mona -ka ahi
 3SG.REFL.M kill many FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 pron vt dem

'He ran really fast.'

57 *Wati inamati tama kane osomemata ahi*
 wati inamati tama ka- na+M o- soma -himata ahi
 arrow someone hold onto COMIT AUX 1SG.S let go FP.N+M then
 nm nm vt aux vt dem

'He had arrows, he should have shot him.'

58 *Faya kana ni kame Hibaka tihariya* ?
 faya kana na.NFIN ka -ma+M hibaka ti- to- ha -ri -ya
 so run AUX go/come back where 2SG.S CH be CQ+F now
 conj vi aux vi interrog vc

'He came running back. "Where are you?"'

MAYAWARI (2)

59 **Ha tonakosematamonaka**

haa to- na -kosa -himata -mona -ka
 call CH AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'He called out, but no one was there.'

60 **Kana nasa nematamonaka ahi**

kana na -saa na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 run AUX still AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi aux aux dem

'He kept on running.'

61 **Faya kana nasa ne kame kobo name ya**
 faya kana na -saa na+M ka -ma+M kobo na -ma+M ya
 so run AUX still AUX go/come back arrive AUX back ADJU
 conj vi aux aux vi vi aux prt

Mayawari ee Mayawari yima me itini yamani
 Mayawari ee Mayawari yima me ita.NOM+F -ni yamani
 (man's name) (pause) (man's name) Yima 3PL.S pierce IP.N+F telling
 npropm interj npropm npropm pron vt

'He kept on running. He came on. When he got back, "Mayawari...Mayawari was speared by the Yimas."

62 **Biti fawa tokanenoka**

biti fawa to- ka- na -hino -ka
 3SG.POSS.son disappear CH COMIT AUX IP.N+M DECL+M
 nm vi aux

""His son died with him.""

63 **Kokori yana kabote nematamonaka**

kokori yana na -kabote na -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS.father-in-law get up AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vi aux aux

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'[Mayawari's son's] father-in-law got right up.'

64 **Wati kakitikabote**

wati ka- iti -kabote
 arrow COMIT pick up quickly
 nm vt

'He grabbed some arrows.'

65 **Kokori yana ne tokomake me kana**
 kokori yana na+M to- ka -makI me kana
 3SG.POSS.father-in-law get up AUX away go/come following 3PL.S run
 nm vi aux vi pron vi

ni towakamakia me me me
 na.NFIN to- ka- ka -makI+F me me me
 AUX away COMIT go/come following 3PL.POSS 3PL.O 3PL.S
 aux vi pron pron pron

hiwasimakiremetemoneke

hi- to- wasi -makI -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 OC away find following NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

MAYAWARI (2)

'His father-in-law got up. He went out. The two of them went running. They didn't find them.'

66 *Me kakama naba me me kakama*
 me ka- ka -ma na nahaba+F me me ka- ka -ma
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back AUX at night 3PL.S 3PL.S COMIT go/come back
 pron vi aux pron pron vi
naba me kafotomimetemone ama
 na nahaba+F me ka- foto -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone ama
 AUX at night 3PL.S COMIT appear back FP.N+F REP+F be
 aux pron vi vc

'They came back during the night. They appeared.'

67 *Oko bitimi kabeno tokoma*
 o- ka bitimi kaba -hino to- ka -ma.CONT+M
 1SG.POSS POSS nephew eat IP.N+M away go/come back
 prt nm vt vi

'He ate my nephew and left.'

68 *Faya me ihi itiha me fafawa toa me*
 faya me ihi iti+F me fa- fawa to- ha+F me
 so 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist 3PL.S DUP disappear CH AUX 3PL.S
 conj pron pn vi pron vi aux pron

'The ones who killed disappeared.'

THE YIMA WHO STOLE THE CHILDREN

Free Translation

Did I tell the story about the man who carried the children? Yes, I told it.

The children always played. They were this big, the children [pointing to some children nearby].

The Yima came carrying a big basket. He watched them. He looked to see if there was an adult with them. There weren't any adults.

"There are just children."

He came on. He came. He put the big basket on the ground.

"There is someone coming," said the children.

"Younger brother," said the Yima.

"Huh?"

"Brothers, come here. I want to carry you. There are lots of children. All of you come here. I'm going to carry all of you."

He put them into the basket. He put them all in. He put the children in. He lifted the children up on his back.

"Father, father."

Someone heard and went running back to the village.

"Brother-in-law, a stranger grabbed your sons as they were bathing. They went crying that way."

"My sons are bathing."

He pulled out some arrows [that were stuck in the thatch]. The two of them went right away. They went running. He caught up fast as they were on the way. He heard the child crying.

"Father, Father."

"Hey, stop crying. You are going to eat. Don't cry. You are going to eat a banana. I have bananas in the house."

Someone was coming who would knock the bananas over. He came. He didn't stop at all.

The Yima didn't have a weapon, he was only carrying the basket. He came running. The boy's crying prevented him from hearing. He didn't hear him.

He shot him with an arrow.

"He is carrying my sons."

"Saki," went the arrow.

"Aya, aya," he said. He cried out.

His brother-in-law shot him again. He threw the children with the basket and they went sprawling. He shot him in the armpit. He was tottering. They shot him again.

"Come on, he is lying there [dead]."

"Because you didn't come home right away [from bathing at the stream], you have been crying on the trail."

He grabbed the basket the Yima had carried the children in. He threw the basket away.

"Let the basket lay there. Come on, you go ahead."

They came back. He arrived with his sons.

THE YIMA WHO STOLE THE CHILDREN

"Look at what they did. They are going to die now. They are going to be shot now. They are evil. Let's shoot them now."

"I went after he as he ran carrying the children, and shot him."

"My son is always loud when he is bathing."

"We were playing. He came to us. He came, and he called me impersonating my older brother. He called me impersonating my older brother, and he put me inside the basket. My older brother cried out. But I didn't cry out. I was inside holding onto my older brother."

"You shouldn't have been playing. He almost took you away."

They ate back at the village.

"I got the children back before he could eat them. I didn't stop, because it was my son. If he had had a weapon, he would have missed me anyway. I wasn't afraid he would kill me when I went after him. He was running slowly, but I ran fast."

So he died. I was remembering about the children who he took.

Interlinear Presentation

1	Okominine	oniroho		mate	weye
	o- kamina -ne	o- na.NOM+F -ro -ho		matehe	weye
	1SG.S tell CONT+F	1SG.S AUX RP.E+F DUP		children	carry
	vt	aux		nf	vt

	nematamonaha				
	na -himata -mona -ha	?			
	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP				
	aux				

'Did I tell the story about the man who carried the children?'

2	Ee	okominaro		amake	
	ee	o- kamina -haro		ama -ke	
	yes	1SG.S tell RP.E+F		SEC DECL+F	
	interj	vt		sec	

'Yes, I told it.'

3	Afa	me	siwa	nofara		me	ama	haro
	afa	me	siwa	na nofa	-ra+F	me	ama	haaro
	this+F	3PL.S	play	AUX recently	NEG	3PL.S	SEC	that one+F
	dem	pron	vi	prt		pron	sec	dem

'Children are always playing.'

4	E	me	nemete	me	awineke	ahi	matehe
	ee	me	na -hemete	me	awine -ke	ahi	matehe
	like this	3PL.S	AUX FP.N+F	3PL.S	seem+F DECL+F	this	children
	dem	pron	aux	pron	sec	dem	nf

'They were this big, the children.'

5	Isiri	weye	ni	kake		kane	ahi	isiri	ebote
	isiri	weye	na.NFIN	ka	-kI	ka	-ne	ahi	isiri
	basket	carry	AUX	go/come	coming	DECL	?+M	then	basket
	nf	vt	aux	vi		prt	dem	nf	big adj

ahi
ahi
then
dem

'He came carrying a big basket.'

THE YIMA WHO STOLE THE CHILDREN

6 *Isiri wemetemoneke ahi* .
 isiri waa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 basket stand FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F there
 nf vi dem

'It was a big basket.'

7 *Kake mera kkatome , ebote sawi tabiyo*
 ka -kI mera ka- katoma+M , ehebote sawi.NFIN tabiyo
 go/come coming 3PL.O COMIT look at big be present wanting
 vi pron vt adj vi pn

yama ki ne , yama honara Mate
 yama kii na+M , yama hona -ra+F matehe
 thing look at AUX thing have something NEG children
 nf vt aux nf vi nf

toharani

to- ha -hara -ni
 CH be IP.E+F BKG+F
 vc

'He came. He watched them. He looked to see if there was an adult with them. There weren't any adults.
 "There are just children."

8 *Kakehimatamonaka ahi* .
 ka -kI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem

'He came on.'

9 *Kake , isiri ebote wate , Inamati kake*
 ka -kI , isiri ehebote wata+M , inamati ka -kI
 go/come coming basket big put someone go/come coming
 vi nf adj vt nm vi

fari

faari
 that one+M
 dem

'He came. He put the big basket on the ground. "There is someone coming."

10 *Oof , niso , niso* .
 oof , niso , niso
 hoo younger brother younger brother
 interj nm nm

"Younger brother."

11 *Haa ?*
 haa
 huh?
 interj

"Huh?"

12 *Niso te kama , ahi* .
 niso tee ka -ma , ahi
 younger brother 2PL.S go/come back here
 nm pron vi dem

"Brothers, come here."

THE YIMA WHO STOLE THE CHILDREN

13 **Te weye obeya**
 tee weye o- na -be -ya
 2PL.O carry 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 pron vt aux

"I want to carry you."

14 **Te weye obeya**
 tee weye o- na -be -ya
 2PL.O carry 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 pron vt aux

"I want to carry you."

15 **Mate tama ahi**
 matehe tama+F ahi
 children be many there
 nf vi dem

"There are lots of children."

16 **Te nafi kama ahi te nafi te nafi**
 tee nafi ka -ma ahi tee nafi tee nafi
 2PL.POSS all go/come back here 2PL.POSS all 2PL.POSS all
 pron pn vi dem pron pn pron pn

"All of you come here."

17 **Te weye obeya te nafi ahi**
 tee weye o- na -be -ya tee nafi ahi
 2PL.O carry 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now 2PL.POSS all here
 pron vt aux pron pn dem

"I'm going to carry all of you."

18 **Te nafi weye obeya**
 tee nafi weye o- na -be -ya
 2PL.POSS all carry 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 pron pn vt aux

"I'm going to carry all of you."

19 **Mera te nematamonaka ahi isiri ya**
 mera tee na -himata -mona -ka ahi isiri ya
 3PL.O put inside AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M there basket ADJU
 pron vt aux dem nf prt

'He put them into the basket.'

20 **Me me nafi te ne matehe te**
 me me nafi tee na+M matehe tee
 3PL 3PL.POSS all put inside AUX children put inside
 pron pron pn vt aux nf vt

nematamonaka

na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'He put them all in. He put the children in.'

21 **Mate te ne mate weye namisakabote**
 matehe tee na+M matehe weye na -misa -kabote
 children put inside AUX children carry AUX up quickly
 nf vt aux nf vt aux

THE YIMA WHO STOLE THE CHILDREN

28 *Me fama nariwemetemoneke ahi*
 me fama na -riwaha -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S be two AUX right away FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi aux dem

'The two of them went right away.'

29 *Me kana ni towakamakia , me kana*
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka- ka -makI+F , me kana
 3PL.S run AUX away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S run
 pron vi aux vi pron vi
ni towakamakia , me towakamakia
 na.NFIN to- ka- ka -makI+F , me to- ka- ka -makI+F
 AUX away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following
 aux vi pron vi

me towakamakia me hibati hawahawa
 me to- ka- ka -makI+F me hibati hawa- hawa
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S right away DUP be finished
 pron vi pron nf vi

toa tosi nematamonane
 to- ha to- na -sii na -himata -mona -ne
 CH AUX CH AUX slowly along the way AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 aux aux aux

'They went running. He caught up fast as they were on the way.'

30 *Inamate ohi ni towasimakimatamonaka*
 inamate ohi na.NFIN to- wasi -makI -himata -mona -ka
 child cry AUX away find following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vi aux vt

'He heard the child crying.'

31 *Abi abi abi abi abi , abi abi abi abi*
 abi abi abi abi abi , abi abi abi abi
 father father father father father father father father father
 nm nm nm nm nm nm nm nm nm

""Father, Father.""

32 *Haa , ohi rima tinahi*
 haa , ohi na -rima ti- na -hi
 hey cry AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 interj vi aux aux

""Hey, stop crying.""

33 *Titafibeya*
 ti- tafa -be -ya
 2SG.S eat IMMED+F now
 vi

""You are going to eat.""

34 *Titafibeya*
 ti- tafa -be -ya
 2SG.S eat IMMED+F now
 vi

""You are going to eat.""

THE YIMA WHO STOLE THE CHILDREN

- 35 **Ohi rima tinahi**
 ohi na -rima ti- na -hi
 cry AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux aux
 "Don't cry."
- 36 **Yifari yome tibeya**
 yifari yome ti- na -be -ya
 banana swallow 2SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 nf vt aux
 "You are going to eat a banana."
- 37 **Oko yifari hati ware ama oni**
 o- ka yifari hati waa -rI ama o- ni
 1SG.POSS POSS banana ripe stand raised surface SEC 1SG.POSS BKG+F
 prt nf pn vi sec prt
 "I have bananas in the house."
- 38 **Yifari hati nawariaba kamakine**
 yifari hati na- waa -rI -haba ka -makI -ne
 banana ripe CAUS stand raised surface FUT+F go/come following CONT+F
 nf pn vt vi
fa
 faa
 that
 dem
 'Someone was coming who would knock the bananas over.'
- 39 **Kamakimatamonaka ahi**
 ka -makI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem
 'He came.'
- 40 **Mama rematamonane**
 ma- maa na -ra -himata -mona -ne
 DUP stop AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi aux
 'He didn't stop at all.'
- 41 **Ye honemanaha isiri ta weye ni**
 yehe hona -himanaha isiri taa weye na.NFIN
 hand have something HYPOTH+M basket contrast carry AUX
 pn vi nf prt vt aux
kakematamonane
 ka -kI -himata -mona -ne
 go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi
 'He didn't have a weapon, he was only carrying the basket.'
- 42 **Ye honarematamonane**
 yehe hona -ra -himata -mona -ne
 hand have something NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 pn vi
 'He didn't have a weapon.'

THE YIMA WHO STOLE THE CHILDREN

43 *Kana ni kamakimatamonaka ahi*
 kana na.NFIN ka -makI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 run AUX go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi aux vi dem

'He came running.'

44 *Inamate inamatewe ohi ne ohi ni narabo bari hine*
 inamate inamatewe ohi na+M ohi na.NFIN narabo bari hi- na+M
 child child cry AUX cry AUX ear+M impede OC AUX
 nm nm vi aux vi aux pn vt aux

, *kana ni kamaki moni himitare*
 kana na.NFIN ka -makI+M moni hi- mita -ra+M
 run AUX go/come following sound OC hear NEG
 vi aux vi pn vt

sa hikaneba ama namatamona ahi
 saa hi- ka- na -hiba ama na.NOM+M -mata -mona ahi
 shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX FUT+M be AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 vt aux vc aux dem

'The boy's crying prevented him from hearing. He came running. He didn't hear him. He shot him with an arrow.'

45 *Okatao me weye ne awane*
 okatao me weye na+M awa -ne
 my son 3PL.O carry AUX seem+M BKG+M
 nm pron vt aux sec

'"He is carrying my sons."'

46 *Saki wati nematamona ahi*
 saki wati na -himata -mona ahi
 (sound of arrow hitting flesh) arrow AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 sound nm aux dem

'"Saki," went the arrow.'

47 *Aya aya aya ati*
 aya aya aya ati
 (expression of pain) (expression of pain) say
 interj interj interj vt

nematamonaka ahi
 na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'"Aya, aya," he said.'

48 *Kiya kanematamona*
 kiya ka- na -himata -mona
 yell COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi aux

'He cried out.'

49 *Wabori sa*
 wabori saa
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law shoot with arrow
 nm vt

hikanamematamonaka ahi
 hi- ka- na -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi
 OC COMIT AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

THE YIMA WHO STOLE THE CHILDREN

'His brother-in-law shot him again.'

50 *Matehe* *koro* *tokowite* *matehe* *tiriri*
 matehe koro to- ka- na -witI matehe tiriri
 children throw away COMIT AUX out children many fall
 nf vt aux nf vi

towitiemetemoneke

to- na -witI -hemete -mone -ke
 away AUX out FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'He threw the children with the basket and they went sprawling.'

51 *Fariboti* *sa* *hikane* *rama* *ahi*
 fariboti saa hi- ka- na+M rama ahi
 armpit shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX unusual then
 pn vt aux prt dem

'He shot him in the armpit.'

52 *Kawa* *nawarematamonane*
 ka- waa na -wahaI -himata -mona -ne
 COMIT stand AUX all over FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi aux

'He was tottering.'

53 *Me* *sa* *hikaname* *me* *sa*
 me saa hi- ka- na -ma+M me saa
 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX back 3PL.S shoot with arrow
 pron vt aux pron vt

hine , *Hima* , *homahari* *hari*
 hi- na+M , hima , homa -haari haari
 OC AUX let's go lie on ground look+M that one+M
 aux interj vi dem

'They shot him again. They shot him. "Come on, he is lying there."'

54 *Kamakabote* *tinofa* *tika* *ohi* *ni* *yaka*
 ka -ma -kabote ti- nofa+F ti- ka ohi ni yaka
 go/come back quickly 2SG.S recently 2SG.POSS POSS cry AUX walk
 vi prt prt vi aux vi

nine *ninihi*
 na -ne na.NOM+F -ni -hi
 AUX CONT+F AUX IP.N+F DUP
 aux aux

'"Because you didn't come home right away, you have been crying as you walked on the trail."'

55 *Faya* *mate* , *weye* *nano* *ka* *isiri* , *isiri*
 faya matehe , weye na.NOM+M -no ka isiri , isiri
 so children carry AUX IP.N+M which basket basket
 conj nf vt aux prt nf nf

hiti , *isiri* *koro* *towitimatamonaka*
 hi- iti.LIST , isiri koro to- na -witI -himata -mona -ka
 OC pick up basket throw away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt nf vt aux

'He grabbed the basket the Yima had carried the children in. He threw the basket away.'

THE YIMA WHO STOLE THE CHILDREN

56 *Isiri koro towiti Isiri ita ahi*
 isiri koro to- na -witI+M isiri ita ahi
 basket throw away AUX out basket sit there
 nf vt aux nf vi dem

'He threw the basket away. "Let the basket lay there.'"

57 *Hima te tai toamahi*
 hima tee tai to- ha -ma -hi
 let's go 2PL.S be ahead CH AUX back IMP+F
 interj pron vi aux

"Come on, you go ahead."

58 *Me kamemetemoneke biti me kobo*
 me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke biti me kobo
 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.O arrive
 pron vi nm pron vi

kanamebana

ka- na -ma -hibana
 COMIT AUX back FUT+M
 aux

'They came back. He arrived with his sons.'

59 *Faya biti me kobo kaname Me te*
 faya biti me kobo ka- na -ma+M me tee
 so 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.O arrive COMIT AUX back 3PL.O 2PL.S
 conj nm pron vi aux aux pron pron

kakatomahi

ka- katoma -hi
 COMIT look at IMP+F
 vt

'He arrived with his sons. "Look at what they did.'"

60 *Me abiba na me amani*
 me ahaba.NOM+F -ba na+F me ama -ni
 3PL.S die FUT AUX 3PL.S SEC BKG+F
 pron vi aux pron sec

"They are going to die."

61 *Me abiba na me amani waha*
 me ahaba.NOM+F -ba na+F me ama -ni waha
 3PL.S die FUT AUX 3PL.S SEC BKG+F now
 pron vi aux pron sec prt

"They are going to die now."

62 *Me sa nawahabanake*
 me saa na -waha -habana -ke
 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX change FUT+F DECL+F
 pron result aux

"They are going to be shot now."

63 *Me kakasi raba tera me amani*
 me ka- kasi na -raba na -tee -ra+F me ama -ni
 3PL.S DUP be naughty AUX a bit AUX HAB NEG 3PL.S SEC BKG+F
 pron vi aux aux pron sec

"They are evil."

THE YIMA WHO STOLE THE CHILDREN

64 *Me e tisa nawahibeya*
 me ee tisa na -waha -be -ya
 3PL.S 1IN.S shoot with arrow AUX change IMMED+F now
 pron pron vt aux

"Let's shoot them now."

65 *Mate weye ni kanakana ne sa*
 matehe weye na.NFIN kana- kana na+M saa
 children carry AUX DUP run AUX shoot with arrow
 nf vt aux vi aux vt

okanamakini

o- to- ka- na -makI -ni
 1SG.S away COMIT AUX following BKG+F
 aux

"I went after he as he ran carrying the children, and shot him."

66 *Okatao ati watari ati watari aafi*
 okatao ati wata -ra.NFIN ati wata -ra.NFIN a- afi
 my son voice exist NEG voice exist NEG DUP bathe
 nm pn vi pn vi vi

nofe amane
 na nofa+M ama -ne
 AUX recently SEC BKG+M
 prt sec

"My son is always loud when he is bathing."

67 *Ota siwa na otake*
 otaa siwa na+F otaa -ke
 1EX.S play AUX 1EX.S DECL+F
 pron vi aux pron

"We were playing."

68 *Ota siwa na otani*
 otaa siwa na+F otaa -ni
 1EX.S play AUX 1EX.S BKG+F
 pron vi aux pron

"We were playing."

69 *Kakeareka*
 ka -kI -hare -ka
 go/come coming IP.E+M DECL+M
 vi

"He came to us."

70 *Kake okoyomona owa ha*
 ka -kI o- ka ayo -mona owa haa
 go/come coming 1SG.S go/come older brother REP+M 1SG.O call
 vi nm pron vt

narene

na -hare -ne
 AUX IP.E+M BKG+M
 aux

"He came, and he called me acting like my older brother."

THE YIMA WHO STOLE THE CHILDREN

71 *Okoyomona* *owa* *ha* *ne* *owa*
 o- ka ayo -mona owa haa na+M owa
 1SG.S go/come older brother REP+M 1SG.O call AUX 1SG.O
 nm pron vt aux pron

ibeareka *isiri* *tori* *ya*
 ibI -hare -ka isiri tori ya
 put inside IP.E+M DECL+M basket inside+F ADJU
 vt nf pn prt

"He called me acting like my older brother, and he put me inside the basket."

72 *Faya* *owa* *ibe* , *okaniso* ,
 faya owa ibI o- ka niso
 so 1SG.O put inside 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother
 conj pron vt nm

okaniso *e* *kane* *amaka* *hari*
 o- ka niso ee ka- na+M ama -ka haari
 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother yell COMIT AUX SEC DECL+M that one+M
 nm vi aux sec dem

"He put me inside. My older brother cried out."

73 *E* *okarara* *oke* *ha* *owa*
 ee o- ka- na -ra -hara o- ke haa owa
 yell 1SG.S COMIT AUX NEG IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F DEM 1SG
 vi aux prt dem pron

"But I didn't cry out."

74 *Okaniso* *tama* *ni* *ofoyara*
 o- ka niso tama na.NFIN o- foya -hara
 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother hold onto AUX 1SG.S be inside IP.E+F
 nm vt aux vi

oke
 o- ke
 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt

"I was inside holding onto my older brother."

75 *Te* *siwa* *nene* *te* *ama*
 tee siwa na -hene tee ama
 2PL.S play AUX IRR+F 2PL.S SEC
 pron vi aux pron sec

"You shouldn't have been playing."

76 *Te* *towakamena* *amaka*
 tee to- ka- ka -ma -hina ama -ka
 2PL.O away COMIT go/come back IRR+M SEC DECL+M
 pron vt sec

"He almost took you away."

77 *Faya* *me* , *me* *tafamemetemone* *fahi*
 faya me me tafa -ma -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3PL.S 3PL.S eat back FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron pron vi dem

'They ate back at the village.'

THE YIMA WHO STOLE THE CHILDREN

78 *Me tafama* , *Mate kabehina ka matehe*
 me tafa -ma+F , matehe kaba -hina ka matehe
 3PL.S eat back children eat ?+M which children
 pron vi nf vt prt nf

oyabamakine oni
 o- to- yaba -makI -ne o- ni
 1SG.S away take out following CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vt prt

"They ate back at the village. "I got the children back before he could eat them."

79 *Okataomako ma onamakerara*
 okatao -mako maa o- to- na -makI -ra -hara
 my son for this reason+M stop 1SG.S away AUX following NEG IP.E+F
 nm vi aux

oke
 o- ke
 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt

"I didn't stop, because it was my son."

80 *Ye honehimanaha otaboro itena amaka*
 yehe hona -himanaha o- taboro ita -hina ama -ka
 hand have something HYPOTH+M 1SG.POSS place pierce IRR+M SEC DECL+M
 pn vi pn vt sec

bisa
 bisa
 also
 prt

"If he had had a weapon, he would have missed me anyway."

81 *Owa katomebona onemako*
 owa katoma -hibona ati o- na -mako
 1SG.O attack INT+M say 1SG.S AUX for this reason+M
 pron vt vt

onakamakiarene
 o- to- na- ka -makI -hare -ne
 1SG.S away CAUS go/come following IP.E+M BKG+M
 vt

"I wasn't afraid he would kill me when I went after him."

82 *Kanakana nareka ahi bebete nawamone hiri*
 kana- kana na -hare -ka ahi , be- bete na -waha -hamone hiri
 DUP run AUX IP.E+M DECL+M then DUP run AUX change REP+F do
 vi aux dem vi aux vt

oninari
 o- na+F -naari
 1SG.S AUX ?
 aux

"He was running slowly, but I ran fast."

83 *Faya abematamona fahi*
 faya ahaba -himata -mona fahi
 so die FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj vi dem

'So he died.'

THE YIMA WHO STOLE THE CHILDREN

84 *Weye ni hikamemetemone wati*
 weye na.NFIN hi- to- ka -ma -hemete -mone wati
 carry AUX OC away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F remember
 vt aux vi vt

owahine oke , mate .
 o- na -waha -ne o- ke , matehe .
 1SG.S AUX change CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F children
 aux prt nf

'I was remembering about the children who he took.'

85 *Inamatewe , abake .*
 inamatewe , ahaba -ke .
 child end DECL+F
 nm vi

'It's done.'

A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

Free Translation

It was the white-lipped peccary. They went after white-lipped peccaries. He killed some peccaries with bow and arrow. He went running after them. He went after them.

Someone picked up a peccary and put it on his shoulder. He took the peccary away.

He came running back, and went. "Someone took away my peccary," he said. "He went away, taking the peccary. Wait, let him take it." He came back. He called to his older brother. "Brother, someone took away my peccary and went away. Someone took away a peccary that fell in front of me. I don't know."

He was ready to go. They were ready to go. They went after him. There was smoke going up, the smoke of their fire. The smoke was going sideways. He was cooking the peccary, and he came back.

"He's coming, he's coming, he's coming, he's coming."

Why didn't he shoot him with an arrow when he went under water? He allowed him to escape. When he went under water, he didn't shoot him with an arrow.

He came to the water, and undid his breechcloth. His penis, which was hung up, fell down.

"Oh my goodness! Look at the penis!"

As they were looking at his penis, he came to the water. He came to the water to take out the manioc mash, that was in the water. He was feeling with his feet. He went underwater, splash. The basket was not completely full. He came out of the water holding on his shoulder the middle of the full part. "Hoo, oho." He washed off the basket. After he finished washing off the basket, he took the basket up the bank and set the basket up. He was ready to leave. He put his breechcloth back on. He secured his penis, too. After he secured his penis, he put the manioc mash on his shoulder, and went away walking fast. His legs were moving fast. He went, and disappeared.

"Older brother, let's go. Let's shoot them with arrows. Let's fight them."

"Let's not fight them right now. Wait, I want to hear what my brother-in-law will say first. Come on, let's go home."

The two of them went home. When they went home, they appeared.

"Well?"

"Aa, they are living there. I think we should attack them with arrows. Do you think we should attack them with arrows?"

"I don't know."

"Let's hit them with arrows."

"Let's do it. When we have come back, we will pass on by. Let our roasted peccaries stay here on the roasting rack for now. Let's go after them. It should be at night. When the sun goes down and it is dusk, we will go and will stand over there. When we are standing there, it will get dark on us. After it has gotten dark on us, they will die."

"They are always naughty, they came back. We saw the penis that makes the Yima woman suffer, the big penis, like a tree. It was like a fallen tree that was hung up. It was swinging. We watched it as he brought it to the water. 'Oh my,' I said. Wait, the vultures will eat him."

They were ready to go. They were ready at sundown.

A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

"Is it far?"

"It's not far. We went, and we crossed the stream, and we went along the edge. We went, and the place where he had tied up the peccary that he had picked up was there. We found him after he had taken the peccary away. The smoke was coming up from the fire. They were standing there splitting firewood. He lifted the manioc mash onto his shoulder and took the manioc mash. They were eating the peccary with old manioc mash. We came upon him. They were eating."

They slept in late. They ate the meat with old manioc mash. They ate old manioc mash, and they slept in late. They came upon them, and they were standing in back of the house. They were standing there, watching them.

He came toward them to take a bath. He squatted in the water. He was making bubbles in the water. He went around, and came to the surface. He didn't bathe very long. He stood on the bank. He went up the bank.

"You didn't believe me. Look at the penis."

"Oh my. She suffers from the bad penis."

They were ready. It was getting dark. They watched him as he went to defecate. He went and defecated. He came back. He went into the house. He was not afraid.

He went there.

"Don't just look at them. Come on, let's go home [that is, let's kill them quickly so we can go home]. We will go home with their torches."

He went there. He had taken snuff, and he said, "Toho, toho, toho." He hit him with an arrow. He hit them with arrows. They were hitting them with arrows. The Yimas didn't kill anyone. They were carrying arrows in their backs. They forgot about their weapons. There were many of them. They killed them with bow and arrow.

They came home. They put the roasted peccaries in [baskets] and carried them during the night. They came back, and they arrived. They arrived back. "Whew, look at us. The Yimas almost ate us. My arrows are all gone because of the Yimas. We killed many Yimas with arrows. Don't cry for them."

They died. They told about them, that they had died.

The Yimas had many houses where Santana is today. Some of them lived there, while others lived at Wara. Still others lived downstream. A number of them died. When the ones who lived at Santana ate Mayawari, they wanted to fight against them, but they didn't. They went across [the Purus River]. I guess they live over there on the other side. They swam across. Their village is there. They swam across because they wanted to kill them. They killed a number of them. They were after them to kill them. They disappeared, and Santana is their village. They disappeared from Santana. They went. They swam away.

After going after them, they came back. "They went into the water. There wasn't anyone there, so they didn't die. They went into the water." Because they had gone into the water, they came back, and arrived. Then didn't come anymore. They went into the water. They went onto the shore, their wives. They went into the water with their wives.

They came back, and arrived. The Yimas disappeared. I told you before about them fighting against them before they disappeared. They killed people before swimming across.

Interlinear Presentation

A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

1 **Hiyama** , **hiyamamatamonaka**
 hiyama hiyama -mata -mona -ka
 white-lipped peccary white-lipped peccary FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm nm

'It was the white-lipped peccary.'

2 **Hiyama** **me me mowa na me** ,
 hiyama me me mowa na+F me
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt aux pron

hiyama me me mowa na me hiyama
 hiyama me me mowa na+F me hiyama
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX 3PL.S white-lipped peccary
 nm pron pron vt aux pron nm

, **hiyama me sa ne kana ni**
 hiyama me saa na+M kana na.NFIN
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX run AUX
 nm pron vt aux vi aux

tokomake Hahi kakamina
 to- ka -makI haahi ka- kamina
 away go/come following this one+M DUP tell
 vi dem vt

tinofarani tini fawa nematamonaha
 ti- na nofa -ra -hani ti- ni fawa na -himata -mona -ha
 2SG.S AUX recently NEG IP.N+F 2SG.S BKG+F disappear AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 aux prt vi aux

hoti ya sonematamonaha ?
 hoti ya sona -himata -mona -ha
 hole ADJU fall FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 nf prt vi

'They went after white-lipped peccaries. He killed some peccaries with bow and arrow. He went running after them. Is that the one you have talked about, who disappeared, who fell into a hole?'

3 **Kaminakara fari**
 kamina -ka -ra faari
 tell DECL+M NEG+M that one+M
 result dem

'That one hasn't been told.'

4 **Hiyama ta okominamatibe**
 hiyama taa o- kamina -mata -be
 white-lipped peccary contrast 1SG.S tell short time IMMED+F
 nm prt vt

'I will tell about the white-lipped peccary.'

5 **Tokotokotokomake nematamonaha**
 toko- toko- to- ka -makI na -himata -mona -ha
 DUP DUP away go/come following AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 vt aux

'He went after them.'

6 **Inamati inamati hiyama hiyamanoho**
 inamati inamati hiyama hiyama -no -ho
 someone someone white-lipped peccary white-lipped peccary IP.N+M DUP
 nm nm nm nm

A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

11 *Hiyama* , *onokosi* *sona* *inamati*
 hiyama o- nokosi sona+M inamati
 white-lipped peccary 1SG.POSS in front of fall someone
 nm pn vi nm

towakamareka
 to- ka- ka -ma -hare -ka
 away COMIT go/come back IP.E+M DECL+M
 vt

"Someone took away a peccary that fell in front of me."

12 *E* *awara* *awineke*
 ee awa -ra+F awine -ke
 1IN.S see NEG seem+F DECL+F
 pron vt sec

"I don't know."

13 *Faya* , *yana* *tonematamona*
 faya yana to- na -himata -mona
 so start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 conj vi aux

'He was ready to go.'

14 *Me* *yana* *tonemetemone* *fahi*
 me yana to- na -hemete -mone fahi
 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron vi aux dem

'They were ready to go.'

15 *Hiyama* *me* , *hiyama* *me*
 hiyama me hiyama me
 white-lipped peccary 3PL white-lipped peccary 3PL
 nm pron nm pron

hiyama *me* , *me* *hinakamaki* *me*
 hiyama me me hi- to- na- ka -makI+M me
 white-lipped peccary 3PL 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt pron

hinakamakimatamonane
 hi- na- ka -makI -himata -mona -ne
 OC CAUS go/come following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vt

'They went after him.'

16 *Me* *hinakamaki* , *yama* *hasawiri*
 me hi- to- na- ka -makI+M yama hasawiri
 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following thing smoke
 pron vt nf pn

wemetemone *amake* *ahi* *me* *ka* *yifo* *hasawiri* *ahi*
 waa -hemete -mone ama -ke ahi me ka yifo hasawiri ahi
 stand FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F there 3PL POSS fire smoke there
 vi sec dem pron prt nf pn dem

'They went after him. There was smoke going up, the smoke of their fire.'

17 *Yama* *hasawiri* *bawi* *tona* , *hiyama*
 yama hasawiri bawi to- na+F hiyama
 thing smoke be bent over CH AUX white-lipped peccary
 nf pn vi aux nm

A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

23 *Aaa* .
 aaa
 oh my
 interj
 "'Oh my goodness!'"

24 *Sowi tiwahi* .
 sowi ti- awa -hi
 penis 2SG.S see IMP+F
 nf vt
 "'Look at the penis!'"

25 *Sowi tiwahi* .
 sowi ti- awa -hi
 penis 2SG.S see IMP+F
 nf vt
 "'Look at the penis!'"

26 *Sowiri me hekatome*
 sowiri me hi- ka- katoma+M
 penis 3PL.S OC COMIT look at
 pn pron vt

kifewakimatamonaka
 ka -fI -waha -kI -himata -mona -ka
 go/come water change coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi
 'As they were looking at his penis, he came to the water.'

27 *Kifewaki iyawa iyawa itihibana*
 ka -fI -waha -kI+M , iyawa iyawa iti -hibana
 go/come water change coming manioc mash manioc mash take out FUT+M
 vi nf nf vt
 , *hinaka iyawa hofanihi ahi*
 hinaka iyawa hofa -hani -hi ahi
 3SG.POSS manioc mash be in water IP.N+F DUP then
 pron nf vi dem
 'He came to the water to take out the manioc mash, that was in the water.'

28 *Yama tatai ne sibo* ,
 yama ta- tai na+M sibo
 thing DUP step on AUX splash
 nf vt aux sound
tokomakematamonaka ahi
 to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem
 'He was feeling with his feet. He went underwater, splash.'

29 *Tokomake baro baro yowemetemoneke*
 to- ka -makI , baro , baro yowa -hemete -mone -ke
 away go/come following basket basket reach FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi nf nf vi

ahi .
 ahi
 there
 dem
 'He went underwater. The basket was not completely full.'

A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

30 *Aya yowa baikani tiwa namiseno*
 aya yowa+F baikani tiwa na -misa -hino
 this reach middle carry AUX up IP.N+M
 dem vi pn vt aux

kimisamematamonaka ahi tasi
 ka -misa -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi tasi
 go/come up back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then (sound of appearing)
 vi dem sound
 'He came out of the water holding on his shoulder the middle of the full part.'

31 *Oof oho*
 oof oho
 hoo (expression of tiredness)
 interj interj
 "'Hoo, oho.'"

32 *Baro soko nematamonaka ahi*
 baro soko na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 basket wash AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nf vt aux dem
 'He washed off the basket.'

33 *Soko ne baro soko ne ya baro soko ni*
 soko na+M baro soko na.NOM+M ya baro soko na.NFIN
 wash AUX basket wash AUX ADJU basket wash AUX
 vt aux nf vt aux prt nf vt aux

hawa toe ya baro towakimisame
 hawa to- ha.NOM+M ya baro to- ka- ka -misa -ma+M
 be finished CH AUX ADJU basket away COMMIT go/come up back
 vi aux prt nf vt

baro nawematamonaka
 baro na- waa -himata -mona -ka
 basket CAUS stand FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf vt

'He washed off the basket. After he finished washing off the basket, he took the basket up the bank and set the basket up.'

34 *Baro nawe yana tonematamonaka*
 baro na- waa+M yana to- na -himata -mona -ka
 basket CAUS stand start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf aux vi aux

'He set the basket up. He was ready to leave.'

35 *Kanatafo kanatafo kawatamematamonaka*
 kanatafo kanatafo ka- wata -ma -himata -mona -ka
 breechcloth breechcloth COMMIT put back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf nf vt

'He put his breechcloth back on.'

36 *Kanatafo kawatame sowiri hete tonama*
 kanatafo ka- wata -ma+M sowiri hete to- na -ma.LIST
 breechcloth COMMIT put back penis stick in CH AUX back
 nf vt pn vt aux

A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

<i>sowiri</i> sowiri penis pn	<i>hete</i> hete stick in vt	<i>toname</i> to- na -ma.NOM+M CH AUX back aux	<i>ya</i> ya ADJU prt	<i>iyawa</i> , iyawa manioc mash nf	<i>tiwa</i> tiwa carry vt	<i>namise</i> na -misa+M AUX up aux	
<i>kana</i> kana run vi	<i>ni</i> na.NFIN AUX aux	<i>tokomematamonaka</i> , to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka away go/come back vi	<i>ya</i> FP.N+M	<i>iyawa</i> REP+M	<i>yaka</i> -ka DECL+M	<i>ni</i> yaka na.NFIN AUX aux	<i>ahi</i> ahi then dem

'He put his breechcloth back on. He secured his penis, too. After he secured his penis, he put the manioc mash on his shoulder, and went away walking fast.'

37 <i>Iso</i> iso leg+M pn	<i>toritori</i> tori- tori DUP be fast vi	<i>kana</i> ka- na COMIT AUX aux	<i>nematamonaka</i> na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux	<i>ahi</i> ahi then dem
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'His legs were moving fast.'

38 <i>Faya</i> faya so conj	<i>tokome</i> to- ka -ma+M away go/come back vi	<i>fawa</i> , fawa disappear vi
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<i>tonakosematamonaka</i> to- na -kosa -himata -mona -ka CH AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux

'He went, and disappeared.'

39 <i>Fawa</i> fawa disappear vi	<i>tonakose</i> to- na -kosa+M CH AUX middle aux	<i>Ayo</i> , ayo older brother nm	<i>hima</i> hima let's go interj
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'He disappeared. "Older brother, let's go."'

40 <i>Me</i> me 3PL.O pron	<i>e</i> ee 1IN.S pron	<i>tisa</i> tisa shoot with arrow vt	<i>nene</i> na -hene AUX IRR+F aux	<i>e</i> ee 1IN.S pron	<i>amake</i> ama -ke SEC DECL+F sec
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""Let's shoot them with arrows.""

41 <i>Me</i> me 3PL.O pron	<i>e</i> ee 1IN.S pron	<i>mowa</i> mowa fight vt	<i>nibeya</i> na -be -ya AUX IMMED+F aux
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""Let's fight them.""

42 <i>Me</i> me 3PL.O pron	<i>e</i> ee 1IN.S pron	<i>mowa</i> mowa fight vt	<i>na</i> na AUX aux
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""Let's not fight them right now.""

43 <i>Hiba</i> hiba wait interj	<i>oko</i> , o- ka 1SG.POSS POSS prt	<i>wabo</i> wabo brother-in-law nm	<i>ati</i> ati voice pn	<i>omitibeya</i> , o- mita -be -ya 1SG.S hear IMMED+F vt
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A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

mata

mata
for now
prt

"Wait, I want to hear what my brother-in-law will say first."

44 **Hima** , **e** **towakamahi**

hima ee to- ka- ka -ma -hi
let's go 1IN.S away COMIT go/come back IMP+F
interj pron vi

"Come on, let's go home."

45 **Me** **towakamemetemoneke**

me to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
3PL.S away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron vi

'The two of them went home.'

46 **Me** **towakama**

me to- ka- ka -ma+F **me** , **me**
3PL.S away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S
pron vi pron pron

towakami

to- ka- ka -ma.NOM+F **ya** **me** **tasi** **tokanama**
away COMIT go/come back ADJU 3PL.S emerge away COMIT AUX back
vi prt pron vi aux

Faira ?

fahi -ra
that NPQ
dem

"They went home. When they went home, they appeared. "Well?""

47 **Aa**

aa , **me** **winake** **ahi**
(expression of surprise) me wina -ke ahi
interj 3PL.S live DECL+F there
pron vi dem

"Aa, they are living there."

48 **Me** **wini** **ahi**

me wina.NOM+F ahi
3PL.S live there
pron vi dem

"They are living there."

49 **Me** **e** **tisa**

me ee tisa **nabone** **me**
3PL.O 1IN.S shoot with arrow na -habone me
pron pron vt AUX INT+F 3PL.O
aux pron

onarake

ati o- na -hara -ke
say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
vt

"I think we should attack them with arrows."

A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

50 *Me e tisa nabone himata nima tiwati*
 me ee tisa na -habone himata nima ti- ati
 3PL.O 1IN.S shoot with arrow AUX INT+F what? like 2SG.POSS voice
 pron pron vt aux interrog prt pn
ri ?
 na -ri
 AUX CQ+F
 aux

"Do you think we should attack them with arrows?"

51 *E awi*
 ee awa.NOM+F
 1IN.S see
 pron vt

"I don't know."

52 *Me e tisa nabanake*
 me ee tisa na -habana -ke
 3PL.O 1IN.S shoot with arrow AUX FUT+F DECL+F
 pron pron vt aux

"Let's hit them with arrows."

53 *Me e tisa nabanani*
 me ee tisa na -habana -ni
 3PL.O 1IN.S shoot with arrow AUX FUT+F BKG+F
 pron pron vt aux

"Let's hit them with arrows."

54 *Afaba ama haro ahi*
 afa -ba ama haaro ahi
 this+F FUT be that one+F then
 dem vc dem dem

"Let's do it."

55 *Faya me , obatasi me kose na*
 faya me o- batasi me kose na+F
 so 3PL 1SG.POSS middle of back 3PL.S bite many times AUX
 conj pron pn pron vt aux
ee aawa re tiwa
 ee a- awa na -ra+M ti- awa
 (pause) DUP see AUX NEG 2SG.S see
 interj vt aux vt

'Some insects are biting my back. She is not helping me. Help me.'

56 *Afaba amake ahi*
 afa -ba ama -ke ahi
 this+F FUT be DECL+F then
 dem vc dem

"Let's do it."

57 *E kamaharo e fiya tosamaba*
 ee ka -ma -haaro ee fiya to- na -kosa -ma -haba
 1IN.S go/come back PFUT+F 1IN.S pass away AUX middle back FUT+F
 pron vi pron vi aux

A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

ereni

ere -ni
1IN.S BKG+F
pron

"When we have come back, we will pass on by."

58 **E ka hiyama me kahi**
ee ka hiyama me kaha.NFIN
1IN.S POSS white-lipped peccary 3PL.S be toasted
pron prt nm pron vi

kawamata mata
ka- waa -mata mata
COMIT stand short time for now
vi prt

"Let our roasted peccaries stay here on the roasting rack for now."

59 **Me e tonakahi**
me ee to- na- ka -hi
3PL.O 1IN.S away CAUS go/come IMP+F
pron pron vt

"Let's go after them."

60 **Yama soki ihehene**
yama soki.NFIN iha -hene
thing be dark put IRR+F
nf vi result

"It should be at night."

61 **Bai fawa nise ya , yama sosokirisa**
bahi fawa na -risa.NOM+M ya , yama so- soki -risa
sun disappear AUX down ADJU thing DUP be dark down
nm vi aux prt nf vi

raba ni ya e toka e
na -raba na.NOM+F ya ee to- ka+F ee
AUX a bit AUX ADJU 1IN.S away go/come 1IN.S
aux aux prt pron vi pron

tonohowitaba eke
to- naho -witI -haba ee -ke
away stand out FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F
vi pron

"When the sun goes down and it is dusk, we will go and will stand over there."

62 **E nao ya , e nao ya e**
ee naho.NOM ya , ee naho.NOM ya ee
1IN.S stand ADJU 1IN.S stand ADJU 1IN.S
pron vi prt pron vi prt pron

kakayomarisaba ereni
ka- kayoma -risa -haba ere -ni
COMIT darken down FUT+F 1IN.S BKG+F
vi pron

"When we are standing there, it will get dark on us."

63 **E kakayomarisaharo , me ababanake**
ee ka- kayoma -risa -haaro , me ahaba -habana -ke
1IN.S COMIT darken down PFUT+F 3PL.S die FUT+F DECL+F
pron vi pron vi

"After it has gotten dark on us, they will die."

A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

64 *Me ababanani*
 me ahaba -habana -ni
 3PL.S die FUT+F BKG+F
 pron vi
 ""They will die.""

65 *Me , kakasi raba tera hine me*
 me , ka- kasi na -raba na -tee -ra+F hine me
 3PL.S DUP be naughty AUX a bit AUX HAB NEG 3.REFL 3PL.S
 pron vi aux aux pron pron

namomatasineni
 namo -ma -tasa -ne -ni
 show back again BKG+M BKG+F
 vt
 ""They are always naughty, they came back.""

66 *Sowi yima fana hikarimatehani ota awini ahi*
 sowi yima fana hi- karima -tee -hani otaa awa -ni ahi
 penis Yima female OC suffer from HAB IP.N+F 1EX.S see BKG+F there
 nf npropm nf vt pron vt dem

sowi ebote , awa nima
 sowi ehebote , awa nima
 penis big tree like
 nf adj nf prt
 ""We saw the penis that makes the Yima woman suffer, the big penis, like a tree.""

67 *Awa winaha nima narake*
 awa wina+F nima na -hara -ke
 tree hang like AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 nf vi prt aux
 ""It was like a fallen tree that was hung up.""

68 *Yota narake ahi*
 yota na -hara -ke ahi
 swing AUX IP.E+F DECL+F then
 vi aux dem
 ""It was swinging.""

69 *Ota kakatomaharake*
 otaa ka- katoma -hara -ke
 1EX.S COMIT look at IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vt

hekifewakiaro ahi
 hi- ka- ka -fI -waha -kI -haaro ahi
 OC COMIT go/come water change coming IP.E+F there
 vt dem
 ""We watched it as he brought it to the water.""

70 *Aaa onara oke*
 aaa ati o- na -hara o- ke
 oh my say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 interj vt prt
 ""Oh my, I said.""

A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

71 **Boko** **yome** **hinabanake** , **hiba** .
 boko yome hi- na -habana -ke , hiba
 vulture swallow OC AUX FUT+F DECL+F wait
 nf vt aux interj

"Wait, the vultures will eat him."

72 **Faya** , **me** **yana** **tonemetemoneke** .
 faya , me yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke
 so 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj pron vi aux

"They were ready to go."

73 **Me** **yana** **tona** **me** , **bai** **toke** **ya** **me** **yana**
 me yana to- na+F me , bahi to- ka.NOM+M ya me yana
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S sun away go/come ADJU 3PL.S start
 pron vi aux pron nm vi prt pron vi

tona **me** **Yama** **yaborani** **awine** ?
 to- na+F me yama yabo -ra -hani awine
 CH AUX 3PL.S place be far NEG IP.N+F seem+F
 aux pron nf vi sec

"They were ready to go. They were ready at sundown. "Is it far?"

74 **Yaborarake**
 yabo -ra -hara -ke
 be far NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
 vi

"It's not far."

75 **Ota** **towakamakia** **ota** **towakamakia**
 otaa to- ka- ka -makI+F otaa to- ka- ka -makI+F
 1EX.S away COMIT go/come following 1EX.S away COMIT go/come following
 pron vi pron vi

ota **kakariwaha** **ota**
 otaa ka- ka -riwaha+F otaa
 1EX.S COMIT go/come across 1EX.S
 pron vi pron

towakabasawahamakia **ota** ,
 to- ka- ka -basa -waha -makI+F otaa
 away COMIT go/come edge change following 1EX.S
 vi pron

towakamakia **faya** **hiyama** **itihino**
 to- ka- ka -makI+F faya hiyama iti -hino
 away COMIT go/come following so white-lipped peccary pick up IP.N+M
 vi conj nm vt

ka **hiyama** **wete** **ni**
 ka hiyama wete na.NFIN
 which white-lipped peccary tie AUX
 prt nm result aux

towatamareka **ahi** .
 to- wata -ma -hare -ka ahi
 away be located back IP.E+M DECL+M there
 vi dem

"We went, and we crossed the stream, and we went along the edge. We went, and the place where he had tied up the peccary that he had picked up was there."

A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

76 *Hiyama* *wete* *ni* *wate* , *faya*
 hiyama wete na.NFIN wata+M , faya
 white-lipped peccary tie AUX be located so
 nm result aux vi conj

hiyama *towakameno* , *ota*
 hiyama to- ka- ka -ma -hino , otaa
 white-lipped peccary away COMMIT go/come back IP.N+M 1EX.S
 nm vt pron

towasimakiareka
 to- wasi -makI -hare -ka
 away find following IP.E+M DECL+M
 vt

"The place where he had tied up the peccary was there. We found him after he had taken the peccary away."

77 *Yifo* *hasawiri* *waharake* *ahi*
 yifo hasawiri waa -hara -ke ahi
 fire smoke stand IP.E+F DECL+F there
 nf pn vi dem

"The smoke was coming up from the fire."

78 *Yifo* *me* *tafa* *na* *me* *naho* , *me*
 yifo me tafa na+F me naho.LIST , me
 firewood 3PL.S split AUX 3PL.S stand 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux pron vi pron

naoarake *yifo* *me* *tafa* *na* *mati*
 naho -hara -ke yifo me tafa na+F mati
 stand IP.E+F DECL+F firewood 3PL.S split AUX 3PL.S
 vi nf pron vt aux pron

"They were standing there splitting firewood."

79 *Iyawa* *tiwa* *namise* *iyawa* *towakame*
 iyawa tiwa na -misa+M iyawa to- ka- ka -ma+M
 manioc mash carry AUX up manioc mash away COMMIT go/come back
 nf vt aux nf vt

iyawa *bote* , *me* *kakawia* *nineke*
 iyawa bote , me ka- kawia na -ne -ke
 manioc mash old 3PL.S DUP eat with something AUX CONT+F DECL+F
 nf adj pron vt aux

hiyama *ya*
 hiyama ya
 white-lipped peccary ADJU
 nm prt

"He lifted the manioc mash onto his shoulder and took the manioc mash. They were eating the peccary with old manioc mash."

80 *Faya* , *ota* *towasimaki* , *me* *tafa* *rama* *ahi*
 faya , otaa to- wasi -makI+M , me tafa+F rama ahi
 so 1EX.S away find following 3PL.S eat unusual then
 conj pron vt pron vi prt dem

"We came upon him. They were eating."

81 *Me* *ha* *tokanemetemoneni*
 me haa to- ka- na -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL.S call CH COMMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron vi aux

"They slept in late."

A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

82	Iyawa iyawa manioc mash nf	bote bote old adj	me me 3PL.S pron	kakawia ka- kawia DUP eat with something vt	na na+F AUX aux	rama rama unusual prt	,	
	iyawa iyawa manioc mash nf	bote bote old adj	me me 3PL.S pron	kaba kaba+F eat vt	me me 3PL.S pron	me me 3PL.S pron	ha haa call vi	
	tokanani to- ka- CH	na -hani COMIT AUX IP.N+F	me me 3PL.O pron	me me 3PL.S pron	hiwasimakia hi- to- wasi -makI+F OC away find following vt	me me 3PL.O pron	,	me me 3PL.S pron

naobasemetemoneke

naho -basa -hemete -mone -ke
stand edge FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vi

'They ate the meat with old manioc mash. They ate old manioc mash, and they slept in late. They came upon them, and they were standing in back of the house.'

83	Me me 3PL.S pron	naobasa naho -basa+F stand edge vi	me me 3PL.O pron	me me 3PL.S pron	hekatoma hi- ka- katoma+F OC COMIT look at vt	me me 3PL.O pron	,	afi afi bathe vi
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nebona **kame** **bokarisematamona** **ahi**
na -hibona ka -ma+M boka -risa -himata -mona ahi
AUX INT+M go/come back enter water down FP.N+M REP+M then
aux vi vi dem

'They were standing there, watching them. He came toward them to take a bath. He squatted in the water.'

84	Bokarise boka enter water vi	-risa+M down	,	yariri yariri make bubbles vi	nematamonaka na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M aux	ahi ahi then dem
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'He squatted in the water. He was making bubbles in the water.'

85	Yariri yariri make bubbles vi	ne na+M AUX aux	yobi yobi go back and forth vi	nenono na -hino AUX IP.N+M aux	tasi tasi emerge vi
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namisamematamona

na -misa -ma -himata -mona
AUX up back FP.N+M REP+M
aux

'He was making bubbles. He went around, and came to the surface.'

86	Tasi tasi emerge vi	namisame na -misa -ma+M AUX up back aux	,	afi afi bathe vi	natihibanoho na nahatI -ra -hiba -no -ho AUX daytime NEG FUT+M IP.N+M aux
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'He came to the surface. He didn't bathe very long.'

87	Wamisame waa -misa -ma+M stand up vi	tokomisame to- ka -misa -ma+M away go/come up vi	,	Owati o- ati 1SG.POSS voice pn	te tee 2PL.S pron
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A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

101 *Me tisa hinemetemoneke ahi*
 me tisa hi- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.O shoot with arrow OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vt aux dem

'He hit them with arrows.'

102 *Me me tisa hinemetemone fahi*
 me me tisa hi- na -hemete -mone fahi
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron pron vt aux dem

'They were hitting them with arrows.'

103 *Me ihi watara me ihi*
 me ihi wata -ra+F me ihi
 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist NEG 3PL.POSS victim of+F
 pron pn vi pron pn

wataremetemoneke

wata -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'They didn't kill anyone.'

104 *Wati me weyeri kawahemetemoneke me*
 wati me weye -ri ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ke me
 arrow 3PL.S carry DISTR COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.O
 nm pron vt aux pron

me tisa hina mati ahi
 me tisa hi- na+F mati ahi
 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX 3PL.O then
 pron vt aux pron dem

'They were carrying arrows in their backs.'

105 *Ya hona ya me ati sawiremetemoneni*
 ya hona ya me ati sawi -ra -hemete -mone -ni
 weapon ADJU 3PL.POSS voice be present NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 nf prt pron pn vi

'They forgot about their weapons.'

106 *Me tamimakoni me me tisa*
 me tama -makoni me me tisa
 3PL.S be many for this reason+F 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow
 pron vi pron pron vt

himakoni

hi- na -makoni , me fanawi
 OC AUX for this reason+F me fanawi
 aux nf women

'There were many of them. They killed them with bow and arrow.'¹⁵⁸

107 *Me kamemetemoneke*
 me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They came home.'

¹⁵⁸ The sentence was interrupted by the end of the tape.

A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

108 *Me kama me , me kama me ,*
 me ka -ma+F me , me ka -ma+F me ,
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

hiyama me me te naba
 hiyama me me tee na -haba
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S put inside AUX FUT+F
 nm pron pron vt aux

hiyama me kai me weye
 hiyama me kaha.NFIN me weye
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.S be toasted 3PL.S carry
 nm pron vi pron vt

nabemetemoneke
 na nahaba -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX at night FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'They came back. They put the roasted peccaries in [baskets] and carried them during the night.'

109 *Me kama , me kama me kobo nama*
 me ka -ma+F , me ka -ma+F me kobo na -ma+F
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive AUX back
 pron vi pron vi pron vi aux

me , me kamemetemoneke
 me , me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pron vi

'They came back, and they arrived.'

110 *Me kobo nama me , Hoo , ota te awa*
 me kobo na -ma+F me , hoo , otaa tee awa
 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S whew 1EX.O 2PL.S see
 pron vi aux pron interj pron pron vt

'They arrived back. "Whew, look at us."'

111 *Yima ota me kabinehe*
 yima otaa me kaba.NOM+F -ne -he
 Yima 1EX.O 3PL.S eat IRR+F DUP
 npropm pron pron vt

""The Yimas almost ate us.""

112 *Ok o- ka wati watamakara yima me*
 o- ka wati wata -ma -ka -ra yima me
 1SG.POSS POSS arrow exist back DECL+M NEG+M Yima 3PL.POSS
 prt nm vi npropm pron

ihi
 ihi
 because of+F
 post

""My arrows are all gone because of the Yimas.""

113 *Yima me ota katomarake me ota*
 yima me otaa katoma -hara -ke me otaa
 Yima 3PL.O 1EX.S kill many IP.E+F DECL+F 3PL.O 1EX.S
 npropm pron pron vt pron pron

A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

120 *Haha Satana ka me wina me , Mayawari me kaba*
 haaha Satana ka me wina+*F* me , Mayawari me kaba+*F*
 this+*F* Santana of 3PL.S live 3PL.S (man's name) 3PL.S eat
 dem npropf prt pron vi pron npropm pron vt
me , me me mowa hinabone me me mowa
 me , me me mowa hi- na -habone me me mowa
 3PL.S 3PL.O 3PL.S fight OC AUX INT+*F* 3PL.O 3PL.S fight
 pron pron pron vt aux pron pron vt

hiremetemone

hi- na -ra -hemete -mone
 OC AUX NEG FP.N+*F* REP+*F*
 aux

'When the ones who lived at Santana ate Mayawari, they wanted to fight against them, but they didn't.'

121 *Me tokariwemetemone*
 me to- ka -riwaha -hemete -mone
 3PL.S away go/come across FP.N+*F* REP+*F*
 pron vi

'They went across [the river].'

122 *Me wina me awine kowani ya ahi*
 me wina+*F* me awine kowani ya ahi
 3PL.S live 3PL.S seem+*F* other side ADJU there
 pron vi pron sec nf prt dem

'I guess they live over there on the other side.'

123 *Me bokariwemetemone me amani*
 me boka -riwaha -hemete -mone me ama -ni
 3PL.S enter water across FP.N+*F* REP+*F* 3PL.S SEC BKG+*F*
 pron vi pron sec

'They swam across.'

124 *Me tabori watineni*
 me tabori wata -ne -ni
 3PL.POSS place+*F* be located CONT+*F* BKG+*F*
 pron pn vi

'Their village is there.'

125 *Me bokariwaha me*
 me boka -riwaha+*F* me
 3PL.S enter water across 3PL.S
 pron vi pron

tokariwahimetemone

to- ka -riwaha.NOM+*F* -mete -mone amake ahi me me
 away go/come across FP.N+*F* REP+*F* be DECL+*F* then 3PL.O 3PL.S
 vi vc dem pron pron

wati

hikana mati
 wati hi- ka- na+*F* mati
 plan against OC COMIT AUX 3PL.O
 vt aux pron

'They swam across because they wanted to kill them.'

126 *Faya me , me me , bokato me me hinahabiha*
 faya me , me me , bokato me me hi- na- ahaba+*F*
 so 3PL 3PL 3PL fair amount 3PL.O 3PL.S OC CAUS die
 conj pron pron pron adj pron pron vt

A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

me , *haha* *me* *me* *wati* *hikawa* *me* ,
 me haaha me me wati hi- ka- na -waha+F me ,
 3PL.O this+F 3PL.O 3PL.S plan against OC COMIT AUX change 3PL.S
 pron dem pron pron vt aux pron
fawa *nemetemone* *me* *tabori* *amake* *Satana* *ama*
 fawa na -hemete -mone me tabori ama -ke Satana ama
 disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS place+F be DECL+F Santana be
 vi aux pron pn vc npropf vc
haro
 haaro
 that one+F
 dem
 'They killed a number of them. They were after them to kill them. They disappeared, and Santana is their village.'

127 *Me* *fawa* *nemetemone* *me* *amake* *haro*
 me fawa na -hemete -mone me ama -ke haaro
 3PL.S disappear AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F that one+F
 pron vi aux pron sec dem
Satana *karo*
 Satana karo
 Santana LOC
 npropf prt
 'They disappeared from Santana.'

128 *Me* *toka* *me* *tao* *tona* *me*
 me to- ka+F me tao to- na+F me
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S hit CH AUX 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi aux pron
tokimetemone *amake* *ahi*
 to- ka.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi
 away go/come FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then
 vi vc dem
 'They went. They swam away.'

129 *Faya* *me* *me* *hinakamakia* *me* , *faya*
 faya me me hi- to- na- ka -makI+F me faya
 so 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following 3PL.O so
 conj pron pron vt pron conj
me *kama* *Me* *bokaboka* *raba*
 me ka -ma+F me boka- boka na -raba
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S DUP enter water AUX a bit
 pron vi pron vi aux
rinihi
 na -ra.NOM+F -ni -hi
 AUX NEG IP.N+F DUP
 aux
 'After going after them, they came back. "They went into the water."'

130 *Yama* *honi* *toera* *abiba* *nene*
 yama hona to- ha -ra+F ahaba.NOM+F -ba na -hene
 thing have something CH be NEG die FUT AUX IRR+F
 nf vi vc vi aux
bokine *nini*
 boka -ne na -ni
 enter water CONT+F AUX BKG+F
 vi aux

A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

"There wasn't anyone there, so they didn't die. They went into the water."

131 *Faya me bokani me ihi me*
 faya me boka -hani me ihi me
 so 3PL.S enter water IP.N+F 3PL.POSS because of+F 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron post pron

kama me , kobo namemetemoneke
 ka -ma+F me , kobo na -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 go/come back 3PL.S arrive AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi pron vi aux

'Because they had gone into the water, they came back, and arrived.'

132 *Faya , faya me kakamaki*
 faya , faya me ka- ka -makI
 so so 3PL.S DUP go/come following
 conj conj pron vi

toaremetemoneke fahi waha
 to- ha -ra -hemete -mone -ke fahi waha
 CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then now
 aux dem prt

'Then didn't come anymore.'

133 *Fa boti ya me tokehemetemoneke ahi*
 faha boti ya me to- ka -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 water inside ADJU 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nf pn prt pron vi dem

'They went into the water.'

134 *Me tokomisawitememone me amake ahi*
 me to- ka -misa -witI -hemete -mone me ama -ke ahi
 3PL.S away go/come up out FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F then
 pron vi pron sec dem

me ka yiboterawaha
 me ka yibote -rawa -ha
 3PL POSS wife F.PL DUP
 pron prt nf

'They went onto the shore, their wives.'

135 *Me ka yiboterawa me taba me*
 me ka yibote -rawa me taba+F me
 3PL POSS wife F.PL 3PL.S be together 3PL.S
 pron prt nf pron vi pron

bokemetemone
 boka -hemete -mone
 enter water FP.N+F REP+F
 vi

'They went into the water with their wives.'

136 *Faya me boka mera , me kama me kobo*
 faya me boka+F mera , me ka -ma+F me kobo
 so 3PL.S enter water 3PL.O 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive
 conj pron vi pron pron vi pron vi

nami ya faya , me fafawa toemetemone
 na -ma.NOM+F ya faya , me fa- fawa to- ha -hemete -mone
 AUX back ADJU so 3PL.S DUP disappear CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 aux prt conj pron vi aux

A FIGHT WITH THE YIMAS

me ama fahi waha .
 me ama fahi waha
 3PL.S SEC then now
 pron sec dem prt

'They went into the water. They came back, and arrived. They disappeared.'

137 *Me fawa niba ya me , me momowa*
 me fawa na.NOM+F -ba ya me , me mo- mowa
 3PL.S disappear AUX FUT ADJU 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP fight
 pron vi aux prt pron pron vt

hiemetemone me okominibaro me
 hi- to- ha -hemete -mone me o- kamina -baha -haro me
 OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.O 1SG.S tell before RP.E+F 3PL.O
 aux pron vt pron

amake , me tao tobeni ya me tao
 ama -ke me tao to- na -be -ni ya me tao
 SEC DECL+F 3PL.S hit away AUX IMMED+F IP.N+F ADJU 3PL.S hit
 sec pron vi aux prt pron vi

tobeni ya me ihi itiha mati .
 to- na -be -ni ya me ihi iti+F mati
 away AUX IMMED+F IP.N+F ADJU 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist 3PL.POSS
 aux prt pron pn vi pron

'I told you before about them fighting against them before they disappeared. They killed people before swimming across.'

THREE TRAGEDIES

Free Translation

He was a teenager. He wasn't an old man. The teenager went out hunting. He was also carrying blowgun darts strapped to his side. He was carrying blowgun darts as he went.

A curassow called. "Hoh, hoh, hoh, hohoh," it went.

He went into the forest. "Where is the one that is calling?" he said.

His blowgun and his bow were lying on the ground. He went. He looked around.

The calling was coming from a branch on the other side. "Hoh, hoh, hohoh," it said.

"It must be a curassow calling."

He moved over. He looked, and there was a monster coming down from a tree. It grabbed him by his waist. It bit him. It held him tightly, and wrapped itself around him.

"Aya."

The anaconda caught Serini. It wrapped itself around him and killed him and swallowed him.

Then his father came. "My son went out, and has not come back. He disappeared because of the spider monkeys."

His father came. His father saw his bow and arrows on the ground. "My son's bow and arrows are there on the ground. His arrows are pointing that way."

He went there. It had eaten, and it was lying on the ground all puffed up. "Could that be my son? The anaconda has swallowed something and is lying there. The anaconda has swallowed my son."

He quickly picked up his bow and arrows. He hit the anaconda with an arrow. He looked at the anaconda. The anaconda uncoiled. It was stretched out. It vomited because of the *iha* poison. His dead body came out. "Look at it, it killed my son. Hoo, it killed my son." Then it was drunk. "It killed my son."

His father tied him up. "I will carry my son on my back." The anaconda had spewed him back up. His father tied him up.

His father carried him on his back. He came carrying his son on his back. As he carried his son, he came back crying.

"There he is. There is crying because of him."

"My son went out into the forest." He came back crying. He came back carrying his son. He came back crying, and arrived back.

"There is crying because of him."

"An anaconda caught my son," he said, crying. He was crying.

They buried him. They dug a hole for him, and buried him.

This is a different man. Another man went hunting in the forest. He went, and didn't see any game. He turned back, and the howling of howler monkeys came to him. The howler monkeys were howling. A female howler monkey went, "Oooooo."

"Good, I will kill a female howler monkey."

The howler monkeys were howling.

There was a large stream. The large stream went along. He went downstream looking for a

THREE TRAGEDIES

fallen log. "Well." Because there was no fallen log, he turned back and came back. He went upstream, but there was no fallen log, and he came back again. He was looking around as he went along. Then there was the figure of a log in the water. But it wasn't a log, it was an anaconda. There was an anaconda stretched out. The anaconda, which was not a log, was stretched out.

He walked on top of it, and jumped, and he sunk. It bit his face. The anaconda held onto him and wrapped itself around him, as he had his blowgun darts strapped on his shoulder. He opened his legs wide, and reached for his knife, but it wouldn't let him. It tightened its hold around his armpits.

He pulled out his bamboo cutter. As it was holding onto his face, he cut its neck, and it left go.

He cut it in pieces. He threw the pieces away.

He recomposed himself. He would have been all right, but his ribs were broken. He stayed there injured all night.

His younger brothers came. Their brothers-in-law also came.

His arrows must have been against a log on the trail. "Look, there are his arrows against a log. His arrows are there against a log. His arrows are lying there, pointing ahead. Let's go there."

They went and looked. "There isn't anyone here. It must be the other direction. He must have gone there. The arrows are pointing that way."

He had gone and gone and gone, and had sat down at a stream. They saw him sitting there. "There he is sitting there," they said.

He spoke. "Wrap wrap wrap wrap," he said. "An anaconda wrapped itself around me," he said, in a different voice.

"Did the anaconda almost eat you?"

"The pieces of it are in a pile there, that he cut up."

"Wrap wrap wrap wrap," he said.

They went and got him and took him home. They took his blowgun. They took him, but he couldn't be carried. Because his ribs were broken he couldn't be carried. They took him. They tied him to a pole and carried him. They arrived with him.

"Whew, I have brought my older brother who an anaconda wrapped itself around. I guess he didn't see it. I looked at the water, and it was cloudy. He was sitting at the edge of the stream injured after wanting to cross the stream which had cloudy water, and we brought him back. The pieces of his anaconda that he cut up are there in a pile. His ribs are broken."

Then he died. He died, and they buried him.

When he died, they met up with some white-lipped peccaries. They brought the report about the peccaries back. They went after the peccaries. They hunted the peccaries. The peccaries came back, and they shot them with arrows.

He was shooting the peccaries with arrows. His arrows were almost all gone. He was going to run with his one arrow. "Let my arrows be all gone," he said. He was going to run with his arrow, and he went running.

It was a hole. There was a hole next to the stream. He went running, and disappeared. It was a big hole. He disappeared in the big hole.

"Where is he? He ran after the peccaries."

They looked for him. They carried off his peccaries. "Where could he be?"

"He went that way."

"Look, his footprints go that way."

But there was no bow. Only pieces of an arrow came to the surface in the hole. "Look, there are pieces of an arrow that came to the surface there. I guess Airowa fell in the water there. Airowa

THREE TRAGEDIES

fell in the water there, it's a hole."

They cut a tree down. "You poke. You will see it."

"Grab onto the pole. Are you standing [on the bottom]?"

He pushed the pole down, and the pole disappeared. "Cut another pole."

He cut another pole, and they tied the pole on. They pushed the pole down. "Oh no, it didn't reach the bottom yet. Airowa went way down."

Then they came back. The water was stirred up as something was eating Airowa.

Then they brought the peccaries back. "We will look at it tomorrow. Let him be in there. Let the pole be for now."

They brought the pole up. They lay the pole down in the forest. "The pole is long."

They were ready to leave. They went back. They arrived back. When his mother heard the news, she cried. His father, too. "My son, my son, my son. The water swallowed the one whose game was always eaten. He never came back without game. The water swallowed the one whose game people always ate."

"It is there beside the stream."

They ate. They burned the hair off the peccaries. They cut the peccaries up. They roasted the peccaries.

"His game won't be eaten anymore. Eat his game. They are the peccaries of the one who shot peccaries. He ran after the peccaries, and fell in a hole."

"He had fallen in. We poked in the hole. A long pole disappeared after the other pole. We pulled it back up, and it was standing up. We will look at it tomorrow. He must be standing in the hole. We want him to grab onto the pole."

Then they got up early. They got up early because of him. They arrived. "Try the pole again. I will cut another piece for the pole."

He cut another tree, and tied it on.

"Come on, push it down."

"The pole is going down. Grab onto the pole."

They pushed the pole down for him to grab onto, but the pole was too short.

They cut down another tree. They tied the tree onto the pole. They pushed the pole down, but the pole didn't touch bottom.

They cut down another tree. They pushed the pole down again, but the pole didn't touch bottom.

It didn't have a bottom. They pushed down many trees, until there were no trees left. They carried trees. They pushed the trees down. They pushed the really long pole down. They tied more on and pushed it down again. They tied more on and pushed it down. "Wow, the pole standing was long." "My son, my son, my son," he said, but he didn't come back. "He lives in the depths."

They carried trees. They tied trees. "It's futile. The scary hole is still there."

They had carried the poles. The poles, which they had dragged, were in a pile.

They brought the pole up. "There is no bottom in the hole."

"He must have been close," they always said. "He must have been down at the bottom."

There were many poles tied together. The poles made a big pile as they pulled them up. The poles were in a pile. The smaller poles were together with big poles, which they had tied together and then had taken apart.

"Should it be measured again?"

"Yes, there are many poles. It should be measured again."

"All right, you tie them. I will push it down."

As he held onto a tree that was beside the stream, he pushed the pole down. He pushed the

THREE TRAGEDIES

poles down that they had tied together. "You will see. Look. There should be two more. There will be two more."

Then they pushed more poles down. They pushed it down. The pole disappeared. "Oh no, it's useless."

The pole went down. A pole was tied on, and the pole went down. It was tied on, and it went down. It was tied on, and it went down. It was tied on, and it went down. It was tied on, and it went down. "Well, this is hard to take."

The pole went down. The pole went down. The pole went down. They let go of the pole, and it disappeared. The pole didn't come back to the surface. It was a scary thing. It's by the stream. It was on the stream bank, where the sand meets the water.

Interlinear Presentation

1	Make	ee	iti	bote	yetene	toahi	yetene
	makehe	ee	iti	bote	yetene	to- ha+M	yetene
	anaconda	(pause)	grandfather	old	teenage boy	CH be	teenage boy
	nf	interj	nm	adj	adj	vc	adj

yetene	iti	bote	amarari
yetene	iti	bote	ama -ra -haari
teenage boy	grandfather	old	be NEG IP.E+M
adj	nm	adj	vc

yetenematamonaka
 yetene -mata -mona -ka
 teenage boy FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 adj

'He was a teenager. He wasn't an old man.'

2	Yetene	yama	yete	nebona	toke	sare
	yetene	yama	yete	na -hibona	to- ka+M	sarehe
	teenage boy	thing	hunt	AUX INT+M	away go/come	blowgun dart
	adj	nf	vt	aux	vi	nf

sana	kana
sana	ka- na.LIST
carry strapped on shoulder	COMIT AUX
vt	aux

'The teenager went out hunting. He was also carrying blowgun darts strapped to his side.'

3	Sare	sana	kane	toke
	sarehe	sana	ka- na+M	to- ka+M
	blowgun dart	carry strapped on shoulder	COMIT AUX	away go/come
	nf	vt	aux	vi

mase	mase	hi	nematamonaka	ahi
mase	mase	hii	na -himata -mona -ka	ahi
curassow	curassow	(call of curassow)	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	then
nm	nm	vi	aux	dem

'He was carrying blowgun darts as he went. A curassow called.'

4	Hoh	hoh	hoh
	hoh	hoh	hoh
	(call of curassow)	(call of curassow)	(call of curassow)
	sound	sound	sound

THREE TRAGEDIES

hohoh
 hohoh
 (call of curassow)
 sound
yama
 yama
 thing
 nf
ati
 ati
 say
 vt
nemetemoneke
 na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

"Hoh, hoh, hoh, hohoh," it went.'

5 **Tokehimatamonaka**
 to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi
ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He went into the forest.'

6 **Hibaka** **tohemata** **one** **hi** **ne**
 hibaka to- ha -himata ati o- na+M hii na+M
 where CH be FP.N+M say 1SG.S AUX (call of curassow) AUX
 interrog vc vt vi aux
amane **ati** **ne** , **karaboa** , **hinaka** **wati** **kahama** ,
 ama -ne ati na+M , karaboha , hinaka wati ka- homa.LIST ,
 SEC BKG+M say AUX blowgun 3SG.POSS arrow COMIT lie on ground
 sec vt aux nf pron nm vi

hawi **ya**
 hawi ya
 trail ADJU
 nf prt

"Where is the one that is calling?" he said. His blowgun and his bow were lying on the ground.'

7 **Tokehimatamonaka**
 to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He went.'

8 **Yama** **ki** **nematamonaka** **ahi**
 yama kii na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 thing look at AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nf vt aux dem

'He looked around.'

9 **Awa** **ini** , **hi** **ni**
 awa ini , hii na.NFIN
 tree branch+F (call of curassow) AUX
 nf pn vi aux

tokanokohemetemone **ha** **ya** **ahi**
 to- ka- noko -hemete -mone haa ya ahi
 away COMIT point FP.N+F REP+F DEM ADJU there
 vi dem prt dem

'The calling was coming from a branch on the other side.'

10 **Hoh** , **hoh** , **hohoh** **yama**
 hoh hoh hohoh yama
 (call of curassow) (call of curassow) (call of curassow) thing
 sound sound sound nf

ati **nemetemone**
 ati na -hemete -mone
 say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vt aux

"Hoh, hoh, hohoh," it said.'

THREE TRAGEDIES

kamakimatamonaka

ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'It wrapped itself around him and killed him and swallowed him. Then his father came.'

18 **Bati** **kamaki** , **Okatao** **toke**
 bati ka -makI+M okatao to- ka+M
 3SG.POSS.father go/come following my son away go/come
 nm vi nm vi

kamakama **re** **na**
 kama- ka -ma na -ra+M na
 DUP go/come back AUX NEG AUX
 vi aux aux

'His father came. "My son went out, and has not come back."'

19 **Biyo** **ihi** **fawa** **na** **biyo**
 biyo ihi fawa na.CONT+M biyo
 spider monkey because of+F disappear AUX spider monkey
 nf post vi aux nf

"He disappeared because of the spider monkeys."

20 **Faya** **bati** **kamaki** **bati**
 faya bati ka -makI+M bati
 so 3SG.POSS.father go/come following 3SG.POSS.father
 conj nm vi nm

kamakimatamonaka

ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'His father came.'

21 **Bati** **kamaki** , **hinaka** **wati**
 bati ka -makI+M hinaka wati
 3SG.POSS.father go/come following 3SG.POSS pron nm
 nm vi nm nm

kahami **bati** **hiwe** , **Okatao** , **ka** **wati**
 ka- homa.NFIN bati hi- awa+M okatao ka wati
 COMMIT lie on ground 3SG.POSS.father OC see my son POSS arrow
 vi nm vt nm prt nm

kahameno **hari**
 ka- homa -hino haari
 COMMIT lie on ground IP.N+M that one+M
 vi dem

'His father came. His father saw his bow and arrows on the ground. "My son's bow and arrows are there on the ground."'

22 **Wati** **tokanokoka** **hari**
 wati to- ka- noko -ka haari
 arrow CH COMMIT point DECL+M that one+M
 nm vi dem

"His arrows are pointing that way."

23 **Tokomake** **yama** **yama** **tafani**
 to- ka -makI yama yama tafa -hani
 away go/come following thing thing eat IP.N+F
 vi nf nf vi

THREE TRAGEDIES

homemetemoneke

homa -hemete -mone -ke
lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vi

ahi

ahi
there
dem

wasara

wasara
be puffed up
vi

toreharo

to- na -rI -haaro
CH AUX raised surface IP.E+F
aux

'He went there. It had eaten, and it was lying on the ground all puffed up.'

24 **Efe** **okatao** **amareno** **yama** , **make** **yome**
efe okatao ama -ra -hino yama , makehe yome
this+M my son be NEG IP.N+M thing anaconda swallow
dem nm vc nf nf vt

tonisani

to- na -risa -hani **homine**
CH AUX down IP.N+F lie on ground CONT+F
aux vi

ha

haa
DEM
dem

'''Could that be my son? The anaconda has swallowed something and is lying there.'''

25 **Okatao** **make** **yome** **tonisakeni**
okatao makehe yome to- na -risa -ke -ni
my son anaconda swallow CH AUX down DECL+F BKG+F
nm nf vt aux

'''The anaconda has swallowed my son.'''

26 **Hinaka** **wati** **kakitikabote** **hinematamonaka**
hinaka wati ka- iti -kabote hi- na -himata -mona -ka
3SG.POSS arrow COMMIT pick up quickly OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
pron nm vt aux

'He quickly picked up his bow and arrows.'

27 **Make** , **sa** **kanehimatamonaka** **ahi**
makehe , saa ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
anaconda shoot with arrow COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
nf vt aux dem

'He hit the anaconda with an arrow.'

28 **Make** **tisa** **kane** **make** , **kakatome**
makehe tisa ka- na+M makehe , ka- katoma+M
anaconda shoot with arrow COMMIT AUX anaconda COMMIT look at
nf vt aux nf vt

make **tisawemetemoneke**

makehe tisa -waha -hemete -mone -ke
anaconda be stretched out change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
nf vi

'He hit the anaconda with an arrow. He looked at the anaconda. The anaconda uncoiled.'

29 **Tisawa** , **tisawa** **iha**
tisa -waha+F , tisa -waha+F iha
be stretched out change be stretched out change plant sp
vi vi nm

ehene **iha** **ehene** **sa** **nemetemone**
ehene iha ehene saa na -hemete -mone
because of+M plant sp because of+M vomit AUX FP.N+F REP+F
post nm post vi aux

'It was stretched out. It vomited because of the iha poison.'

THREE TRAGEDIES

30 *Faya* , *abohi* *kora* *towitimatamonaka* *ahi*
 faya , abohi kora to- na -witI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 so dead body come out away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj pn vi aux dem

'His dead body came out.'

31 *Okatao* *yama* *katomani* *tiwa*
 okatao yama katoma -hani ti- awa
 my son thing attack IP.N+F 2SG.S see
 nm nf vt vt

""Look at it, it killed my son.""

32 *Hoo* , *okatao* *yama* *katomakeni*
 hoo , okatao yama katoma -ke -ni
 humph my son thing attack DECL+F IP.N+F
 interj nm nf vt

""Hoo, it killed my son.""

33 *Faya* *hanohemetemone* *fahi*
 faya hano -hemete -mone fahi
 so be drunk FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj vi dem

'Then it was drunk.'

34 *Hanoha* , *hanohemetemoneke*
 hano+F , hano -hemete -mone -ke
 be drunk be drunk FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi vi

'It was drunk.'

35 *Hanoha* , *Okatao* *yama* *katomakeni*
 hano+F , okatao yama katoma -ke -ni
 be drunk my son thing damage DECL+F IP.N+F
 vi nm nf vt

'It was drunk. "It killed my son."'

36 *Faya* , *faya* *me* , *bati* , *bati* *wete* *hine*
 faya , faya me , bati , bati wete hine
 so so 3PL 3SG.POSS.father 3SG.POSS.father tie OC AUX
 conj conj pron nm nm vt aux
 , *bati* *wete* *hine* , *Okatao* *weye* *onabana*
 bati wete hine , okatao weye o- na -habana
 3SG.POSS.father tie OC AUX my son carry 1SG.S AUX FUT+F
 nm vt aux nm vt aux

oke

o- ke
 1SG.S DECL+F
 prt

'His father tied him up. "I will carry my son on my back."'

37 *Faya* *bati* *make* *ka* *hiname* *bati*
 faya bati makehe kaa hi- na -ma+M bati
 so 3SG.POSS.father anaconda spew OC AUX back 3SG.POSS.father
 conj nm nf vt aux nm

THREE TRAGEDIES

wete	hine	bati		weye	hine		biti		weye
wete	hi- na+M	bati		weye	hi- na+M	,	biti		weye
tie	OC AUX	3SG.POSS.father		carry	OC AUX		3SG.POSS.son		carry
vt	aux	nm		vt	aux		nm		vt

ne	kame		biti	weye	ne	ohi	ni	
na+M	ka	-ma+M	biti	weye	na+M	ohi	na.NFIN	
AUX	go/come	back	3SG.POSS.son	carry	AUX	cry	AUX	
aux	vi		nm	vt	aux	vi	aux	

kamematamonaka

ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'The anaconda had spewed him back up. His father tied him up. His father carried him on his back. He came carrying his son on his back. As he carried his son, he came back crying.'

38	Ohi	ni	kame		Efe	amare	
	ohi	na.NFIN	ka	-ma+M	efe	ama -ra+M	
	cry	AUX	go/come	back	this+M	be NEG	
	vi	aux	vi		dem	vc	

'He came back crying. "There he is."'

39	Ehene	ohi	na	hari
	ehene	ohi	na.CONT+M	haari
	result of+M	cry	AUX	that one+M
	pn	vi	aux	dem

""There is crying because of him.""

40	Okatao	tokeno
	okatao	to- ka -hino
	my son	away go/come IP.N+M
	nm	vi

""My son went out into the forest.""

41	Faya	ohi	ni	kame		biti	weye	ni
	faya	ohi	na.NFIN	ka	-ma+M	biti	weye	na.NFIN
	so	cry	AUX	go/come	back	3SG.POSS.son	carry	AUX
	conj	vi	aux	vi		nm	vt	aux

kameno		ohi	ni	kame		kobo	name	
ka	-ma -hino	ohi	na.NFIN	ka	-ma+M	kobo	na -ma+M	,
go/come	back IP.N+M	cry	AUX	go/come	back	arrive	AUX back	
vi		vi	aux	vi		vi	aux	

Efe	ehene	ohi	ne	ama	hari
efe	ehene	ohi	na+M	ama	haari
this+M	result of+M	cry	AUX	SEC	that one+M
dem	pn	vi	aux	sec	dem

'He came back crying. He came back carrying his son. He came back crying, and arrived back. "There is crying because of him."'

42	Okatao	make	watahani	oni
	okatao	makehe	wata -hani	o- ni
	my son	anaconda	catch IP.N+F	1SG.POSS BKG+F
	nm	nf	vt	prt

""An anaconda caught my son.""

THREE TRAGEDIES

49 **Haa yiko fana okaraboibeya**
 haa yiko fana o- karaboiba -be -ya
 oh howler monkey female 1SG.S shoot with blowgun IMMED+F now
 interj nm nf vt
 "Good, I will kill a female howler monkey."

50 **Yiko me ayakemetemoneke**
 yiko me ayaka -hemete -mone -ke
 howler monkey 3PL.S sing FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron vi
 'The howler monkeys were howling.'

51 **Fa fa kanafiemetemoneke**
 faha faha ka- nafi -hemete -mone -ke
 stream stream COMIT be big FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf nf vi
 'There was a large stream.'

52 **Fa kanafia towaka awa kaya ni tabiyo**
 faha ka- nafi+F to- ka- ka+F awa kaya na.NFIN tabiyo
 stream COMIT be big away COMIT go/come tree lie AUX absence
 nf vi vi nf vi aux pn
yama kiki tosi ne
 yama ki- kii to- na -sii na+M
 thing DUP look CH AUX slowly along the way AUX
 nf vt aux aux

tokisawiti Yama
 to- ka -risa -witI+M yama
 away go/come down out thing
 vi nf
 'The large stream went along. He went downstream looking for a fallen log. "Well."'

53 **Awa watarimakoni wete name kame**
 awa wata -ra -makoni wete na -ma+M ka -ma+M
 tree exist NEG for this reason+F return AUX back go/come back
 nf vi vi aux vi
tokatimawiti awa watara kamatase
 to- ka -tima -witI+M awa wata -ra+F ka -ma -tasa+M
 away go/come upstream out tree exist NEG go/come back again
 vi nf vi vi
yama ki namaite awa awa yome bere
 yama kii na -ma -hitI awa awa yomee bere
 thing look at AUX back along the way tree tree jaguar be across
 nf vt aux nf nf nm vi
nemetemoneke ahi awa amaranihi
 na -hemete -mone -ke ahi awa ama -ra -hani -hi
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then tree be NEG IP.N+F DUP
 aux dem nf vc

makenihi make
 makehe -ni -hi makehe
 anaconda IP.N+F DUP anaconda
 nf nf
 'Because there was no fallen log, he turned back and came back. He went upstream, but there was no fallen log, and he came back again. He was looking around as he went along. Then there was the figure of a log in the water. But it wasn't a log, it was an anaconda.'

THREE TRAGEDIES

54 **Make** **bere** **nemetemone** **ahi**
 makehe bere na -hemete -mone ahi
 anaconda be across AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 nf vi aux dem

'There was an anaconda stretched out.'

55 **Bere** **na** , **awa** **amarani** **make** **bere** **nani**
 bere na+F , awa ama -ra -hani makehe bere na -hani
 be across AUX tree be NEG IP.N+F anaconda be across AUX IP.N+F
 vi aux nf vc nf vi aux

mese **bere** **towitino** **yora** **towiti**
 mese bere to- na -witI -hino yora to- na -witI+M
 surface be across away AUX out IP.N+M jump away AUX out
 pn vi aux vi aux

fawa **towiti** **rama** **ahi**
 fawa to- na -witI+M rama ahi
 disappear away AUX out unusual then
 vi aux prt dem

'It was stretched out. The anaconda, which was not a log, was stretched out. He walked on top of it, and jumped, and he sunk.'

56 **He** **noko** **wai** **nemetemoneke** **ahi**
 hee noko wai na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3SG.POSS face bite AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron pn vt aux dem

'It bit his face.'

57 **Make** **kawana** , **he** **kini** **nemetemoneke**
 makehe ka- wana+F , hee kini na -hemete -mone -ke
 anaconda COMMIT be attached 3SG.O wrap AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi pron vt aux

ahi **sare** **sana** **kane** **karo**
 ahi sarehe sana ka- na.NOM+M karo
 then blowgun dart carry strapped on shoulder COMMIT AUX which
 dem nf vt aux prt

'The anaconda held onto him and wrapped itself around him, as he had his blowgun darts strapped on his shoulder.'

58 **Tere** **tonikime** , **mano** **e** **kana**
 tere to- niha- na -kima+M , mano ee na -ka -na
 be spread open CH CAUS AUX two arm+M motion AUX DECL+M IRR+M
 vi aux pn vi aux

ati **remetemone**
 ati na -ra -hemete -mone
 say AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 vt aux

'He opened his legs wide, and reached for his knife, but it wouldn't let him.'

59 **He** **fariboti** **soki** **nake** **rama** **ahi**
 hee fariboti soki na -kI rama ahi
 3SG.O armpit tie up AUX coming unusual then
 pron pn vt aux prt dem

'It tightened its hold around his armpits.'

THREE TRAGEDIES

60 *Hato* *hato* *soba* *nakematamonaka* *ahi*
 hato hato soba na -kI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 bamboo sp bamboo sp pull out AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nf nf vt aux

'He pulled out his bamboo cutter.'

61 *Hato* *soba* *nake* *make* , *he* *noko* *he*
 hato soba na -kI makehe , hee noko hee
 bamboo sp pull out AUX coming anaconda 3SG.POSS face 3SG.POSS
 nf vt aux nf pron pn pron

noko *ya* *kawana* *namiti* *namiti* *bobi*
 noko ya ka- wana+F namiti namiti bobi
 face ADJU COMMIT be attached neck neck slit
 pn prt vi pn pn vt

hinakosemetemoneke *ahi* , *tisawabana*
 hi- na -kosa -hemete -mone -ke ahi , tisa -waha -habana
 OC AUX middle FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then be stretched out change FUT+F
 aux dem vi

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He took out the bamboo cutter. As it was holding onto his face, he cut its neck, and it left go.'

62 *Bobi* *hinakosa* , *kote* *one* *bobi* *hinakosa* *kote*
 bobi hi- na -kosa+F , kote one bobi hi- na -kosa+F kote
 slit OC AUX middle piece other+F slit OC AUX middle piece
 vt aux pn adj vt aux pn

koro *hiwitiemetemoneke* *ahi*
 koro hi- to- na -witI -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 throw OC away AUX out FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt aux dem

'He cut it. He cut it in pieces. He threw the pieces away.'

63 *Faya* *kote* *one* *bobi* *hinakosa* *koro*
 faya kote one bobi hi- na -kosa+F koro
 so piece other+F slit OC AUX middle throw
 conj pn adj vt aux vt

hiwitiemetemoneke
 hi- to- na -witI -hemete -mone -ke
 OC away AUX out FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'He cut it in pieces, and threw the pieces away.'

64 *Faya* *hiwa* *kasome* , *yati* *kanenaha* ,
 faya hiwa ka- soma+M , yati ka- na -hina -ha ,
 so 3SG.REFL.M COMMIT be restored be alive COMMIT AUX IRR+M DUP
 conj pron vt vi aux

fariboti *baka* *tokanematamona* *amaka* *ahi*
 fariboti baka to- ka- -na -himata -mona ama -ka ahi
 armpit break CH COMMIT DUP FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M then
 pn vt aux sec dem

'He recomposed himself. He would have been all right, but his ribs were broken.'

THREE TRAGEDIES

65 *Fariboti* *baka* *tokane* , *faya* *kawita* *nabe* ,
 fariboti baka to- ka- na+M , faya ka- ita nahaba+M ,
 armpit break CH COMIT AUX so COMIT sit at night
 pn vt aux conj vi prt

kawita *nabematamona* *fahi* .
 ka- ita nahaba -himata -mona fahi
 COMIT sit at night FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi prt dem

'His ribs were broken. He stayed there injured all night.'

66 *Kawita* *nabe* , *nisori*
 ka- ita+F nahaba+M , nisori
 COMIT sit at night 3SG.POSS.younger brother
 vi prt nm

nisori *me* *kamakia* *me* ,
 nisori me ka -makI+F me
 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S
 nm pron vi pron

nisori *me* *kamakietemoneke* .
 nisori me ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke
 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.S go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron vi

'He stayed there injured all night. His younger brothers came.'

67 *Me* *kamakia* *me* , *me* *ka* *wabo* *me* *na*
 me ka -makI+F me , me ka wabo me na+F
 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S 3PL POSS brother-in-law 3PL.S AUX
 pron vi pron pron prt nm pron aux

me , *me* *kamakia* *me* , *me*
 me , me ka -makI+F me , me
 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron pron vi pron pron

kamakietemoneke
 ka -makI -hemete -mone -ni
 go/come following FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi

'They came. Their brothers-in-law also came.'

68 *Me* *kamakia* *me* , *hinaka* , *hinaka* *wati*
 me ka -makI+F me , hinaka , hinaka wati
 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S 3SG.POSS 3SG.POSS arrow
 pron vi pron pron pron nm

kawemata *awaka* *hawi* *ya* .
 ka- waa -himata awa -ka hawi ya
 COMIT stand FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M trail ADJU
 vi sec nf prt

'They came. His arrows must have been against a log on the trail.'

69 *Hinaka* *wati* *kawari* *hari* .
 hinaka wati ka- waa -haari hari
 3SG.POSS arrow COMIT stand look+M that one+M
 pron nm vt dem

'"Look, there are his arrows against a log."'

THREE TRAGEDIES

70 *Hinaka wati kawaka hari*
 hinaka wati ka- waa -ka haari
 3SG.POSS arrow COMIT stand DECL+M that one+M
 pron nm vi dem

"His arrows are there against a log."

71 *Wati tokofore hari ha kari*
 wati to- ka- forI haari haa kari
 arrow away COMIT lie on top that one+M DEM LOC+M
 nm vi dem dem prt

"His arrows are lying there, pointing ahead."

72 *E tokomake ahi*
 ee to- ka -makI ahi
 1IN.S away go/come following there
 pron vi dem

"Let's go there."

73 *Me tokomake yama me siba na Yama*
 me to- ka -makI yama me siba na+F yama
 3PL.S away go/come following thing 3PL.S look for AUX thing
 pron vi nf pron vt aux nf

honakere haro
 hona -ke -re haaro
 have something DECL+F NEG+F that one+F
 vi dem

"They went and looked. "There isn't anyone here."

74 *Ha ta amake ahi*
 haa taa ama -ke ahi
 DEM contrast be DECL+F there
 dem prt vc dem

"It must be the other direction."

75 *Tokeno awaka ahi*
 to- ka -hino awa -ka ahi
 away go/come IP.N+M seem+M DECL+M there
 vi sec dem

"He must have gone there."

76 *Wati tokanomakeka hari*
 wati to- ka- noko -makI -ka haari
 arrow away COMIT point following DECL+M that one+M
 nm vi dem

"The arrows are pointing that way."

77 *Tokomake tokomake tokomake*
 to- ka -makI to- ka -makI to- ka -makI
 away go/come following away go/come following away go/come following
 vi vi vi

tokomake ne ya fa kaya na ya
 to- ka -makI.LIST na+M ya faha kaya na+F ya
 away go/come following AUX ADJU stream lie AUX ADJU
 vi aux prt nf vi aux prt

THREE TRAGEDIES

itehimatamonaka

ita -himata -mona -ka
 sit FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He had gone and gone and gone, and had sat down at a stream.'

78 **Ite** , **iteno** **me** **hiwematamona** **fahi**
 ita+M , ita -hino me hi- awa -himata -mona fahi
 sit sit IP.N+M 3PL.S OC see FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi vi pron vt dem

'They saw him sitting there.'

79 **Itahari** **hari**
 ita -haari haari
 sit look+M that one+M
 vi dem

""There he is sitting there.""

80 **Itahari** **hari** **me** **hine** , **ati** **yana**
 ita -haari haari me ati hi- na+M , ati yana
 sit look+M that one+M 3PL.S say OC AUX voice start
 vi dem pron aux pn vi

tonematamona **ahi**
 to- na -himata -mona ahi
 CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 aux dem

""There he is sitting there," they said. He spoke.'

81 **Kinikini** **kinikinikinikinikinikini**
 kini- kini kini- kini- kini- kini- kini- kini
 DUP wrap DUP DUP DUP DUP DUP wrap
 vt vt

kinikinikinikinikinikinikini **ati** **nematamona**
 kini- kini- kini- kini- kini- kini- kini ati na -himata -mona
 DUP DUP DUP DUP DUP DUP wrap say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vt vt aux

""Wrap wrap wrap wrap," he said.'

82 **Make** **owa** **kini** **nara** **oni** **ati** **ne** **ati**
 makehe owa kini na -hara o- ni ati na+M ati
 anaconda 1SG.O wrap AUX IP.E+F 1SG.O BKG+F say AUX voice
 nf pron vt aux prt vt aux pn

hiyarematamonaka
 hiya -ra -himata -mona -ka
 be different NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

""An anaconda wrapped itself around me," he said, in a different voice.'

83 **Make** **tiwa** **kabehene** **ama** **ti** ?
 makehe tiwa kaba -hene ama ti-
 anaconda 2SG.O eat IRR+F SEC 2SG.S
 nf pron vt sec prt

""Did the anaconda almost eat you?""

THREE TRAGEDIES

84 *Kote ta torero haro wisi*
 kote taa to- na -rI -haaro haaro wisi
 piece be piled up CH AUX raised surface look+F that one+F cut up
 pn vi aux dem vt

hinanihi
 hi- na -hani -hi
 OC AUX IP.N+F DUP
 aux

"The pieces of it are in a pile there, that he cut up."

85 *Kinikinikinikinikini kinikinikinikinikinikini ati*
 kini- kini- kini- kini- kini- , kini- kini- kini- kini- kini- kini- ati
 DUP DUP DUP DUP wrap DUP DUP DUP DUP DUP wrap say
 vt vt vt

nematamona
 na -himata -mona
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 aux

"Wrap wrap wrap wrap," he said.'

86 *Faya me hitimake me*
 faya me hi- to- iti -makI me
 so 3PL.S OC away take out following 3PL.S
 conj pron vt pron

hiwakame , *me*
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma+M , me
 OC away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 vt pron

hiwakamematamonaka
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'They went and got him and took him home.'

87 *Hinaka karaboa me hiwakama me*
 hinaka karaboha me hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F , me
 3SG.POSS blowgun 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 pron nf pron vt pron

hiwakame , *weye hinare* , *yama haha*
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma+M , weye na -hina -ra+M , yama haaha
 OC away COMIT go/come back carry AUX can NEG thing this+F
 vt vt aux nf dem

baka tokani ka weye hinare , *faya me* ,
 baka to- ka- na.NOM+F ka weye na -hina -ra+M , faya me ,
 break CH COMIT AUX because carry AUX can NEG so 3PL.S
 vt aux prt vt aux conj pron

hiwakame , *me awa ya me* , *awa ya me*
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma+M me awa ya me , awa ya me
 OC away COMIT go/come back 3PL wood ADJU 3PL wood ADJU 3PL.S
 vt pron nf prt pron nf prt pron

hinawane me tiwa hikanematamonaka ahi
 hi- na- wana+M me tiwa hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 OC CAUS be attached 3PL.S carry OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt pron vt aux dem

'They took his blowgun. They took him, but he couldn't be carried. Because his ribs were broken he couldn't be carried. They took him. They tied him to a pole and carried him.'

THREE TRAGEDIES

88 *Me tiwa hikane* , *me tiwa hikane me*
 me tiwa hi- ka- na+M , me tiwa hi- ka- na+M me
 3PL.S carry OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S carry OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S
 pron vt aux pron vt aux pron
hekame , *me hekame me*
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma+M , me hi- to- ka- ka -ma+M me
 OC away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 vt pron vt pron
kobo hikaname , *Hoo* , *okoyo*
 kobo hi- to- ka- na -ma+M , hoo , o- ka ayo
 arrive OC away COMIT AUX back whew 1SG.POSS POSS older brother
 vi aux interj nm
make kini hineno owakamine
 makehe kini hi- na -hino o- ka- ka -ma -ne
 anaconda wrap OC AUX IP.N+M 1SG.S COMIT go/come back CONT+F
 nf vt aux vt
oke hari
 o- ke haari
 1SG.S DECL+F that one+M
 prt dem
 "They carried him. They took him. They arrived with him. "Whew, I have brought my older brother who an anaconda wrapped itself around."

89 *Hiwarani awineni*
 hi- awa -ra -hani awine -ni
 OC see NEG IP.N+F seem+F BKG+F
 vt sec
 "I guess he didn't see it."

90 *Fa ki ona noki hoto kanarake*
 faha kii o- na+M noki hoto ka- na -hara -ke
 water look at 1SG.S AUX color+F make smoke COMIT AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 nf vt aux pn vi aux
 "I looked at the water, and it was cloudy."

91 *Faha noki hoto kanaha ya kariwebona ati*
 faha noki hoto ka- na+M ya ka -riwaha -hibona ati
 water color+F make smoke COMIT AUX ADJU go/come across INT+M say
 nf pn vi aux prt vi vt
neni kawitabaseno ota
 na -hino , ka- ita -basa -hino otaa
 AUX IP.N+M COMIT sit edge IP.N+M 1EX.S
 aux vi pron
kakamineke
 ka- ka -ma -ne -ke
 COMIT go/come back CONT+F DECL+F
 vt
 "He was sitting at the edge of the stream injured after wanting to cross the stream which had cloudy water, and we have brought him back."

92 *Hinaka make bobi hinahani kote ta*
 hinaka makehe bobi hi- na -hani kote taa
 3SG.POSS anaconda slit OC AUX IP.N+F piece be piled up
 pron nf vt aux pn vi

THREE TRAGEDIES

tokomakematamonaka

to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He was shooting the peccaries with arrows. His arrows were almost all gone. He was going to run with his one arrow. "Let my arrows be all gone," he said. He was going to run with his arrow, and he went running.'

103 **Kana ni tokomake , tokomake hoti**
 kana na.NFIN to- ka -makI to- ka -makI hoti
 run AUX away go/come following away go/come following hole
 vi aux vi vi nf

hotimetemoneke

hoti -mete -mone -ke
 hole FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf

'He went running. It was a hole.'

104 **Fa fa fa witi ya hoti waha , kana ni**
 faha faha faha witi ya hoti waa+F kana na.NFIN
 stream stream stream edge ADJU hole stand run AUX
 nf nf nf pn prt nf vi vi aux

tokomake fawa nisematamonaka ahi
 to- ka -makI fawa na -risa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 away go/come following disappear AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi vi aux dem

'There was a hole next to the stream. He went running, and disappeared.'

105 **Hoti nafiemetemoneke**
 hoti nafi -hemete -mone -ke
 hole be big FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf vi

'It was a big hole.'

106 **Hoti nafiha ya , hoti ya fawa nise , fawa**
 hoti nafi+F ya hoti ya fawa na -risa+M fawa
 hole be big ADJU hole ADJU disappear AUX down disappear
 nf vi prt nf prt vi aux vi

nise me , Faira , hiyama mera fito
 na -risa+M me fahi -ra , hiyama mera fito
 AUX down 3PL that NPQ white-lipped peccary 3PL.O rush
 aux pron dem nm pron vi

tokanamaki tokomakeareka ahi
 to- ka- na -makI+M to- ka -makI -hare -ka ahi
 away COMIT AUX following away go/come following IP.E+M DECL+M there
 aux vi dem

'He disappeared in the big hole. "Where is he? He ran after the peccaries."

107 **Faya , me siba hine hinaka hiyama me**
 faya me siba hi- na+M hinaka hiyama me
 so 3PL.S look for OC AUX 3SG.POSS white-lipped peccary 3PL.O
 conj pron vt aux pron nm pron

me iso hina , hinaka hiyama me me
 me iso hi- na+F hinaka hiyama me me
 3PL.S carry off OC AUX 3SG.POSS white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron vt aux pron nm pron pron

THREE TRAGEDIES

iso hinemetemoneke
 iso hi- na -hemete -mone -ke
 carry off OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux
 'They looked for him. They carried off his peccaries.'

108 **Hinaka hiyama me me iso hina me**
 hinaka hiyama me me iso hi- na+F me
 3SG.POSS white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S carry off OC AUX 3PL.O
 pron nm pron pron vt aux pron
 , **Hibaka tohemata oneya ahi**
 hibaka to- ha.NOM+M -mata ati o- na+M -ya ahi
 where CH be ?+M say 1SG.S AUX now then
 interrog vc vt dem
 'They carried off his peccaries. "Where could he be?"'

109 **Kana ni tokomakehino awaka**
 kana na.NFIN to- ka -makI -hino awa -ka
 run AUX away go/come following IP.N+M seem+M DECL+M
 vi aux vi sec
 "He went that way."

110 **Teme tokomakehari ha**
 teme to- ka -makI -haari haa
 footprint+M away go/come following look+M DEM
 pn vi dem
 "Look, his footprints go that way."

111 **Titisa titisa ta**
 ti- tisa ti- tisa taa
 DUP shoot with arrow DUP shoot with arrow contrast
 nf nf prt
wataremetemone amani
 wata -ra -hemete -mone ama -ni
 exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
 vi sec
 'But there was no bow.'

112 **Wati wati kote ta tafo**
 wati wati kote taa tafo
 arrow arrow piece contrast float
 nm nm pn prt vi
tokanematamonaka hoti
 to- ka- na -himata -mona -ka hoti
 CH COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M hole
 aux nf
 'Only pieces of an arrow came to the surface in the hole.'

113 **Wati kote tafo tokane Wati kote tafo**
 wati kote tafo to- ka- na+M wati kote tafo
 arrow piece float CH COMIT AUX arrow piece float
 nm pn vi aux nm pn vi
tokanari hari
 to- ka- na -haari haari
 CH COMIT AUX look+M that one+M
 aux dem
 'Pieces of an arrow came to the surface. "Look, there are pieces of an arrow that came to the surface there."'

THREE TRAGEDIES

122 *Awa one ka nakosamaki awa me wete kana*
 awa one kaa na -kosa -makI awa me wete ka- na+F
 tree other+F chop AUX middle following tree 3PL.S tie COMMIT AUX
 nf adj vt aux nf pron vt aux

awa me yoko tonisa me , Aa ,
 awa me yoko to- na -risa+F me , aa ,
 tree 3PL.S push away AUX down 3PL.S (expression of displeasure)
 nf pron vt aux pron interj

yama winakosake
 yama wina -kosa -ke
 thing hang middle DECL+F
 nf vi

'He cut another pole, and they tied the pole on. They pushed the pole down. "Oh no, it didn't reach the bottom yet.'"

123 *Airowa toke awaka boti ya*
 Airowa to- ka+M awa -ka boti ya
 (man's name) away go/come seem+M DECL+M way down ADJU
 npropm vi sec nf prt

"Airowa went way down."

124 *Faya me , kamemetemone*
 faya me , ka -ma -hemete -mone
 so 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
 conj pron vi

'Then they came back.'

125 *Yama , mafomafo nemetemone amake ahi*
 yama , mafo- mafo na -hemete -mone ama -ke ahi
 thing DUP be agitated AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F then
 nf vi aux sec dem

Airowa kabaharo ahi
 Airowa kaba -haaro ahi
 (man's name) eat IP.E+F then
 npropm vt dem

'The water was stirred up as something was eating Airowa.'

126 *Faya hiyama me me kakama me*
 faya hiyama me me ka- ka -ma+F me
 so white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S COMMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 conj nm pron pron vt pron

Awaminabanake
 awa -mina -habana -ke
 see morning FUT+F DECL+F
 result

'Then they brought the peccaries back. "We will look at it tomorrow.'"

127 *Awaminabanani*
 awa -mina -habana -ni
 see morning FUT+F BKG+F
 result

"We will look at it tomorrow."

128 *Hiwa foya na*
 hiwa foya.NOM+M na
 3SG.REFL.M be inside AUX
 pron vi aux

THREE TRAGEDIES

"Let him be in there."

129 *Awa hine namati na*
 awa hine na -mata.NOM+F na
 tree only exist short time AUX
 nf pron vi aux

"Let the pole be for now."

130 *Awa me horo namisama awa me*
 awa me horo na -misa -ma+F awa me
 tree 3PL.S drag AUX up back tree 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux nf pron

tobamisawite *Awa yabo*
 to- iba -misa -witI awa yabo -ke
 away set down up out tree be long DECL+F
 vt nf vi

"They brought the pole up. They lay the pole down in the forest. "The pole is long."

131 *Faya me yana tonemetemone fahi*
 faya me yana to- na -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron vi aux dem

"They were ready to leave."

132 *Me tokoma me me tokoma me*
 me to- ka -ma+F me me to- ka -ma+F me
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

kobo tonama me , hiyara mati mitahani
 kobo to- na -ma+F me , hiyara mati mita -hani
 arrive away AUX back 3PL.S story 3SG.POSS.mother hear IP.N+F
 vi aux pron nf nf vt

mati ohi nemetemone fahi , bati
 mati ohi na -hemete -mone fahi bati
 3SG.POSS.mother cry AUX FP.N+F REP+F then 3SG.POSS.father
 nf vi aux dem nm

"They went back. They arrived back. When his mother heard the news, she cried. His father, too."

133 *Okataora okataora okataora okataora okataora*
 okatao -ra okatao -ra okatao -ra okatao -ra okatao -ra
 my son NPQ my son NPQ my son NPQ my son NPQ my son NPQ
 nm nm nm nm nm

"My son, my son, my son."

134 *Ehene kabakaba raba nofare ra yome*
 ehene kaba- kaba na -raba na nofa -ra+M ra yome
 victim of+M DUP eat AUX a bit AUX recently NEG O swallow
 pn result aux aux prt vt

tonisemetemone hinita kamawarari
 to- na -risa -hemete -mone , hinita ka -ma -waha -ra -haari
 CH AUX down FP.N+F REP+F empty go/come back change NEG IP.E+M
 aux pn vi

"The water swallowed the one whose game was always eaten. He never came back without game."

THREE TRAGEDIES

"He ran after the peccaries, and fell in a hole."

142	Faya	sonehino	yama	hoti	ota	kakawa	na	awa	yaboha
	faya	sona -hino	yama	hoti	otaa	ka- kawa	na+F	awa	yabo+F
	so	fall IP.N+M	thing	hole	1EX.S	DUP thrust	AUX	tree	be long
	conj	vi	nf	pn	pron	vt	aux	nf	vi
	fawa	tonisamakiaharake							
	fawa	to- na	-risa	-makI	-hara	-ke			
	disappear	CH	AUX	down	following	IP.E+F	DECL+F		
	vi	aux							

"He had fallen in. We poked in the hole. A long pole disappeared after the other pole."

143	Ota	horo	namisama	waharani
	otaa	horo	na -misa -ma+F	waa -hara -ni
	1EX.S	drag	AUX up back	stand IP.E+F BKG+F
	pron	vt	aux	vi

"We pulled it back up, and it was standing up."

144	E	aawamina	namata	mata
	ee	a- awa -mina	na -mata	mata
	1IN.S	DUP see morning	AUX short time	for now
	pron	vt	aux	prt

"We will look at it tomorrow."

145	We	awaka	hoti	ya
	waa+M	awa -ka	hoti	ya
	stand	seem+M DECL+M	hole	ADJU
	vi	sec	nf	prt

"He must be standing in the hole."

146	Awa	wara	tonebona	ota	ati	nareka
	awa	wara	to- na -hibona	otaa	ati	na -hare -ka
	tree	grab	CH AUX INT+M	1EX.S	say	AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
	nf	vt	aux	pron	vt	aux

"We want him to grab onto the pole."

147	Faya	me	bosa	nemetemone	fahi
	faya	me	bosa	na -hemete -mone	fahi
	so	3PL.S	get up early	AUX FP.N+F REP+F	then
	conj	pron	vi	aux	dem

'Then they got up early.'

148	Me	bosa	na	me	me	bosa	hikane
	me	bosa	na+F	me	me	bosa	hi- ka- na+M
	3PL.S	get up early	AUX	3PL.S	3PL.S	get up early	OC COMIT AUX
	pron	vi	aux	pron	pron	vi	aux

me	bosa	hikane	me	kobo	nake	me
me	bosa	hi- ka- na+M	me	kobo	na -kI	me
3PL.S	get up early	OC COMIT AUX	3PL.S	arrive	AUX coming	3PL.S
pron	vi	aux	pron	vi	aux	pron

Awa	totomi	tinama
awa	to- tomi	ti- na -ma
tree	DUP try	2SG.S AUX back
nf	vt	aux

"They got up early. They got up early because of him. They arrived. "Try the pole again."

THREE TRAGEDIES

149 *Awa koteba ti osamakemate*
 awa kote -ba tii o- na -kosa -makI -mate
 tree piece FUT cut through 1SG.S AUX middle following short time.IMP+F
 nf pn vt aux

"I will cut another piece for the pole."

150 *Awa ti nakosamaki awa wete kane*
 awa tii na -kosa -makI awa wete ka- na+M
 tree cut through AUX middle following tree tie COMMIT AUX
 nf vt aux nf vt aux

Hima yoko tinisamaki
 hima yoko ti- to- na -risa -makI
 let's go push 2SG.S away AUX down following
 interj vt aux

'He cut another tree, and tied it on. "Come on, push it down."

151 *Awa tokisamakini*
 awa to- ka -risa -makI -ni
 tree away go/come down following BKG+F
 nf vi

"The pole is going down."

152 *Awa wara tinahi*
 awa wara ti- to- na -hi
 tree grab 2SG.S CH AUX IMP+F
 nf vt aux

"Grab onto the pole."

153 *Awa wara tina*
 awa wara ti- to- na
 tree grab 2SG.S CH AUX
 nf vt aux

"Grab onto the pole."

154 *Awa wara tonebona ka awabone me yoko*
 awa wara to- na -hibona ka awa -bone me yoko
 tree grab CH AUX INT+M POSS wood INT+F 3PL.S push
 nf vt aux prt nf pron vt

hinisamakia awa sitokosemetemoneke
 hi- to- na -risa -makI+F awa sito -kosa -hemete -mone -ke
 OC away AUX down following wood be short middle FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux nf vi

'They pushed the pole down for him to grab onto, but the pole was too short.'

155 *Awa one me ti nakosamakia awa me*
 awa one me tii na -kosa -makI+F awa me
 tree other+F 3PL.S cut through AUX middle following tree 3PL.S
 nf adj pron vt aux nf pron

wete kanamaketasawa me yoko
 wete ka- na -makI -tasa+F awa me yoko
 tie COMMIT AUX following again tree 3PL.S push
 vt aux nf pron vt

tonisamakitasawa winakosemetemoneke
 to- na -risa -makI -tasa+F awa wina -kosa -hemete -mone -ke
 away AUX down following again tree hang middle FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux nf vi

THREE TRAGEDIES

'They cut down another tree. They tied the tree onto the pole. They pushed the pole down, but the pole didn't touch bottom.'

156 *Awa one me ti nakosamakia me , awa*
 awa one me tii na -kosa -makI+F me , awa
 tree other+F 3PL.S cut through AUX middle following 3PL.S tree
 nf adj pron vt aux pron nf

one me ti nakosamakia me , awa me
 one me tii na -kosa -makI+F me , awa me
 other+F 3PL.S cut through AUX middle following 3PL.S tree 3PL.S
 adj pron vt aux pron nf pron

yoko hinisamakia awa winakosemetemone
 yoko hi- to- na -risa -makI+F awa wina -kosa -hemete -mone
 push OC away AUX down following tree hang middle FP.N+F REP+F
 vt aux nf vi

'They cut down another tree. They pushed the pole down again, but the pole didn't touch bottom.'

157 *Yama fara tohemetemone*
 yama fara to- ha -hemete -mone
 thing same+F CH be FP.N+F REP+F
 nf dem vc

'It didn't have a bottom.'

158 *Awa tamabote , me yokoko hina , faya me ,*
 awa tama -bote , me yokoko -ko hi- na+F , faya me ,
 tree be many very 3PL.S push DUP OC AUX so 3PL
 nf adj pron vt aux conj pron

abemetemoneke fahi
 ahaba -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 end FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

'They pushed down many trees, until there were no trees left.'

159 *Awa me iso na awa me yokoko ni ya ,*
 awa me iso na+F awa me yokoko -ko na.NOM+F ya ,
 tree 3PL.S carry off AUX tree 3PL.S push DUP AUX ADJU
 nf pron vt aux nf pron vt aux prt

awa yabobote me yoko tonisamakitasa me
 awa yabo -bote me yoko to- na -risa -makI -tasa+F me
 tree be long very 3PL.S push away AUX down following again 3PL.S
 nf adj pron vt aux pron

wete hikana me yoko hinisamakitasa
 wete hi- ka- na+F me yoko hi- to- na -risa -makI -tasa+F ,
 tie OC COMIT AUX 3PL.S push OC away AUX down following again
 vt aux pron vt aux

me wete hikatasas me yoko
 me wete hi- ka- na -tasa+F me yoko
 3PL.S tie OC COMIT AUX again 3PL.S push
 pron vt aux pron vt

hinisamaki ahi
 hi- to- na -risa -makI+M ahi
 OC away AUX down following then
 aux dem

'They carried trees. They pushed the trees down. They pushed the really long pole down. They tied more on and pushed it down again. They tied more on and pushed it down.'

THREE TRAGEDIES

160 *Hika* , *yama* *yabohemetemone* *wabasineni*
 hika , yama yabo -hemete -mone waa -basa -ne -ni
 wow! thing be long FP.N+F REP+F stand edge CONT+F BKG+F
 interj nf vi vi

"Wow, the pole standing was long."

161 *Faya* , *Okatao* *okatao* *okatao* *ati* *ne* *ya* ,
 faya , okatao okatao okatao ati na.NOM+M ya ,
 so my son my son my son say AUX ADJU
 conj nm nm nm vt aux prt

kamematamona

ka -ma -himata -mona
 go/come back FP.N+M REP+M
 vi

"My son, my son, my son," he said, but he didn't come back.'

162 *Winati* *boti* *ya*
 wina -tee.NOM boti ya
 live HAB way down ADJU
 vi nf prt

"He lives in the depths."

163 *Faya* *me* , *awa* *me* *iso* *na* *awa* *me* *wete* *na*
 faya me , awa me iso na+F awa me wete na+F
 so 3PL tree 3PL.S carry off AUX tree 3PL.S tie AUX
 conj pron nf pron vt aux nf pron vt aux

me , *Yama* , *kasiroke*
 me , yama , kasiro -ke
 3PL.S thing persist DECL+F
 pron nf vi

"They carried trees. They tied trees. "It's futile."

164 *Yama* *hoti* *yofinemetemone* *hoti* *wabasa* *awineke*
 yama hoti yofina -hemete -mone hoti waa -basa+F awine -ke
 thing hole cause fear FP.N+F REP+F hole stand edge seem+F DECL+F
 nf pn vi pn vi sec

"The scary hole is still there."

165 *Awa* *me* *iso* *na* *awa* *ta*
 awa me iso na+F awa taa
 tree 3PL.S carry off AUX tree be piled up
 nf pron vt aux nf vi

toremtemone *me* *hororo* *hinaharo*
 to- na -rI -hemete -mone me horo -ro hi- na -haaro
 CH AUX raised surface FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S pull DUP OC AUX IP.E+F
 aux pron vt aux

"They had carried the poles. The poles, which they had dragged, were in a pile.'

166 *Awa* , *me* *hinakimisama* *me* , *Yama* , *wami*
 awa , me hi- na- ka -misa -ma+F me , yama , wami
 tree 3PL.S OC CAUS go/come up back 3PL thing soil
 nf pron vt pron nf nf

watarineke

wata -ra -ne -ke
 exist NEG CONT+F DECL+F
 vi

THREE TRAGEDIES

"They brought the pole up. "There is no bottom."

167 *Wami watari ya hoti waineni*
 wami wata -ra.NOM+F ya hoti waa -ne -ni
 soil exist NEG ADJU hole stand CONT+F BKG+F
 nf vi prt nf vi

"There is no bottom in the hole."

168 *Ayata tohemata awane me aati toimaro*
 ayata to- ha -himata awa -ne me a- ati to- ha.NOM+F -maro
 near CH be FP.N+M seem+M BKG+M 3PL.S DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F
 nf vc sec pron vt aux

amani , boti ya
 ama -ni , boti ya
 be BKG+F way down ADJU
 vc nf prt

"He must have been close," they always said.'

169 *Boti ya tohaba nemata awaka*
 boti ya to- ha -baa na -himata awa -ka
 way down ADJU CH be at a distance AUX FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M
 nf prt vc aux sec

"He must have been down at the bottom."

170 *Awa wete ni tama awa ta tori*
 awa wete na.NFIN tama+F awa taa to- na -rI.NFIN
 tree tie AUX be many tree be piled up CH AUX raised surface
 nf result aux vi nf vi aux

tohehemetemone ahi me horo hinamaro
 to- ha -hemete -mone ahi me horo hi- na -ma -haaro
 CH be FP.N+F REP+F then 3PL.S drag OC AUX back IP.E+F
 vc dem pron vt vt

'There were many poles tied together. The poles made a big pile as they pulled them up.'

171 *Awa ta torimetemone amake ahi*
 awa taa to- na -rI.NOM -mete -mone ama -ke ahi
 tree be piled up CH AUX raised surface FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then
 nf vi aux vc dem

, awa bite ya awa yoro tokanaro , me
 awa bite ya awa yoro to- ka- na -haaro , me
 tree small+F ADJU tree be together CH COMIT AUX IP.E+F 3PL.S
 nf adj prt nf vi aux pron

wete hinaha , me hitisaro
 wete hi- na+F , me hi- tisa -haaro
 tie OC AUX 3PL.S OC undo IP.E+F
 vt aux pron vt

'The poles were in a pile. The smaller poles were together with big poles, which they had tied together and then had taken apart.'

172 *Totomi namibana ?*
 to- tomi na -ma+F -bana
 DUP measure AUX back FUT
 result aux

"Should it be measured again?"

THREE TRAGEDIES

173 *Ee awa tamake*
 ee awa tama -ke
 yes tree be many DECL+F
 interj nf vi

"Yes, there are many poles."

174 *Totomi namahi*
 to- tomi na -ma -hi
 DUP try AUX back IMP+F
 result aux

"It should be measured again."

175 *Ee te wete na*
 ee tee wete na
 yes 2PL.S tie AUX
 interj pron vt aux

"All right, you tie them."

176 *Yoko onisamibe ha owa*
 yoko o- to- na -risa -ma -be haa owa
 push 1SG.S away AUX down back IMMED+F DEM 1SG
 vt aux dem pron

"I will push it down."

177 *Awa warebasa ya wane , awa yoko*
 awa waa -rI -basa+F ya wana+M , awa yoko
 tree stand raised surface edge ADJU be attached tree push
 nf vi prt vi nf vt
tonisame , *awa me wete hina yokoko ne* ,
 to- na -risa -ma+M , awa me wete hi- na+F yoko -ko na+M ,
 away AUX down back tree 3PL.S tie OC AUX push DUP AUX
 aux nf pron vt aux vt aux

Makoni te awahabana
 makoni tee awa -habana
 for this reason 2PL.S see FUT+F
 conj pron vt

'As he held onto a tree that was beside the stream, he pushed the pole down. He pushed the poles down that they had tied together. "You will see."

178 *Te kakatoma*
 tee ka- katoma
 2PL.S COMIT look at
 pron vt

"Look."

179 *One famamakehene amake*
 one fama -makI -hene ama -ke
 other+F be two following IRR+F SEC DECL+F
 adj vi sec

"There should be two more."

180 *One famamakeboneke*
 one fama -makI -habone -ke
 other+F be two following INT+F DECL+F
 adj vi

"There will be two more."

THREE TRAGEDIES

181 *Faya me awa me , yokoko na me , awa me*
 faya me awa me , yoko -ko na+F me , awa me
 so 3PL tree 3PL.S push DUP AUX 3PL.S tree 3PL.S
 conj pron nf pron vt aux pron nf pron

yokoko nemetemoneke ahi
 yoko -ko na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 push DUP AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt aux dem

"Then they pushed more poles down."

182 *Me yokoko hinemetemone*
 me yoko -ko hi- na -hemete -mone
 3PL.S push DUP OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vt aux

"They pushed it down."

183 *Me yokoko hinemetemoneke*
 me yoko -ko hi- na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S push DUP OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vt aux

"They pushed it down."

184 *Awa fawa tonehemetemone amani*
 awa fawa to- na -hemete -mone ama -ni
 tree disappear CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
 nf vi aux sec

"The pole disappeared."

185 *Hika , yama kasiroke*
 hika , yama kasiro -ke
 wow! thing persist DECL+F
 interj nf vi

"Oh no, it's useless."

186 *Awa tokisamaki awa wete kana*
 awa to- ka -risa -makI.LIST awa wete ka- na+F
 tree away go/come down following tree tie COMIT AUX
 nf vi nf result aux

tokisamaki wete kana
 to- ka -risa -makI.LIST wete ka- na+F
 away go/come down following tie COMIT AUX
 vi result aux

tokisamaki wete kana
 to- ka -risa -makI.LIST , wete ka- na+F
 away go/come down following tie COMIT AUX
 vi result aux

tokisamaki wete kanaha
 to- ka -risa -makI.LIST , wete ka- na+F
 away go/come down following tie COMIT AUX
 vi result aux

tokisamaki wete kana
 to- ka -risa -makI.LIST , wete ka- na+F
 away go/come down following tie COMIT AUX
 vi result aux

THREE TRAGEDIES

wemetemoneke

waa -hemete -mone -ke fahi .
stand FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
vi dem

'It was on the stream bank, where the sand meets the water.'

ERIMA

Free Translation

He had just gotten married. He had two wives. Was he with his wife and her younger sister? His wife was with her sister.

He went out hunting. It was a *yoha* tree. There were ripe *yoha* fruits. "There are ripe *yoha* fruits at the juncture of the paths. There are *yoha* fruits at the place where the Apurinãs' path crosses. There are *yoha* fruits up in the tree. They are red," he said.

"Yes, let's eat *yoha* fruits. We will get up early. Let's get up early. You should take an ax."

"I'm not going to take an ax. It will be climbed. I will climb it, so that its branches will be cut. When I cut the branches, the fruits will fall and you will eat them."

They took an ax, but he didn't want to cut the tree down with their ax. "I will climb it," he said.

He went up. "You watch out. There are arrows there against the log. You watch out. It's the Apurinãs' trail there. The trail goes there."

He went up. He also took a machete. He went up. He cut the *yoha* branches. The *yoha* fruits were falling. He was cutting the *yoha* branches with the machete. He cut all the branches of the *yoha* tree. If the branches of the *yoha* had still had leaves, the blowgun darts wouldn't have touched him.

"I'm going to eat *yoha* fruits."

"You eat them."

He should have come down right away.

They ate *yoha* fruits. As they were eating *yoha* fruits, someone came to them. He came.

"Someone is coming," they said. They saw something. The women saw something. They went running away.

"Come back down. Someone is coming," they said.

He stayed up there, not listening to them. When he started to come down, they got there before he could, and he went back up. He went back up, and was standing on a limb.

They saw the blowgun and picked up the blowgun. They twirled the darts in their mouths. They shot him with darts as he stood there. The Apurinãs shot him with darts. When the *iha* poison affected him, he fell out of the tree onto the ground.

The women went running back to the village.

The Apurinãs picked him up, and took him away to their own people. They ate him back at their place.

"The Apurinãs have attacked my brother-in-law. Give me your arrows. I will go with my younger brother. My brother and I will go, and my two brothers-in-law will go, too," he said. "We will go look at them."

They started out to go look at them. They left.

They came there running. "There, there is the place where they tied him up. Come on, let's go see them."

They went there, taking their arrows. They came upon them there. They left some arrows against a log, and took some arrows, and went there.

They were eating. There was smoke of a fire going up.

ERIMA

They went into the clearing. "Hiee," he said.

The Apurinãs also yelled. "Hihihii," they said.

The Apurinãs had come. "You two hide. You hide, and go behind on the other side. I will make them pass by. I will make them go there. They will be hit with arrows there on the other side," he said.

Then he made the Apurinãs pass there, and they shot them with arrows. They turned away the spears they were throwing at them. They shot them with arrows, and they died.

"Is that all of them?"

"Yes, that's all of them."

"Are your bunches of arrows still big?"

"Yes, our bunches of arrows are still big." Their bunches of arrows were big.

"Come on, should I go get some more of them?"

"Yes, go get others." The same one went there again. "Bring them here. The two of us will stand here, and our brother-in-law will stand over there."

He was Erima. Erima brought them out. He went after them. "Hihii, I'm still escaping," he said.

They all got up then. They came. He made them pass by. They went after them. They shot them with arrows, behind them. They shot them with arrows again. They shot them all with arrows, and they died.

"Well, are there any arrows left?"

"Yes, there are still arrows."

They died because of the *iha* poison.

"I will bring more of them out. You two move over this way."

He went there, and brought more of them out. He brought them out, and they came. He made them pass at the same place he had made the others pass, and they shot them with arrows. They died, too.

"Is that all of them? Our arrows are all gone."

"Go get the arrows that are against the log."

They went after the arrows. They picked the arrows up. They brought the arrows.

"Here, they will all be gone. Go after them."

He went after them. They called them, and they came again. He was going to make something bad happen to himself. He shot the Apurinãs with arrows. He was shooting the Apurinãs with arrows.

"Are our arrows all gone?" They were killing people.

"There are still many of them."

"I didn't see them. I'm going to take a look at them."

He went after them. He went there. "Hii, I escaped."

The Apurinãs [in the village] were exclaiming. They killed many Apurinãs.

He went after the Apurinãs, and they ran after him. He caused them to go past, and the others shot them with arrows, at their backs. On the other side he also shot them with arrows, and they died, too. They also died.

"One of them escaped, but my arrows are all gone. My arrows are all gone. There are no arrows."

One Apurinã was running after him all over. He was running after him all over in order to spear him. He wanted to spear him.

His younger brother and his brothers-in-law didn't help. His younger brother and the others stayed far away.

ERIMA

He went off with him. There was a stream. He went running on a straight log. [He jumped] onto another log that was lying across. The Apurinã went around on the other side in order to spear him. He waited for the right moment to spear him. He jumped, but he slipped. His leg slipped, and he fell in the water. When he was going to turn, the Apurinã speared him in the chest.

"Aya."

"That must be my older brother crying out."

As they watched the Apurinã who had killed someone, he lifted him up to carry him. He was Erima. He speared Erima. He speared Erima, and took Erima home.

"Hoo, my brother got himself in trouble. My brother died. I can't go there to see them. I don't want to go there, because there aren't any arrows left. Come on, let's go home."

They went home. They arrived.

"Whew."

"Well, where is your older brother?"

"You are asking about my brother, an Apurinã speared my brother," he said.

"The Apurinãs killed my son."

Then the Apurinãs didn't live there anymore. They disappeared.

The Jarawaras slept. But some of them got up early. They got up early because of them, but there was no smoke of their fire. They had moved away at sunset. They had moved away, and they found their village.

"They didn't wait. I wanted them all to die, but they have gone away."

Their longhouse was big and circular. They burned the house. They burned the Apurinãs' house. They called them, but they didn't answer. Their canoes were gone. They had gone away in their canoes. They went away.

They waited at their village. They called them. They didn't come back, so they went home.

They came back, and arrived.

"Erima brought it on himself. He wanted to go after the Apurinãs, and this got him in trouble. He should have run this way."

They came back and arrived, and slept.

"Come on, let's move somewhere else."

They moved away. They came and arrived on the other side. They arrived.

"Erima has died. The Apurinãs killed Erima. They ate him. It would be better if people were not eaten, so that they would rot. The Apurinãs rotted. They are going to rot, and they have started to rot."

They were piled up, because they had killed them with arrows.

"We killed many of them along with my brother. Now they have hurt my brother."

They left and came back. They moved away the next day. They came and arrived.

"Whew, we killed many of them. One of them killed someone. I didn't help him. I should have helped him." His brother-in-law was exclaiming. "I didn't go to him. I stayed standing far away. I was coming, and I heard Erima crying out. The Apurinã had already lifted Erima up to carry him. He took him away, carrying him on the end his spear on his shoulder. He took him away, and disappeared with him. They ate him. They ate Erima. We went after them the next day, but they disappeared. I wanted them to die, but they disappeared," they said.

They arrived, and talked. "There were many Apurinãs, and we killed many of them. They killed Erima. Erima isn't alive anymore. He slipped. He wanted to jump away, but he slipped and fell in the water, and he speared him," they said.

They talked, remembering Erima. "They would have gone after them, but there weren't any canoes."

ERIMA

"They took the canoes. You didn't see their village. We killed many of them. Wow, the big village goes far. We shot many Apurinãs with arrows. They died. One chased Erima all over and speared Erima. I almost ran there. If I had run there, I could have pulled out an arrow from them and shot him with an arrow that didn't have poison. He speared him. I heard his crying out far away. I went there, and I was getting close."

"Where was your older brother?"

"My older brother was crying out there."

He should have come sooner. The Apurinã lifted Erima up to carry him, and took Erima back to his own people, for them to cut him up. They cut him up.

They didn't surprise the Apurinã women [when they were attacking]. They saw them walking, through the openings in the trees.

The Apurinãs died. The Jarawaras came and arrived, and lived over this way. They lived back this way. They lived there, and they got up and went back there and saw the Apurinãs' village, to see if they were living there again. They were always going to their village, but they didn't come back. They went away, and disappeared.

The Jarawaras lived over this way, and ate them, the *aba* fish. They ate *aba* fish, my grandmother used to say. My grandmother told what my grandfather said.

"Grandma, where did they live?" They lived at the Missão, what is the name of the Missão? Biya Fa, they killed people at the Biya Fa, on the other side of the Biya Fa. The old village of the Apurinãs is there. They killed people there, my grandmother said. He was Erima. Erima, the Apurinãs shot his brother-in-law with a blowgun when he was climbing a *yoha* tree.

When they went and looked at their village, they came back and arrived. The Apurinãs never came back. Because many of them died, they did not come back. They went there after them many times, so that if they came back they would surprise them. They had gotten arrows ready. They put points on arrows. They pulverized *iha* poison. They coated the arrows with poison, as they waited for the Apurinãs. They waited a long time for the Apurinãs, my father used to say, my grandmother used to say.

Interlinear Presentation

1	Hiba	fana	ne	fati	famarawa	
	hiba	fana	na+M	fati	fama -rawa+F	,
	soon after	be married	AUX	3SG.POSS.wife	be two F.PL	
	conj	vi	aux	nf	vi	
	hinakasima		ya	tabarawa	namatamonaha	
	hinaka asima		ya	taba -rawa	na.NOM+M -mata -mona -ha	
	3SG.POSS younger sister		ADJU	be together F.PL	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP	
	nf		prt	vi	aux	
	?					

'He had just gotten married. He had two wives. Was he with his wife and her younger sister?'

2	Hinakasima		fati	famarawa	yama	
	hinaka asima	,	fati	fama -rawa+F	yama	,
	3SG.POSS younger sister		3SG.POSS.wife	be two F.PL	thing	
	nf		nf	vi	nf	
	yama	yete	ne	tokahi	yoa	yoametemoneke
	yama	yete	na+M	to- ka+M	yoha	yoha -mete -mone -ke
	thing	hunt	AUX	away go/come	tree sp	tree sp FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
	nf	vt	aux	vi	nf	nf

ERIMA

<i>yoha</i>	<i>yoa</i>	<i>hati</i>	,	<i>yoa</i>	<i>Yoa</i>	<i>hati</i>	<i>kawa</i>		<i>ra</i>	<i>hawi</i>
yoha	yoha	hati	,	yoha	yoha	hati	ka-	waa+F	ra	hawi
tree sp	tree sp	ripe		tree sp	tree sp	ripe	COMIT	stand	0	trail
nf	nf	pn		nf	nf	pn	vi		prt	nf
<i>batori</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>hawi</i>		<i>batori</i>	<i>ee</i>	,	<i>yati</i>	<i>me</i>		<i>hawi</i>
batori	ya	hawi		batori	ee	,	yati	me		hawi
junction	ADJU	trail		junction	(pause)		Apurinã	3PL.POSS		trail+F
pn	prt	nf		pn	interj		npropm	pron		pn
<i>kariwai</i>				<i>ka</i>	<i>yoa</i>		<i>kawineni</i>			
ka	-riwaha.NOM+F			ka	yoha		ka-	waa	-ne	-ni
go/come	across			LOC	tree sp		COMIT	stand	CONT+F	BKG+F
vi				prt	nf		vi			

'His wife was with her sister. He went out hunting. It was a *yoha* tree. There were ripe *yoha* fruits. "There are ripe *yoha* fruits at the juncture of the paths. There are *yoha* fruits at the place where the Apurinã's path crosses."

3	<i>Yoa</i>	<i>kawine</i>		<i>neme</i>	<i>karo</i>	<i>ahi</i>
	yoha	ka-	waa	-ne	neme	karo
	tree sp	COMIT	stand	CONT+F	up	LOC
	nf	vi			nf	prt
						dem

"There are *yoha* fruits up in the tree."

4	<i>Mawa</i>	<i>narearake</i>			<i>ati</i>	<i>nematamonaka</i>
	mawa	na	-rI	-hara	-ke	ati
	be red	AUX	raised	surface	IP.E+F	DECL+F
	vi	aux				say
						AUX
						FP.N+M
						REP+M
						DECL+M
						vt
						aux

"They are red," he said.'

5	<i>Ati</i>	<i>ne</i>	,	<i>Ee</i>	<i>yoamone</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>yome</i>	<i>nibeya</i>
	ati	na+M	,	ee	yoha	-mone	ee	yome
	say	AUX		yes	tree sp	REP+F	1IN.S	swallow
	vt	aux		interj	nf		pron	vt
								aux
								na
								-be
								-ya
								AUX
								IMMED+F
								now

"Yes, let's eat *yoha* fruits."

6	<i>Yoa</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>yome</i>	<i>nibeya</i>
	yoha	ee	yome	na
	tree sp	1IN.S	swallow	AUX
	nf	pron	vt	aux
				-be
				-ya

"Let's eat *yoha* fruits."

7	<i>E</i>	<i>bosa</i>	<i>nabanake</i>
	ee	bosa	na
	1IN.S	get up	early
	pron	vi	aux
			AUX
			FUT+F
			DECL+F

"We will get up early."

8	<i>E</i>	<i>bosa</i>	<i>nibeya</i>
	ee	bosa	na
	1IN.S	get up	early
	pron	vi	aux
			AUX
			IMMED+F
			now

"Let's get up early."

9	<i>Bari</i>	<i>titiwa</i>	<i>re</i>
	bari	ti-	tiwa
	ax	DUP	carry
	nf	vt	aux
			AUX
			NEG

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"He isn't taking an ax."

10 **Bari tiwa onene**
 bari tiwa o- na -hene
 ax carry 1SG.S AUX IRR+F
 nf vt aux

"I'm not going to take an ax."

11 **Yama nabanake**
 yama na -habana -ke
 climb AUX FUT+F DECL+F
 result aux

"It will be climbed."

12 **Yama onabanani ini ti nabana**
 yama o- na -habana -ni ini tii na -habana
 climb 1SG.S AUX FUT+F BKG+F branch+F cut through AUX FUT+F
 vt aux pn result aux

"I will climb it, so that its branches will be cut."

13 **Ini ti oni ya fororo kana te**
 ini tii o- na.NOM+F ya foro -ro ka- na+F tee
 branch+F cut through 1SG.S AUX ADJU fall DUP COMIT AUX 2PL.S
 pn vt aux prt vi aux pron
 , **yome nabanake**
 yome na -habana -ke
 swallow AUX FUT+F DECL+F
 vt aux

"When I cut the branches, the fruits will fall and you will eat them."

14 **Bari bari me tiwa na me ka bari ka kani**
 bari bari me tiwa na+F me ka bari kaa ka- na.NFIN
 ax ax 3PL.S carry AUX 3PL POSS ax chop COMIT AUX
 nf nf pron vt aux pron prt nf vt aux
nofare , **Yama onabanake**
 nofa -ra+M yama o- na -habana -ke
 want NEG climb 1SG.S AUX FUT+F DECL+F
 vt vt aux

"They took an ax, but he didn't want to cut the tree down with their ax. "I will climb it."

15 **Yama onabanani ati ne tokomisawite**
 yama o- na -habana -ni ati na+M to- ka -misa -witI
 climb 1SG.S AUX FUT+F BKG+F say AUX away go/come up out
 vt aux vt aux vi

Yama te kkatoma
 yama tee ka- katoma
 thing 2PL.S COMIT look at
 nf pron vt

"I will climb it," he said. He went up. "You watch out."

16 **Wati kawa hari**
 wati ka- waa.CONT+M haari
 arrow COMIT stand that one+M
 nm vi dem

"There are arrows there against the log."

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17 *Yama te kakatoma*
 yama tee ka- katoma
 thing 2PL.S COMIT look at
 nf pron vt

"You watch out."

18 *Ee , yati me hawi amake haro*
 ee yati me hawi ama -ke haaro
 (pause) Apurinā 3PL.POSS trail+F be DECL+F that one+F
 interj npropm pron pn vc dem

"It's the Apurinās' trail there."

19 *Hawi tokomine ha*
 hawi to- ka -ma -ne haa
 trail away go/come back CONT+F DEM
 nf vi dem

"The trail goes there."

20 *Ee tokomisawitematamona*
 ee to- ka -misa -witI -himata -mona
 (pause) away go/come up out FP.N+M REP+M
 interj vi

'He went up.'

21 *Tokomise yimawa tama tokomisawite*
 to- ka -misa+M yimawa tama.LIST to- ka -misa -witI
 away go/come up knife hold onto away go/come up out
 vi nf vt vi
tokomise , yoa ini ti ne , yoa
 to- ka -misa+M yoha ini tii na+M yoha
 away go/come up tree sp branch+F cut through AUX tree sp
 vi nf pn vt aux nf

ini foro kanemetemoneke
 ini foro ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
 branch+F fall COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pn vi aux

'He went up. He also took a machete. He went up. He cut the *yoha* branches. The *yoha* fruits were falling.'

22 *Yoa ini ti nematamonane yimawa ya*
 yoha ini tii na -himata -mona -ne yimawa ya
 tree sp branch+F cut through AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M knife ADJU
 nf pn vt aux nf prt

'He was cutting the *yoha* branches with the machete.'

23 *Yoa ini nafi ti ne , yoa ini*
 yoha ini nafi tii na+M yoha ini
 tree sp branch+F all cut through AUX tree sp branch+F
 nf pn pn vt aux nf pn
afe kiasa nemenehe , sare boyo hirena
 afe kiha -saa na -hemenehe sarehe boyo hi- na -ra -hina
 leaf+F have still AUX HYPOTH+F blowgun dart touch OC AUX NEG IRR+M
 pn vt aux nf vt aux
sare boyo hirenamataka
 sarehe boyo hi- na -ra -hina -mata -ka
 blowgun dart touch OC AUX NEG IRR+M FP.N+M DECL+M
 nf vt aux

'He cut all the branches of the *yoha* tree. If the branches of the *yoha* had still had leaves, the blowgun darts

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wouldn't have touched him.'

24 *Faya* , *Yoa* *yome* *omate*
 faya , yoha yome o- na -mate
 so tree sp swallow 1SG.S AUX short time.IMP+F
 conj nf vt aux

"I'm going to eat *yoha* fruits."

25 *Te* *yoyome* *na*
 tee yo- yome na
 2PL.S DUP swallow AUX
 pron vt aux

"You eat them."

26 *Kisamake* *kisamakekabote*
 ka -risa -makI ka -risa -makI -kabote
 go/come down following go/come down following quickly
 vi vi

ramata
 na -ra.NOM+M -mata
 AUX NEG FP.N+M
 aux

'He should have come down right away.'

27 *Faya* *me* , *yoa* *me* *yome* *nemetemone* *fahi*
 faya me , yoha me yome na -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3PL tree sp 3PL.S swallow AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron nf pron vt aux dem

'They ate *yoha* fruits.'

28 *Yoa* *me* *yome* *na* *me* *ni* *ya* , *inamati* ,
 yoha me yome na+F me ni ya , inamati ,
 tree sp 3PL.S swallow AUX 3PL to ADJU someone
 nf pron vt aux pron prt prt nm

kakematamonaka *ahi*
 ka -kI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem

'As they were eating *yoha* fruits, someone came to them.'

29 *Kake* , *Me inamati* *kakini* *me* *ati* *na*
 ka -kI , me inamati ka -kI -ni me ati na+F
 go/come coming people go/come coming BKG+F 3PL.S say AUX
 vi nf vi pron vt aux

me *noki* *awa* *ha* *me fanawi* *noki* *awa* *kana* *ni* *kana*
 me noki awa+F haa me fanawi noki awa+F kana na.NFIN kana
 3PL.POSS eye+F see DEM women eye+F see run AUX run
 pron pn vi dem nf pn vi vi aux vi

ni *tokometemoneke* *ahi*
 na.NFIN to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 AUX away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux vi dem

'He came. "Someone is coming," they said. They saw something. The women saw something. They went running away.'

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30 *Tikisamaha*

ti- ka -risa -ma -hi
2SG.S go/come down back IMP+F
vi

"Come back down."

31 *Me inamati*

me inamati ka -kI -ni me ati na+F me ati
people go/come coming BKG+F 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.POSS voice
nf vi pron vt aux pron pn

mitarama

mita -rama na.NFIN waa -rI ka -risa -ma -hibona ati
hear unusual AUX stand raised surface go/come down back INT+M say
vt aux vi vi vt

ne

nokosi

me

hiti

hikahe

na+M nokosi me hiti hi- ka- ha+M
AUX before 3PL.S head off OC COMIT AUX
aux pn pron vt aux

tokomisematamonaka

to- ka -misa -ma -himata -mona -ka
away go/come up back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi

"Someone is coming," they said. He stayed up there, not listening to them. When he started to come down, they got there before he could, and he went back up.'

32 *Tokomisame*

to- ka -misa -ma+M
away go/come up back
vi

tokomisematamonaka

to- ka -misa -ma -himata -mona -ka
away go/come up back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi

'He went back up.'

33 *Tokomisame*

to- ka -misa -ma+M
away go/come up back
vi

towarimisame

to- waa -rI -misa -ma+M
away stand raised surface up back
vi

karaboa

me

karaboa

me

awahani

karaboa

me

karaboha me karaboha me awa -hani karaboha me
blowgun 3PL blowgun 3PL.S see IP.N+F blowgun 3PL.S
nf pron nf pron vt nf pron

kakitiha

me

sare

me

sare

me

ka- iti+F me sarehe me sarehe me
COMIT take out 3PL.S blowgun dart 3PL blowgun dart 3PL.S
vt pron nf pron nf pron

rofi

nemetemoneke

rofi na -hemete -mone -ke
twirl in mouth AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vt aux

'He went back up, and was standing on a limb. They saw the blowgun and picked up the blowgun. They twirled the darts in their mouths.'

34 *Sare*

sarehe me rofi na me ware
blowgun dart 3PL.S twirl in mouth AUX 3PL.S stand raised surface
nf pron vt aux pron vi

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39 *Me one ni ya me hiwakame*
 me one ni ya me hi- to- ka- ka -ma+M , me ,
 3PL other+F to ADJU 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back 3PL
 pron adj prt prt pron vt pron

me hikabamematamona
 me hi- to- kaba -ma -himata -mona
 3PL.S OC away eat back FP.N+M REP+M
 pron vt

"They took him away to their own people. They ate him back at their place."

40 *Me hikabame wabori* , *Oko*
 me hi- to- kaba -ma+M , wabori o- ka
 3PL.S OC away eat back 3SG.POSS brother-in-law 1SG.POSS POSS
 pron vt nm prt

wabo yati me , *katoma me awineke*
 wabo yati me , katoma+F me awine -ke
 brother-in-law Apurinā 3PL.S attack 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
 nm npropm pron nf pron sec

"They ate him at their place. "The Apurinās have attacked my brother-in-law."

41 *Te ka wati te ka wati te ta nahi*
 tee ka wati tee ka wati tee taa na -hi
 2PL POSS arrow 2PL POSS arrow 2PL.S give AUX IMP+F
 pron prt nm pron prt nm pron vt aux

"Give me your arrows."

42 *Wati okaniso* *ota famibana*
 wati o- ka niso otaa fama+F -bana
 arrow 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother 1EX.S be two FUT
 nm nm pron vi

"I will go with my younger brother."

43 *Okaniso* *ota fama oko*
 o- ka niso otaa fama+F o- ka
 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother 1EX.S be two 1SG.POSS POSS
 nm pron vi prt

wabo me fama nabanake , *faya ati*
 wabo me fama.LIST na -habana -ke , faya ati
 brother-in-law 3PL.S be two AUX FUT+F DECL+F so say
 nm pron vi aux conj vt

nematamonane
 na -himata -mona -ne
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 aux

"My brother and I will go, and my two brothers-in-law will go, too," he said.'

44 *Ati ne ya* , *Me ota towamakibeya*
 ati na.NOM+M ya , me otaa to- awa -makI -be -ya
 say AUX ADJU 3PL.O 1EX.S away see following IMMED+F now
 vt aux prt pron pron vt

"We will go look at them."

45 *Me me towamakebone* *me yana*
 me me to- awa -makI -habone me yana
 3PL.O 3PL.S away see following INT+F 3PL.S start
 pron pron vt pron vi

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tonemetemoneke

to- na -hemete -mone -ke
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'They started out to go look at them.'

46 *Me yana tona me , me kana ni kamakia*
 me yana to- na+F me , me kana na.NFIN ka -makI+F
 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S run AUX go/come following
 pron vi aux pron pron vi aux vi

me , me kana ni kama Hari taboro
 me me kana na.NFIN ka -ma+F haari taboro
 3PL.S 3PL.S run AUX go/come back that one+M place+M
 pron pron vi aux vi dem pn

watari hari , me wete hinoho
 wata -haari haari , me wete hi- na.NOM -no -ho
 be located look+M that one+M 3PL.S tie OC AUX IP.N+M DUP
 vi dem pron vt aux

'They left. They came there running. They came running. "There, there is the place where they tied him up."

47 *Hima me e awibeya*
 hima me ee awa -be -ya
 let's go 3PL.O 1IN.S see IMMED+F now
 interj pron pron vt

'''Come on, let's go see them.'''

48 *Me tokamakemetemone ahi wati me ibori*
 me to- ka -makI -hemete -mone ahi wati me ibori
 3PL.S away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F then arrow 3PL.S carry
 pron vi dem nm pron vt

kana mati ahi
 ka- na+F mati ahi
 COMIT AUX 3PL.S then
 aux pron dem

'They went there, taking their arrows.'

49 *Me tokamake me , me tokamake*
 me to- ka -makI me , me to- ka -makI
 3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come following
 pron vi pron pron vi

me me hiwasimakia wati owa me si
 me me hi- to- wasi -makI+F , wati owa me sii
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away find following arrow other+M 3PL.S stand
 pron pron vt nm adj pron vi

tokani wati owa ta me bokori
 to- ka- niha- ha.LIST wati owa taa me bokori
 CH COMIT CAUS AUX arrow other+M contrast 3PL.S hold
 aux nm adj prt pron vt

kana , me tokamake me
 ka- na.LIST , me to- ka -makI me
 COMIT AUX 3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.S
 aux pron vi pron

tokamake me tafehemetemone
 to- ka -makI me tafa -hemete -mone
 away go/come following 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F
 vi pron vi

'They went there. They came upon them there. They left some arrows against a log, and took some arrows,

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and went there. They were eating.'

50 *Yifo hasawiri wemetemoneke*
 yifo hasawiri waa -hemete -mone -ke
 fire smoke stand FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf pn vi

'There was smoke of a fire going up.'

51 *Me tokofaramake me , Hiee ati*
 me to- ka -fara -makI me , hiee ati
 3PL.S away go/come open space following 3PL.S say
 pron vi pron vt

nematamona
 na -himata -mona
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 aux

'They went into the clearing. "Hiee," he said.'

52 *Me ha kawemetemoneke*
 me haa ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S call COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

'They also yelled.'

53 *Hihihhi me ati nemetemoneke*
 me ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vt aux

'"Hihihhi," they said.'

54 *Me , me kama me , Te kawahiyahi*
 me me ka -ma+F me , tee ka- wahiya -hi
 3PL 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 2PL.S COMIT hide IMP+F
 pron pron vi pron pron vi

'They had come. "You two hide."

55 *Te kawahiya te kayoto ha ya ahi*
 tee ka- wahiya+F tee ka- yoto haa ya ahi
 2PL.S COMIT hide 2PL.S COMIT follow DEM ADJU there
 pron vi pron vi dem prt dem

'"You hide, and go behind on the other side."

56 *Te kayoto te kayotohi*
 tee ka- yoto tee ka- yoto -hi
 2PL.S COMIT follow 2PL.S COMIT follow IMP+F
 pron vd pron vi

'"You go behind."

57 *Me fiya onihamabanani*
 me fiya o- to- niha- na -ma -habana -ni
 3PL.O pass 1SG.S away CAUS AUX back FUT+F BKG+F
 pron vi vt

'"I will make them pass by."

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58 *Me tokabanani ahi owehene*
 me to- ka -habana -ni ahi o- ehene
 3PL.S away go/come FUT+F BKG+F there 1SG.POSS because of
 pron vi dem pn

"I will make them go there."

59 *Ha ya me tisa ni tohibe ahi*
 haa ya me tisa na.NFIN to- ha -be ahi
 DEM ADJU 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX CH be IMMED+F there
 dem prt pron result aux vc dem
faya ati ne faya me fiya hinihawitia me
 faya ati na+M faya me fiya hi- to- niha- na -witI+F me
 so say AUX so 3PL.O pass OC away CAUS AUX out 3PL.O
 conj vt aux conj pron vi aux pron

me tisa hinemetemoneke ahi
 me tisa hi- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vt aux dem

"They will be hit with arrows there on the other side," he said. Then he made them pass there, and they shot them with arrows.'

60 *Me me tisa hina me me*
 me me tisa hi- na+F me me
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron pron vt aux pron pron
tisa hinemetemoneke ahi
 tisa hi- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 shoot with arrow OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vt aux dem

'They shot them with arrows.'

61 *Me me saka hini ka wabise me*
 me me saka hi- na.NOM+F ka wabise me
 3PL.O 3PL.S pierce repeatedly OC AUX because spear 3PL.S
 pron pron vt aux prt nf pron
tataro towitiemetemoneni ahi
 ta- taro to- na -witI -hemete -mone -ni ahi
 DUP hit away AUX out FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F then
 vt aux dem

'They turned away the spears they were throwing at them.'

62 *Faya faya me me tisa hina me ahaba*
 faya faya me me tisa hi- na+F me ahaba+F
 so so 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX 3PL.S die
 conj conj pron pron vt aux pron vi
me Fara me amani ?
 me fara me ama -ni
 3PL.S same+F 3PL.S be BKG+F
 pron dem pron vc

'They shot them with arrows, and they died. "Is that all of them?"'

63 *Ee fara me amake*
 ee fara me ama -ke
 yes same+F 3PL.S be DECL+F
 interj dem pron vc

"Yes, that's all of them."

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64 *Te ka wati tabo fote ?*
 tee ka wati tabo fota+M
 2PL POSS arrow bunch+M be big
 pron prt nm pn vi

"Are your bunches of arrows still big?"

65 *Ee , ota ka wati tabo fotareka ahi*
 ee , otaa ka wati tabo fota -hare -ka ahi
 yes 1EX POSS arrow bunch+M be big IP.E+M DECL+M here
 interj pron prt nm pn vi dem

"Yes, our bunches of arrows are still big."

66 *Wati , tabo fote me , Hima , me*
 wati , tabo fota+M me , hima , me
 arrow bunch+M be big 3PL let's go 3PL.O
 nm pn vi pron interj pron

otimakibana
 o- to- iti -makI -bana
 1SG.S away take out following FUT
 vt

"Their bunches of arrows were big. "Come on, should I go get some more of them?"

67 *Ee me titimakehi*
 ee me ti- to- iti -makI -hi
 yes 3PL.O 2SG.S away take out following IMP+F
 interj pron vt

"Yes, go get others."

68 *Fare tokomaketase tokomake Me*
 fare to- ka -makI -tasa+M to- ka -makI me
 same+M away go/come following again away go/come following 3PL.O
 dem vi vi pron

tekamiya ahi
 ti- ka- ka -ma -yahi ahi
 2SG.S COMIT go/come back DIST.IMP+F here
 vt dem

"The same one went there again. "Bring them here."

69 *Ota yoro niba ahi*
 otaa yoro na.NOM+F -ba ahi
 1EX.S stand AUX FUT here
 pron vi aux dem

"The two of us will stand here."

70 *Ota yoro ota owa wa nebana ahi*
 otaa yoro.LIST ota owa waa.LIST na -hibana ahi
 1EX.S stand 1SG.POSS.brother-in-law stand AUX FUT+M there
 pron vi nm vi aux dem

"The two of us will stand here, and our brother-in-law will stand over there."

71 *Erima Erimamatamonaka , Erima*
 Erima Erima -mata -mona -ka , Erima
 (man's name) (man's name) FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (man's name)
 npropm npropm npropm

'He was Erima.'

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72 *Erima* *mera* *iso* *nematamonane*
 Erima mera iso na -himata -mona -ne
 (man's name) 3PL.O carry off AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 npropm pron vt aux

'Erima brought them out.'

73 *Mera* *iso* *ne* *mera* *tonakamaki* *Hihii*
 mera iso na+M mera to- na- ka -makI+M hihii
 3PL.O carry off AUX 3PL.O away CAUS go/come following hihii
 pron vt aux pron vt interj

hasi *osa* *oni*
 hasi o- na -saa o- ni
 escape 1SG.S AUX still 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi aux prt

'He brought them out. He went after them. "Hihii, I'm still escaping."'

74 *Hasi* *osa* *oni* *ati* *nematamonaka* *ahi*
 hasi o- na -saa o- ni ati na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 escape 1SG.S AUX still 1SG.S BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi aux prt vt aux dem

'"I'm still escaping," he said.'

75 *Me* *me* *nafi* *yana* *nemetemone* *tasa* *ahi*
 me me nafi yana na -hemete -mone tasa ahi
 3PL 3PL.POSS all get up AUX FP.N+F REP+F again then
 pron pron pn vi aux prt dem

'They all got up then.'

76 *Me* *kamakia* *me* *fiya* *hinihamatasa*
 me ka -makI+F me fiya hi- to- niha- na -ma -tasa+F
 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S pass OC away CAUS AUX back again
 pron vi pron vi aux

me *ya* *me* *tokomake* *me* *nowati* *ka* *ya*
 me ya me to- ka -makI me nowati ka ya
 3PL ADJU 3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.POSS behind LOC ADJU
 pron prt pron vi pron pn prt prt

me *me* *tisa* *hinemetemoneke* *ahi*
 me me tisa hi- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron pron vt aux dem

'They came. He made them pass by. They went after them. They shot them with arrows, behind them.'

77 *Me* *me* *tisa* *hitasa* *me* *me* *me*
 me me tisa hi- na -tasa+F me me me
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX again 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron pron vt aux pron pron pron

tisa *hina* *me* *me* *tisa* *kani*
 tisa hi- na+F me me tisa ka- na.NFIN
 shoot with arrow OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow COMMIT AUX
 vt aux pron pron vt aux

forima *hina* *me* *ahaba* *me* *Fera* *wati* *wati*
 forima hi- na+F me ahaba+F me fee -ra wati wati
 do properly OC AUX 3PL.S die 3PL.S 3SG NPQ arrow arrow
 vi aux pron vi pron pron nm nm

ERIMA

nasa ne ?
na -saa na -ne
exist still AUX BKG+M
vi aux

"They shot them with arrows again. They shot them all with arrows, and they died. "Well, are there any arrows left?"

78 *Ee wati nasa ka mata* .
ee wati na -saa na -ka mata
yes arrow AUX still AUX DECL+M for now
interj nm aux aux prt

"Yes, there are still arrows."

79 *Faya iha ene me ahaba me Me*
faya iha ehene me ahaba+F me me
so plant sp because of+M 3PL.S die 3PL.S 3PL.O
conj nm post pron vi pron pron

otimakibeya
o- to- iti -makI -be -ya
1SG.S away take out following IMMED+F now
vt

"They died because of the *iha* poison. "I will bring more of them out."

80 *Te yoro nawamakihi* .
tee yoro na -waha -makI -hi
2PL.S stay AUX change following IMP+F
pron vi aux

"You two move over this way."

81 *Faya tokomaketase faya me*
faya to- ka -makI -tasa+M faya me
so away go/come following again so 3PL.O
conj vi conj pron

totimaketasematamonaka
to- iti -makI -tasa -himata -mona -ka
away take out following again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vt

'He went there, and brought more of them out.'

82 *Me me totimaketase*
me me to- iti -makI -tasa+M
3PL 3PL.O away take out following again
pron pron vt

kamakitasemetemoneke ahi .
ka -makI -tasa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
go/come following again FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
vi dem

'He brought them out, and they came.'

83 *Me kamakia me fara me one fiya*
me ka -makI+F me fara me one fiya
3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S same+F 3PL other+F pass
pron vi pron dem pron adj vi

hinihi ya me fiya
hi- to- niha- na.NOM+F ya me fiya
OC CH CAUS AUX ADJU 3PL.O pass
aux prt pron vi

ERIMA

me kakama me Hiya nafi abebanaka
 me ka- ka -ma+F me hiya nafi ahaba -hibana -ka
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S come on all end FUT+M DECL+M
 pron vt pron interj pn vi

"They went after the arrows. They picked the arrows up. They brought the arrows. "Here, they will all be gone."

91 **Me tinakamaki**
 me ti- to- na- ka -makI
 3PL.O 2SG.S away CAUS go/come following
 pron vt

"Go after them."

92 **Faya me hinakamakitasa me me ha**
 faya me hi- to- na- ka -makI -tasa+F me me haa
 so 3PL.O OC away CAUS go/come following again 3PL.O 3PL.S call
 conj pron vt pron pron vt

hinamake me kamakitasehemetemoneni
 hi- to- na -makI me ka -makI -tasa -hemete -mone -ni
 OC away AUX following 3PL.S go/come following again FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 aux pron vi

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He went after them. They called them, and they came again.'

93 **Hiwa hiwa erebo kaneba hiwa erebo**
 hiwa hiwa erebo ka- na -hiba hiwa erebo
 3SG.REFL.M 3SG.REFL.M be bad COMIT AUX FUT+M 3SG.REFL.M be bad
 pron pron vi aux pron vi

kaneba yima me tisa nemata yati
 ka- na -hiba yima me tisa na -himata yati
 COMIT AUX FUT+M Yima 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+M Apurinã
 aux npropm pron vt aux npropm

mati
 mati
 3PL
 pron

'He was going to make something bad happen to himself. He shot the Apurinãs with arrows.'

94 **Yati me tisa nematamonaka**
 yati me tisa na -himata -mona -ka
 Apurinã 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 npropm pron vt aux

'He shot the Apurinãs with arrows.'

95 **Yati me tisa namate E ka e ka**
 yati me tisa na -mata+M ee ka ee ka
 Apurinã 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX short time 1IN POSS 1IN POSS
 npropm pron vt aux pron prt pron prt

wati ahabe ?
 wati ahaba+M
 arrow end
 nm vi

'He was shooting the Apurinãs with arrows. "Are our arrows all gone?'"

ERIMA

96 *Faya me ihi ahaba me Me tamasa*
 faya me ihi ahaba+F me me tama -saa
 so 3PL.POSS victim of+F die 3PL.POSS 3PL.S be many still
 conj pron pn vi pron pron vi

na me awineke
 na+F me awine -ke
 AUX 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
 aux pron sec

"They were killing people. "There are still many of them."

97 *Me owararake*
 me o- awa -ra -hara -ke
 3PL.O 1SG.S see NEG IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vt

"I didn't see them."

98 *Me totowamake omatibe*
 me to- to- awa -makI o- na -mata -be
 3PL.O DUP away see following 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F
 pron vt aux

"I'm going to take a look at them."

99 *Faya me hinakamakitasa me*
 faya me hi- to- na- ka -makI -tasa+F me
 so 3PL.O OC away CAUS go/come following again 3PL.O
 conj pron vt pron

tokomaketasematamona
 to- ka -makI -tasa -himata -mona
 away go/come following again FP.N+M REP+M
 vi

'He went after them. He went there.'

100 *Tokomake tokomakehimatamonane*
 to- ka -makI to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ne
 away go/come following away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 vi vi

'He went there.'

101 *Tokomake Hii hasi oni*
 to- ka -makI hii hasi o- na -ni
 away go/come following yoo-hoo escape 1SG.S AUX BKG+F
 vi interj vi aux

'He went there. "Hii, I escaped."

102 *Faya me me hora kawemetemone*
 faya me me hora ka- na -waha -hemete -mone
 so 3PL 3PL.S exclaim COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F
 conj pron pron vi aux

'They were exclaiming.'

103 *Yati tamabote me me katomemetemoneni*
 yati tama -bote me me katoma -hemete -mone -ni
 Apurinā be many very 3PL.O 3PL.S kill many FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 npropm adj pron pron vt

'They killed many Apurināns.'

ERIMA

110 *Wati watakara hari*
 wati wata -ka -ra haari
 arrow exist DECL+M NEG+M that one+M
 nm vi dem

"There are no arrows."

111 *Yati , ohari , ohari he kiyo naware he*
 yati , ohari+M , ohari+M hee kiyo na -waharI hee
 Apurinã be one be one 3SG.O follow AUX all over 3SG.O
 npropm vi vi pron vt aux pron

itebona he kiyo naware , he saka
 ita -hibona hee kiyo na -waharI hee saka
 pierce INT+M 3SG.O rub AUX all over 3SG.O pierce repeatedly
 vt pron vt aux pron vt

nebona nisori me fito
 na -hibona nisori me fito
 AUX INT+M 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.S rush
 aux nm pron vi

tokanamakiremetemone
 to- ka- na -makI -ra -hemete -mone
 away COMIT AUX following NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 aux

'One Apurinã was running after him all over. He was running after him all over in order to spear him. He wanted to spear him. His younger brother and his brothers-in-law didn't help.'

112 *Nisori me tohemetemone ike ya ahi*
 nisori me to- ha -hemete -mone ike ya ahi
 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3PL.S CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F far ADJU there
 nm pron aux nf prt dem

'His younger brother and the others stayed far away.'

113 *He towakematamonaka ahi*
 hee to- ka- ka -himata -mona -ka ahi
 3SG.O away COMIT go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 pron vt dem

'He went off with him.'

114 *Fa , fa kaya na fa kaya nemetemoneke*
 faha , faha kaya na+F faha kaya na -hemete -mone -ke
 stream stream lie AUX stream lie AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nf nf vi aux nf vi aux

'There was a stream.'

115 *Awa , awa yai tona ya kana ni toke*
 awa , awa yai to- na+F ya kana na.NFIN to- ka+M
 tree tree be straight CH AUX ADJU run AUX away go/come
 nf nf vi aux prt vi aux vi

, haha awa bere nabisa ya , yati
 haaha awa bere na -bisa+F ya , yati
 this+F tree be across AUX also ADJU Apurinã
 dem nf vi aux prt npropm

sasaka hinebona , kakata hine
 sa- saka hi- na -hibona , ka- ka- kata hi- na+M
 DUP pierce repeatedly OC AUX INT+M DUP COMIT arrodear OC AUX
 vt aux vt aux

ERIMA

hitehibona **he** , **ee** **forima**
 hi- ita -hibona hee , e- ee forima
 OC pierce INT+M 3SG.O DUP like this do properly
 vt pron dem vi

hinematamonaka **ahi** .
 hi- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'He went running on a straight log. [He jumped] onto another log that was lying across. The Apurinã went around on the other side in order to spear him. He waited for the right moment to spear him.'¹⁶⁰

116 **Ee** **forima** **hine** **yora**
 e- ee forima hi- na+M yora
 DUP like this do properly OC AUX jump
 dem vi aux vi

towitimatamonane **fare** .
 to- na -witI -himata -mona -ne fare
 away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M same+M
 aux dem

'He was waiting for the right moment to spear him. He jumped.'

117 **Yora** **towiti** **sero** **tokanematamona** **ahi** .
 yora to- na -witI+M sero to- ka- -na -himata -mona ahi
 jump away AUX out slip CH COMIT DUP FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi aux vi aux dem

'He jumped, but he slipped.'

118 **Iso** **sero** **tokane** , **bokehi** , **boke** **behe**
 iso sero to- ka- na+M , boka+M , boka+M behe
 leg+M slip CH COMIT AUX enter water enter water turn over
 pn vi aux vi vi vi

nawamebona **bako** **yati** **hitematamonaka**
 na -waha -ma -hibona bako yati hi- ita -himata -mona -ka
 AUX change back INT+M chest+M Apurinã OC pierce FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux pn npropm vt

ahi .
 ahi
 then
 dem

'His leg slipped, and he fell in the water. When he was going to turn, the Apurinã speared him in the chest.'

119 **Aya** .
 aya
 (expression of pain)
 interj

""Aya.""

120 **Okoyo** **amare** **kiya** **kana** **ha** ?
 o- ka ayo ama -ra+M kiya ka- na.CONT+M haa
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother be NEG yell COMIT AUX DEM
 nm vc vi aux dem

""That must be my older brother crying out.""

¹⁶⁰ I am quite unsure of the analysis of *ee forima hinematamonaka*.

ERIMA

121 *Faya yati ene iti me , hiwakatome he*
 faya yati ehene iti+M me , hi- ka- katoma+M , hee
 so Apurinā victim of+M exist 3PL.S OC COMIT look at 3SG.O
 conj npropm pn vi pron vt pron

tiwa namisematamonaka fahi
 tiwa na -misa -himata -mona -ka fahi
 carry AUX up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt aux dem

'As they watched the Apurinā who had killed someone, he lifted him up to carry him.'

122 *Erimamatamonaka*
 Erima -mata -mona -ka
 (man's name) FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 npropm

'He was Erima.'

123 *Erima Erima , itematamonaka*
 Erima Erima ita -himata -mona -ka
 (man's name) (man's name) pierce FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 npropm npropm vt

'He speared Erima.'

124 *Erima ite Erima*
 Erima ita+M Erima
 (man's name) pierce (man's name)
 npropm vt npropm

towakamematamonaka
 to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'He speared Erima, and took Erima home.'

125 *Hiwakame Oof , hiwa yoko*
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma+M , oof , hiwa yoko+M
 OC away COMIT go/come back hoo 3SG.REFL.M bring misfortune on
 vt interj pron vt

okoyo hiwa yokoka
 o- ka ayo hiwa yoko -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 3SG.REFL.M bring misfortune on DECL+M
 nm pron vt

'He took him home. "Hoo, my brother got himself in trouble."'

126 *Okoyo abaka*
 o- ka ayo ahaba -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother die DECL+M
 nm vi

'"My brother died."'

127 *Me owamakene*
 me o- to- awa -ma -ke -ne
 3PL.O 1SG.S away see back DECL+F IRR+F
 pron vt

'"I can't go there to see them."'

ERIMA

128 *Wati watare ka , wati watare ka ,*
 wati wata -ra.NOM+M ka , wati wata -ra.NOM+M ka ,
 arrow exist NEG because arrow exist NEG because
 nm vi prt nm vi prt

tokomaki onofa okere
 to- ka -makI.NFIN o- nofa o- ke -re
 away go/come following 1SG.S want 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F
 vi vt prt

"I don't want to go there, because there aren't any arrows left."

129 *Hima hima e tokomahi*
 hima hima ee to- ka -ma -hi
 let's go let's go 1IN.S away go/come back IMP+F
 interj interj pron vi

"Come on, let's go home."

130 *Me tokometemoneke*
 me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

"They went home."

131 *Me tokoma me , me*
 me to- ka -ma+F me , me
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron

tokometemone
 to- ka -ma -hemete -mone
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
 vi

"They went home."

132 *Me tokoma me , kobo tonama me ,*
 me to- ka -ma+F me , kobo to- na -ma+F me ,
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S arrive away AUX back 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi aux pron

Oof
 oof
 hoo
 interj

"They went home. They arrived. "Whew."

133 *Faira ayora ?*
 fahi -ra ayo -ra
 that NPQ 2SG.POSS.older brother NPQ
 dem nm

"Well, where is your older brother?"

134 *Okoyora tina*
 o- ka ayo -ra ati ti- na+F ,
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother NPQ say 2SG.S AUX
 nm vt

okoyo yati hitareka
 o- ka ayo yati hi- ita -hare -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother Apurinã OC pierce IP.E+M DECL+M
 nm nprpm vt

"You are asking about my brother, an Apurinã speared my brother."

ERIMA

'They got up early because of them, but there was no smoke of their fire. They had moved away at sunset.'

142 *Me bana me , me banani me tabori*
 me bana+F me , me bana -hani me tabori
 3PL.S move away 3PL.S 3PL.S move away IP.N+F 3PL.POSS place+F
 pron vi pron pron vi pron pn

me hiwasimakia me , me tabori me
 me hi- to- wasi -makI+F me , me tabori me
 3PL.S OC away find following 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS place+F 3PL.S
 pron vt pron pron pn pron

hiwasimakiemetemoneke
 hi- to- wasi -makI -hemete -mone -ke
 OC away find following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'They moved away. They had moved away, and they found their village.'

143 *Me tabori me hiwasimakia me , Me*
 me tabori me hi- to- wasi -makI+F me , me
 3PL.POSS place+F 3PL.S OC away find following 3PL.POSS 3PL.S
 pron pn pron vt pron pron

tokotokoma raba rini
 toko- to- ka -ma na -raba na -ra -ni
 DUP away go/come back AUX a bit AUX NEG BKG+F
 vi aux aux

'They found their village. "They didn't wait."'

144 *Me nafi ababone me ona me*
 me nafi ahaba -habone me ati o- na+F me
 3PL.POSS all die INT+F 3PL.O say 1SG.S AUX 3PL.S
 pron pn vi pron vt pron

tokomine nini
 to- ka -ma -ne na.NOM+F -ni
 away go/come back CONT+F AUX IP.N+F
 vi aux

'"I wanted them all to die, but they have gone away."'

145 *Me tabori me me ka me tabori moto*
 me tabori me me ka me tabori moto
 3PL.POSS place+F 3PL 3PL POSS 3PL.POSS place+F loop
 pron pn pron pron prt pron pn vi

namaba nemetemone ahi yobe
 na -ma -baa na -hemete -mone ahi yobe
 AUX back at a distance AUX FP.N+F REP+F then house
 aux aux dem nm

'Their longhouse was big and circular.'

146 *Yobe moto nawahame yobe me yobe me sari*
 yobe moto na -waha -ma+M yobe me yobe me sari
 house loop AUX change back house 3PL house 3PL.S burn
 nm vi aux nm pron nm pron vt

nemetemone ahi
 na -hemete -mone ahi
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 aux dem

'The longhouse was circular. They burned the house.'

ERIMA

147 *Yobe me sari na me , yati me ka yobe me*
 yobe me sari na+F me , yati me ka yobe me
 house 3PL.S burn AUX 3PL.S Apurinã 3PL.POSS POSS house 3PL.S
 nm pron vt aux pron npropm pron prt nm pron

sari na me , me me ha hina me ati me
 sari na+F me , me me haa hi- na+F me ati me
 burn AUX 3PL.S 3PL.O 3PL.S call OC AUX 3PL.POSS voice 3PL.S
 vt aux pron pron pron vt aux pron pn pron

kasawariha , me ka kanawa wataremetemone
 ka- sawari+F , me ka kanawa wata -ra -hemete -mone
 COMIT frustrate 3PL POSS canoe exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 vt pron prt nf vi

'They burned the house. They burned the Apurinã's house. They called them, but they didn't answer. Their canoes were gone.'

148 *Me ka kanawa ya me tokometemone*
 me ka kanawa ya me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone
 3PL POSS canoe ADJU 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
 pron prt nf prt pron vi

'They had gone away in their canoes.'

149 *Me tokoma me fawa , tabori me noki*
 me to- ka -ma+F me fawa.LIST , tabori me noki
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S disappear place+F 3PL.S wait for
 pron vi pron vi pn pron vt

hikana me , me me ha kabote hina
 hi- ka- na+F me , me me haa na -kabote hi- na+F
 OC COMIT AUX 3PL.POSS 3PL.O 3PL.S call AUX quickly OC AUX
 aux pron pron pron vt aux aux

me kamarimakoni me
 me ka -ma -ra -makoni me
 3PL.S go/come back NEG for this reason+F 3PL.S
 pron vi pron

kamemetemoneke
 ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'They went away. They waited at their village. They called them. They didn't come back, so they went home.'

150 *Me kama me kamaha me kobo nama*
 me ka -ma+F me ka -ma+F me kobo na -ma+F
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive AUX back
 pron vi pron vi pron vi aux

me Erima hiwa yokohiba
 me Erima hiwa yoko -hiba
 3PL.S (man's name) 3SG.REFL.M bring misfortune on FUT+M
 pron npropm pron vt

'They came back, and arrived. "Erima brought it on himself."

151 *Yati me ini hiri neno hiwa*
 yati me ini hiri na -hino hiwa
 Apurinã 3PL.POSS name+F say AUX IP.N+M 3SG.REFL.M
 npropm pron pn vt aux pron

yoko natine
 yoko na nahatI -ne
 bring misfortune on AUX daytime CONT+F
 vt aux

ERIMA

"He wanted to go after the Apurinās, and this got him in trouble."¹⁶¹

152 *Ai* *yokana* *ya* *kana* *ni* *totoka* *namata*
ahi yokana ya kana na.NFIN to- to- ka na.NOM+M -mata
there true ADJU run AUX DUP away go/come AUX ?+M
dem adj prt vi aux vi aux

one

ati o- na+M
say 1SG.S AUX
vt

"He should have run this way."

153 *Faya* *me* , *kama* *me* *kobo* *nama* *me* *amo*
faya me , ka -ma+F me kobo na -ma+F me amo
so 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S sleep
conj pron vi pron vi aux pron vi

na *me* *Hima* *e* *bana*
na+F me hima ee bana
AUX 3PL.S let's go 1IN.S move away
aux pron interj pron vi

"They came back and arrived, and slept. "Come on, let's move somewhere else."

154 *Me* *banemetemoneke*
me bana -hemete -mone -ke
3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron vi

"They moved away."

155 *Me* *bana* *me* *kamabisa* *me* , *me*
me bana+F me ka -ma -bisa+F me , me
3PL.S move away 3PL.S go/come back also 3PL.S 3PL.S
pron vi pron vi pron pron

kamabisa *me* , *kobo* *namimetemone*
ka -ma -bisa+F me , kobo na -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone
go/come back also 3PL.S arrive AUX back FP.N+F REP+F
vi pron vi aux

ama *kowani* *ka* *ya* *ahi*
ama -ke kowani ka ya ahi
be DECL+F other side LOC ADJU there
vc nf prt prt dem

"They moved away. They came and arrived on the other side."

156 *Me* *kobo* *nama* *me* , *Erima* *ahabaka*
me kobo na -ma+F me , Erima ahaba -ka
3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S (man's name) die DECL+M
pron vi aux pron npropm vi

"They arrived. "Erima has died."

157 *Erima* , *Erima* *yati* *me* *hikatomareka*
Erima , Erima yati me hi- katoma -hare -ka
(man's name) (man's name) Apurinā 3PL.S OC attack IP.E+M DECL+M
npropm npropm npropm pron vt

"The Apurinās killed Erima."

161 It is strange that the verb *yoko natine* contains the feminine form of the continuous morpheme *-ne*, since the subject is masculine, but this does seem to be the case. There is another similar case in sentence (167) below.

ERIMA

158 *Me hikabenoka*
 me hi- kaba -hino -ka
 3PL.S OC eat IP.N+M DECL+M
 pron vt

"They ate him."

159 *Me kabara me siba ra me*
 me kaba -ra+F me siba na -ra+F me
 3PL.S eat NEG 3PL.S look for AUX NEG 3PL.S
 pron result pron result aux pron

batibanani

bata -bana -ni
 be rotten FUT BKG+F
 vi

"It would be better if people were not eaten, so that they would rot."

160 *Me batarake*
 me bata -hara -ke
 3PL.S be rotten IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vi

"They rotted."

161 *Me batabone me bati yana tonarake*
 me bata -habone me bata.NFIN yana to- na -hara -ke
 3PL.S be rotten INT+F 3PL.S be rotten start CH AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vi pron vi vi aux

"They are going to rot, and they have started to rot."

162 *Me ta toremetemoneke ahi*
 me taa to- na -rI -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3PL.S be piled up CH AUX raised surface FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vi aux dem

me me tisa hini karo
 me me tisa hi- na.NOM+F karo
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX because
 pron pron vt aux prt

"They were piled up, because they had killed them with arrows."

163 *Me ta tore me*
 me taa to- na -rI me
 3PL.S be piled up CH AUX raised surface 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron

Okoyo me ota katoma owatino
 o- ka ayo me otaa katoma+F owatino
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 3PL.O 1EX.S kill many exclamation
 nm pron pron vt interj

"They were piled up. "We killed many of them along with my brother."

164 *Okoyo me no*
 o- ka ayo me noho
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 3PL.S be hurt
 nm pron vi

tonihawahineni

to- niha- na -waha -ne -ni
 CH CAUS AUX change CONT+F BKG+F
 aux

ERIMA

"Now they have hurt my brother."

165 *Erima* *biti* , *faya* *me* *yana* *tona* *me*
 Erima biti faya me yana to- na+F me
 (man's name) 3SG.POSS.son so 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S
 npropm nm conj pron vi aux pron

kama *me* *me* *bana* *me* *me*
 ka -ma+F me me bana+F me me
 go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S move away 3PL.S 3PL.S
 vi pron pron vi pron pron

banaminemetemoneke
 bana -mina -hemete -mone -ke
 move away morning FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'They left and came back. They moved away the next day.'

166 *Me* *banamina* *me* *kama* , *me* *kama*
 me bana -mina+F me ka -ma+F , me kama -ma+F
 3PL.S move away morning 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S go/come back
 pron vi pron vi pron vi

me *kobo* *nama* *me* , *Oof* , *me* *ota* *katoma*
 me kobo na -ma+F me , oof , me otaa katoma+F
 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S hoo 3PL.O 1EX.S kill many
 pron vi aux pron interj pron pron vt

owatino
 owatino
 exclamation
 interj

'They moved away. They came and arrived. "Whew, we killed many of them."

167 *Ohari* *ene* *itine*
 ohari+M ehene iti -ne
 be one victim of+M exist CONT+F
 vi pn vi

"One of them killed someone."

168 *Onohorareka*
 o- naho -ra -hare -ka
 1SG.S touch NEG IP.E+M DECL+M
 vt

"I didn't help him."

169 *Onomana*
 o- naho -himanaha
 1SG.S touch HYPOTH+M
 vt

"I should have helped him."

170 *Wabori* *hora* *nematamonaka*
 wabori hora na -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law exclaim AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vi aux

'His brother-in-law was exclaiming.'

ERIMA

tonakamakimina
to- na- ka -makI -mina+F me fawa nine ,
away CAUS go/come following morning 3PL.S disappear AUX CONT+F
vt pron vi aux

ababone me ona mati
ahaba -habone me ati o- na+F mati
die INT+F 3PL.O say 1SG.S AUX 3PL.O
vi pron vt pron

"They ate Erima. We went after them the next day, but they disappeared. I wanted them to die."¹⁶²

177 **Me ababone me ona me fawa**
me ahaba -habone me ati o- na+F me fawa
3PL.S die INT+F 3PL.O say 1SG.S AUX 3PL.S disappear
pron vi pron vt pron vi

nineke me ati nemetemoneke
na -ne -ke me ati na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX CONT+F DECL+F 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux pron vt aux

"I wanted them to die, but they disappeared," they said.'

178 **Me ati na me faya me kobo nama me**
me ati na+F me faya me kobo na -ma+F me
3PL.S say AUX 3PL.S so 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S
pron vt aux pron conj pron vi aux pron

hiyarama me me hiyaramemetemoneke
hiyara -ma+F me me hiyara -ma -hemete -mone -ke
speak back 3PL.S 3PL.S speak back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vi pron pron vi

'They arrived, and talked.'

179 **Me hiyarama me Yati me tamabote**
me hiyara -ma+F me yati me tama -bote
3PL.S speak back 3PL.S Apurinã 3PL.S be many very
pron vi pron npropm pron adj

meteni me ota katomini
me -tee -ni me otaa katoma -ni
3PL HAB IP.N+F 3PL.O 1EX.S kill many BKG+F
pron pron pron vt

"They talked. "There were many Apurinãs, and we killed many of them."

180 **Erima me katomawaharake waha**
Erima me katoma -waha -hara -ke waha
(man's name) 3PL.S attack change IP.E+F DECL+F now
npropm pron vt prt

"They killed Erima."

181 **Erima sawimakara**
Erima sawi -ma -ka -ra
(man's name) be present back DECL+M NEG+M
npropm vi

"Erima isn't alive anymore."

182 **Sero tokanenoka**
sero to- ka- na -hino -ka
slip CH COMIT AUX IP.N+M DECL+M
vi aux

162 Me is missing before *ababone*.

ERIMA

"He slipped."

183 *Yora towitibona ati ne sero tokane*
 yora to- na -witI -hibona ati na+M sero to- ka- na+M
 jump away AUX out INT+M say AUX slip CH COMIT AUX
 vi aux vt aux vi aux

bokahi ra itehinoka , me ati
 boka+M ra ita -hino -ka , me ati
 enter water O pierce IP.N+M DECL+M 3PL.S say
 vi prt vt pron vt

nemetemoneke
 na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

"He wanted to jump away, but he slipped and fell in the water, and he speared him," they said.'

184 *Me ati na , iteni , me , faya Erima me*
 me ati na+F , itehani , me , faya Erima me
 3PL.S say AUX whatchamacallit 3PL so (man's name) 3PL.S
 pron vt aux nm pron conj npropm pron

wati nawaha me hiyara me Me
 wati na -waha+F me hiyara+F me me
 remember AUX change 3PL.S speak 3PL.S 3PL.S
 vt aux pron vi pron pron

tonakamakiene me kanawa wati toerini
 to- na- ka -makI -hene me kanawa wata to- ha -ra -ni
 away CAUS go/come following IRR+F 3PL.S canoe exist CH AUX NEG BKG+F
 result pron nf vi aux

"They talked, remembering Erima. "They would have gone after them, but there weren't any canoes."

185 *Kanawa me towakamanike*
 kanawa me to- ka- ka -ma -hani -ke
 canoe 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back IP.N+F DECL+F
 nf pron vt

"They took the canoes."

186 *Yama tabori te awarawene ota katomarawa*
 yama tabori tee awa -rawa -hene otaa katoma -rawa+F
 thing place+F 2PL.S see F.PL IRR+F 1EX.S kill many F.PL
 nf pn pron vt pron vt

"You didn't see their village. We killed many of them."

187 *Aii tabora ebote moto namara ahi*
 aii tabora ehebote moto na -ma -hara ahi
 wow! village big loop AUX back IP.E+F there
 interj nf adj vi aux dem

"Wow, the big village goes far."

188 *Yati tamabote me ota tisa narake*
 yati tama -bote me otaa tisa na -hara -ke
 Apurinā be many very 3PL.O 1EX.S shoot with arrow AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 npropm adj pron pron vt aux

"We shot many Apurinās with arrows."

ERIMA

189 *Me* *aba* *me* , *fare* *ohari* , *Erima* *kiyo*
 me ahaba+F me , fare ohari+M , Erima kiyo
 3PL.S die 3PL.S same+M be one (man's name) chase
 pron vi pron dem vi npropm vt

naware *Erima* *itawenoka*
 na -wahaI Erima ita -waha -hino -ka
 AUX all over (man's name) pierce change IP.N+M DECL+M
 aux npropm vt

"They died. One chased Erima all over and speared Erima."

190 *Fito* *onamakerene*
 fito o- to- na -makI -ra -hene
 rush 1SG.S away AUX following NEG IRR+F
 vi aux

"I almost ran there."

191 *Fito* *onamakemenehe* , *wati* *hahi* , *me*
 fito o- to- na -makI -hemenehe , wati haahi , me
 rush 1SG.S away AUX following HYPOTH+F wati this one+M 3PL.S
 vi aux nm dem pron

hikarime *soba* *onami* *ya* , *wati* *ino*
 hi- karima+M soba o- na -ma.NOM+F ya , wati ino
 OC suffer from pull out 1SG.S AUX back ADJU arrow point+M
 vt vt aux prt nm pn

korone *ya* *sa* *okanena*
 korone ya saa o- ka- na -hina
 naked+M ADJU shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX IRR+M
 pn prt vt aux

"If I had run there, I could have pulled out an arrow from them and shot him with an arrow that didn't have poison."

192 *Faya* *me* *he* *itawenoka*
 faya me hee ita -waha -hino -ka
 so 3PL 3SG.O pierce change IP.N+M DECL+M
 conj pron pron vt

"He speared him."

193 *Kiya* *kani* *omitaba* *hiba*
 kiya ka- na.NFIN o- mita -baa hiba
 yell COMIT AUX 1SG.S hear at a distance soon after
 vi aux vt conj

kakamaki *ona* *okomake*
 ka- ka -makI o- na+F o- to- ka -makI
 DUP go/come following 1SG.S AUX 1SG.S away go/come following
 vi aux vi

"I heard his crying out far away. I went there, and I was getting close."

194 *Ayo* *e* *ra* ?
 ayo ee na -ra
 2SG.POSS.older brother (question) AUX CQ+M
 nm vi aux

"Where was your older brother?"

195 *Okoyo* *kiya* *kanare* *ahi*
 o- ka ayo kiya ka- na -hare ahi
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother yell COMIT AUX IP.E+M there
 nm vi aux dem

ERIMA

"My older brother was crying out there."

196 *Hibati* *ya* , *kamakimanaha* , *Erima*
 hibati ya , ka -makI -himanaha , Erima
 long time ago ADJU go/come following HYPOTH+M (man's name)
 nf prt vi npropm

tiwa *namise* *Erima* *towakamematamona*
 tiwa na -misa+M Erima to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona
 carry AUX up (man's name) away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M
 vt aux npropm vt

fara *me* *one* *ni* *ya* , *me* *bobi* *hinebana*
 fara me one ni ya , me bobi hi- na -hibana
 same+F 3PL other+F to ADJU 3PL.S slit OC AUX FUT+M
 dem pron adj prt prt pron vt aux

'He should have come sooner. He lifted Erima up to carry him, and took Erima back to his own people, for them to cut him up.'

197 *Me* *bobi* *hinematamonaka*
 me bobi hi- na -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.S slit OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt aux

'They cut him up.'

198 *Faya* *me* *bobi* *hine* , *me* *me fanawi* *me* *bata*
 faya me bobi hi- na+M , me me fanawi me bata
 so 3PL.S slit OC AUX 3PL women 3PL.S surprise
 conj pron vt aux pron nf pron vt

karenehe
 ka- na -ra -hene -he
 COMIT AUX NEG IRR+F DUP
 aux

'They cut him up. They didn't surprise the women.'

199 *Yama* *hoti* *howa* *toni* *ya* *me* *me*
 yama hoti howa to- na.NOM+F ya me me
 thing hole+F be open CH AUX ADJU 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nf pn vi nm prt pron pron

hiwemetemone *me* *yaka* *na* *mati* *ahi*
 hi- awa -hemete -mone me yaka na+F mati ahi
 OC see FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S walk AUX 3PL.S then
 vt pron vi aux pron dem

'They saw them walking, through the openings in the trees.'

200 *Aa* , *hiba* , *faya* *me* *aba* *me* *me* *kama*
 aa , hiba , faya me ahaba+F me me ka -ma+F
 (pause) wait so 3PL.S die 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come back
 interj interj conj pron nm pron pron vi

me *kobo* *nama* *me* *wiwinama* *toemetemone*
 me kobo na -ma+F me wi- wina -ma to- ha -hemete -mone
 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S DUP live back CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vi aux pron vi aux

'They died. They came and arrived, and lived over this way.'

201 *Faya* *me* *winama* *me* , *me* *wiwinama* *toa* *me*
 faya me wina -ma+F me , me wi- wina -ma to- ha+F me
 so 3PL.S live back 3PL.S 3PL.S DUP live back CH AUX 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron pron vi aux pron

ERIMA

yana na me tokomatasa me me tabori
 yana na+F me to- ka -ma -tasa+F me me tabori
 get up AUX 3PL.S away go/come back again 3PL.S 3PL.POSS place+F
 vi aux pron vi pron pron pn
me hiwamatasa me winami tabiyo
 me hi- to- awa -ma -tasa+F me wina -ma.NFIN tabiyo
 3PL.S OC away see back again 3PL.S live back absence
 pron vt pron vi pn

'They lived back this way. They lived there, and they got up and went back there and saw their village, to see if they were living there again.'

202 *Afi tibana* ?
 afi ti- na -bana
 bathe 2SG.S AUX FUT
 vi aux

'Are you going to bathe?'

203 *Faya me me tabori me yobi hikana*
 faya me me tabori me yobi hi- ka- na+F
 so 3PL 3PL.POSS place+F 3PL.S go back and forth OC COMIT AUX
 conj pron pron pn pron vi aux

me me kamaremetemoneke
 me me ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.POSS 3PL.S go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pron vi

'They were always going to their village, but they didn't come back.'

204 *Me tokometemoneke*
 me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They went away.'

205 *Faya me tokoma me fawa tosama*
 faya me to- ka -ma+F me fawa to- na -kosa -ma+F
 so 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S disappear CH AUX middle back
 conj pron vi pron vi aux

me me wiwinama toa me me kakaba
 me me wi- wina -ma to- ha+F me me ka- kaba
 3PL.S 3PL.S DUP live back CH AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat
 pron pron vi aux pron pron vt

hiemetemone aba mati haro
 hi- to- ha -hemete -mone aba mati haaro
 OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F fish sp 3PL that one+F
 aux nm pron dem

'They went away, and disappeared. They lived over this way, and ate them, the *aba* fish.'

206 *Faya aba me me kakaba toa me faya aba*
 faya aba me me ka- kaba to- ha+F me faya aba
 so fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX 3PL.S so fish sp
 conj nm pron pron vt aux pron conj nm

me me kakaba toemetemone okaki
 me me ka- kaba to- ha -hemete -mone o- ka aki
 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.S POSS grandmother
 pron pron vt aux nf

ERIMA

aati toimaro amake
a- ati to- ha.NOM+F -maro ama -ke
DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F be DECL+F
vt aux vc
'They ate *aba* fish, my grandmother used to say.'

207 **Okiti atimona okaki**
o- ka iti ati -mona o- ka aki
1SG.POSS POSS grandfather voice REP+M 1SG.S POSS grandmother
nm pn nf

hihiyara toimaro amake
hi- hiyara to- ha.NOM+F -maro ama -ke
DUP tell CH AUX FP.E+F be DECL+F
vt aux vc
'My grandmother told what my grandfather said.'

208 **Aki hibaka ya aki hibaka ya me aki**
aki hibaka ya aki hibaka ya me aki
grandmother where ADJU grandmother where ADJU 3PL grandmother
nf interrog prt nf interrog prt pron nf

hibaka ya me winarimetemoneya ?
hibaka ya me wina -ri -mete -mone -ya
where ADJU 3PL.S live CQ+F FP.N+F REP+F now
interrog prt pron vi
'"Grandma, where did they live?'"

209 **Me winimetemone amani ahi , ee Mamoriya ,**
me wina.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ni ahi ee Mamoriya
3PL.S live FP.N+F REP+F be BKG+F there (pause) Mamoriá
pron vi vc dem interj npropf

Mamoriya ka iteheni , Siraba aa , Misao
Mamoriya ka iteheni Siraba aa Misao
Mamoriá POSS what's the name (name of stream) (pause) Missão
npropf prt nm npropf interj npropf

Misao ini e te ?
Misao ini ee na -tee
Missão name+F (question) AUX HAB
npropf pn vi aux

'They lived at the thing of the Mamoriá...Siraba...Missão...what is the name of the Missão?'

210 **Bia Fa , Bia Fa , ee me ihi**
Bia Faa , Bia Faa ee me ihi
(name of stream) (name of stream) (pause) 3PL.POSS victim of+F
npropf npropf interj pron pn

itimetemone ama Bia Fa ya ahi , Bia Fa
iti -hemete -mone ama Bia Faa ya ahi Bia Faa
exist FP.N+F REP+F SEC (name of stream) ADJU there (name of stream)
vi sec npropf prt dem npropf

Bia Fa kaya ni kowani ka ya
Bia Faa kaya na.NFIN kowani ka ya
(name of stream) lie AUX other side LOC ADJU
npropf vi aux nf prt prt

'Biya Fa, Biya Fa...they killed people at the Biya Fa, on the other side of the Biya Fa.'

ERIMA

211 *Yati me taborimetemone watine faro*
 yati me tabori -mete -mone wata -ne faaro
 Apurinã 3PL.POSS place+F FP.N+F REP+F be located CONT+F that+F
 npropm pron pn vi dem
 'The old village of the Apurinãs is there.'

212 *Faya me me ihi itimetemone ama fahi*
 faya me me ihi iti.NOM+F -mete -mone ama fahi
 so 3PL 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist FP.N+F REP+F be there
 conj pron pron pn vi vc dem

okaki ati nimaro
 o- ka aki ati na.NOM+F -maro
 1SG.S POSS grandmother say AUX FP.E+F
 nf vt aux
 'They killed people there, my grandmother said.'

213 *Erimamatamonaka*
 Erima -mata -mona -ka
 (man's name) FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 npropm
 'He was Erima.'

214 *Erima Erima Erima wabori*
 Erima Erima Erima wabori
 (man's name) (man's name) (man's name) 3SG.POSS brother-in-law
 npropm npropm npropm nm

yoha yama ne ra yati me fora
 yoha yama na+M ra yati me fora
 tree sp climb AUX O Apurinã 3PL.S shoot with blowgun
 nf vt aux prt npropm pron vt

nemetemoneni
 na -hemete -mone -ni
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 aux

'Erima...the Apurinãs shot his brother-in-law with a blowgun when he was climbing a *yoha* tree.'

215 *Faya me me me me tabori me ki*
 faya me me me me tabori me kii
 so 3PL 3PL 3PL 3PL.POSS place+F 3PL.S look at
 conj pron pron pron pron pn pron vt

hinamatasi ya me kama kobo nama
 hi- to- na -ma -tasa.NOM+F ya me ka -ma+F kobo na -ma+F
 OC away AUX back again ADJU 3PL.S go/come back arrive AUX back
 aux prt pron vi vi aux

me me kakamaki toaremetemone amake
 me me ka- ka -makI to- ha -ra -hemete -mone ama -ke
 3PL.S 3PL.S DUP go/come following CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 pron pron vi aux sec

'When they went and looked at their village, they came back and arrived. They never came back.'

216 *Haha me ahabi tami ka me*
 haaha me ahaba.NFIN tama.NOM+F ka me
 this+F 3PL.S die be many because 3PL.S
 dem pron vi vi prt pron

THE MAN WHO GOT AWAY FROM THE KOSE MATI

Free Translation

The kose mati monster. The teenager was trained as a shaman. They trained him as a shaman. They trained him over a period of time, and then they were done with him. He was walking around normally again.

He went hunting.

"Father, should I go hunting?"

"Go hunting. Go."

His father ordered him, and he went. They had trained him as a shaman, and he had returned to normal. He went out into the forest, carrying a blowgun on his shoulder.

A curassow was calling. "Hho hho hohooo ho."

"I'm going to shoot the curassow with a dart."

He went on to shoot the curassow. There was a kapok tree. There was a kose mati monster hiding in the buttress roots of the kapok tree, making the sound of a curassow calling. It was looking up. "Hho hho hohooo o."

He was coming. He came with the blowgun in his hand.

"The curassow called there."

He moved over to a different position, and the monster attacked him. It attacked, and caught him. He got free, and ran away with it. It caught him again. It brought him back.

It picked up its basket. It put him in the basket, and tied him in. He didn't make a fuss.

"Whew, I'm going to throw him in the water."

It went up into the kapok tree. It went up the kapok tree. "Ho-o, ho-o, ho-o." It was carrying him attached by its head.

It arrived up high with him. At the place where there was a branch in the kapok tree, it went around.

There was a lake. The kapok tree was on the edge of a lake. It went up the kapok tree, and took him out along a straight limb of the kapok tree, on top of the limb. It went carrying him in the basket.

"All right, I will throw him in the water with the basket."

It swung him back and forth, and threw him. Instead of landing in the water, he went back. He went back, and landed there.

"Humph, I wanted him to go in the water, wait."

It went down. It came back on the branch. It went down through an open place in the branches, kari, beo. It got him again.

"Help."

"Hey, don't call."

"There is no one to help me, help."

But he kept on calling out. Because he stubbornly kept on calling out, it defecated on his face. His face had diarrhea on it. His face had feces on it. It defecated on his face.

It took him back up in the basket. "Ho-o, ho-o, ho-o, ho-o." Its voice could be heard as it went back up. It was close. "Whew." It straightened the basket so it would not fall.

It went along the limb with him. It planned against him. It swung him back and forth, and

THE MAN WHO GOT AWAY FROM THE KOSE MATI

threw him.

But he went back, even though the monster thought he was going to go in the water. He almost touched the surface of the water as he went back. He landed back there.

"Aa, I wanted him to go in the water. He is naughty. I wanted him to drown."

It came back on the limb, and went down. It went down, baasa, beo.

He called out.

"He is calling out. He didn't die. Hey! Don't call out."

It came and got him. It defecated on his face. Because he said he wouldn't stop calling out, it defecated diarrhea on his face. It took him back up.

"Oof, hoo, he should have gone into the water. Why didn't he? What did he do?"

It took him back up. It went back up. It got close to the top.

Then it took him out on the limb. It took him out on the limb again.

When it arrived, it swung him back and forth. Koro, he went out. He didn't fall in the water, but went along the surface, si(ss)ss, sssi. He landed and sat again where the kapok tree was.

"Aa, there he goes again."

It came back along the branch again, and came down again.

The spirits heard something. The spirit heard something. There were two of them that heard something.

"The monster threw someone in something who was calling, I saw him. There, it took him up again. Wait, don't do anything yet. Let's watch him."

It took him out on the limb.

"Look at him."

It threw him again. He didn't fall into the water, but went back again, is(ss)ss. He landed on his feet.

"I told you. The monster threw someone in something."

It jumped down. They saw him coming down. Two spears would stand right where he came down.

The two of them came.

"He fooled the monster," they said.

"Here." It put him on his back again in the basket. It went up with him. It took him up.

The two of them appeared. They stuck two spears in the ground. They were standing upright. The spears were pointing up, two together. The points were together. They stuck the two spears in the ground. The two spirits stood there.

It went and took him out on the limb.

"I want him to go into the water now."

It swung him back and forth. Koro, it thought he would go into the water, but he came back to the same place. He went over the water, si(ss)ss, and arrived again.

"Aa, there he goes again."

It came back on the limb. The two spears were standing at the place where he always landed. The two spears were upright.

It dropped, and when it was going to hit the ground, the spears went through it, and it cried out. "Aya, aya, aya."

It went right down to the hilts of the spears, because it fell hard. It cried out. They rushed it, and finished it off. They killed it. It died. When it died, they went and got him, and brought him back.

"Hey, what happened to you? Did it capture you?"

"It captured me. It was there on the ground. It threw me from where it was. It was there

THE MAN WHO GOT AWAY FROM THE KOSE MATI

making the call of a curassow. I didn't see it, and it captured me from behind. There it is, lying on the ground."

"Look at it. Look at it lying there. The kose mati is huge. We will eat it."

Then they untied him. They untied the basket over his face. They let him out.

"Go take a bath. You smell bad. It defecated on you."

He went to the water to bathe. He bathed. When he finished bathing, he came onto the shore.

"Hoo, you saved me."

"We heard you calling. When you called, we heard you calling, and for this reason we came and found you. We found you, and saved you. It would have eaten you. It would have killed you. We saved you. You have escaped, now go home. Go home. We will take it away. We will eat it."

"You eat it. It captured me. I didn't see it. It captured me from behind."

Then the two of them went away. After he left, they left. They put it on their shoulders, and went, and ate it.

"Whew, it threw the man, and we killed it, and we are bringing it," they said.

They ate it.

He arrived back.

"Whew, a spirit captured me to throw me, and I have come back."

"You were not wary," his father said. "It must have been a kose mati."

"The monster was standing among the buttress roots of a kapok tree, looking up and calling like a curassow. I was looking at it, and when I changed my position, it captured me from behind."

"It must have been a kose mati. You shouldn't go to the flooded forest. The monster is there in the flooded forest. People used to say long ago that it is in the flooded forest, and now it captured you."

"It captured me, and threw me. Two spirits saved me, and then went away. You wouldn't have seen me anymore. It tied me in a basket. It defecated on my face, because it said I was calling out. There were feces on my face. It took me back up again in the tree, and threw me, so I would go into the water. It wanted me to drown. It wanted me to go in the water, but I couldn't go in the water. Because I couldn't go in the water, I survived. They heard me calling, and came after me. Because of them the monster cried out, as I was in the basket on the edge of the lake. They said they were spirits of the *kosi* palm. The two *kosi* spirits saved me, and then went away. I came back here, and appeared. You wouldn't have seen me anymore. I would have died in the depths of the water. I would have died in the water."

Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Kose mati</i> kose mati (name of monster) nm	,	<i>kose mati</i> kose mati (name of monster) nm		<i>inamati</i> inamati someone nm	,	<i>inamati</i> inamati someone nm	<i>yetene</i> yetene teenage boy adj
,	<i>inamati</i> inamati someone nm	<i>yetene</i> yetene teenage boy adj	<i>yetene</i> yetene teenage boy adj	<i>afo</i> afo blow snuff into result vt	<i>nari</i> na -haari AUX IP.E+M aux	,	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	
<i>afo</i>	<i>hinahari</i> hi- na -haari OC AUX IP.E+M aux							

'The kose mati monster. The teenager was trained as a shaman. They trained him as a shaman.'

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2 *Me afo hine , me afo*
 me afo hi- na+M , me a- afo
 3PL.S blow snuff into OC AUX 3PL.S DUP blow snuff into
 pron vt aux pron vt

hie me , me sa hikase
 hi- to- ha+M me , me saa hi- to- ka- na -kosa+M ,
 OC CH AUX 3PL 3PL.S release OC CH COMIT AUX middle
 aux pron pron vt aux

wawama toahi , yama yama yete nematamona
 wa- waa -ma to- ha+M , yama yama yete na -himata -mona
 DUP stand back CH AUX thing thing hunt AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi aux nf nf vt aux

'They trained him as a shaman. They trained him over a period of time, and then they were done with him. He was walking around normally again. He went hunting.'

3 *Abi abi yama yete obana ?*
 abi abi yama yete o- na -bana
 father father thing hunt 1SG.S AUX FUT
 nm nm nf vt aux

"Father, should I go hunting?"

4 *Yama yama yete tinahi*
 yama yama yete ti- na -hi
 thing thing hunt 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 nf nf vt aux

"Go hunting."

5 *Yama yete tinahi*
 yama yete ti- na -hi
 thing hunt 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 nf vt aux

"Go hunting."

6 *Tika*
 ti- to- ka
 2SG.S away go/come
 vi

"Go."

7 *Bati hiyose , tokehimatamonaka*
 bati hi- yose , to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS.father OC command away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vt vi

'His father ordered him, and he went.'

8 *Me afo hiahi wawamisama toe*
 me a- afo hi- to- ha+M wa- waa -misa -ma to- ha+M
 3PL.S DUP blow snuff into OC CH AUX DUP stand up back CH AUX
 pron vt aux vi aux

, *toke , karaboa tiwa kane , karaboa mase*
 to- ka+M , karaboha tiwa ka- na+M , karaboha mase
 away go/come blowgun carry COMIT AUX blowgun curassow
 vi nf vt aux nf nm

hi nematamona , hho hho hohoo ho
 hii na -himata -mona , hoo
 (call of curassow) AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi aux

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'They had trained him as a shaman, and he had returned to normal. He went out into the forest, carrying a blowgun on his shoulder. A curassow was calling. "Hho hho hohooo ho."

9 **Mase okaraboamatibe**
 mase o- karaboha -mata -be
 curassow 1SG.S shoot with blowgun short time IMMED+F
 nm vt

"I'm going to shoot the curassow with a dart."

10 **Mase okaraboamatibe**
 mase o- karaboha -mata -be
 curassow 1SG.S shoot with blowgun short time IMMED+F
 nm vt

"I'm going to shoot the curassow."

11 **Eti hawa tini** ?
 Eti hawa ti- to- ha -ni
 (man's name) be finished 2SG.S CH AUX BKG+F
 npropm vi aux

'Eti, are you finished?'

12 **Mase karaboebona toke wasina waha**
 mase karaboha -hibona to- ka+M wasina waa+F
 curassow shoot with blowgun INT+M away go/come kapok stand
 nm vt vi nf vi

wasina waimetemone amake
 wasina waa.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke
 kapok stand FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 nf vi sec

'He went on to shoot the curassow. There was a kapok tree.'

13 **Wasina waha , habi ya , kose mati**
 wasina waa+F , habi ya , kose mati
 kapok stand root+F ADJU (name of monster)
 nf vi pn prt nm

waiyematamonaka ahi mase , mase hi
 wahiya -himata -mona -ka ahi mase , mase hi
 hide FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then curassow curassow (call of curassow)
 vi dem nm nm vi

ni tohahari , tonokomisari ahi
 na.NFIN to- ha -haari , to- noko -misa -haari ahi
 AUX CH be IP.E+M away point up IP.E+M then
 aux vc vi dem

tonokomisari hi nari , hho hho hohooo o
 to- noko -misa -haari hii na -haari o
 away point up IP.E+M (call of curassow) AUX IP.E+M
 vi vi aux

'There was a kose mati monster hiding in the buttress roots of the kapok tree, making the sound of a curassow calling. It was looking up. "Hho hho hohooo o."

14 **Kakehimatamonaka**
 ka -kI -himata -mona -ka
 go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He was coming.'

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15 *Karaboa* *karaboa* *tama* *ni* *kake* , *Mase*
karaboha karaboha tama na.NFIN ka -kI mase
blowgun blowgun hold onto AUX go/come coming curassow
nf nf vt aux vi nm

hi *nareka* *ahi*
hii na -hare -ka ahi
(call of curassow) AUX IP.E+M DECL+M there
vi aux dem

'He came with the blowgun in his hand. "The curassow called there."'

16 *Towawawitebona* *kose mati* *fito*
to- waa -waha -witI -hibona kose mati fito
away stand change out INT+M (name of monster) rush
vi nm vi

nakematamonaka *ahi*
na -kI -himata -mona -ka ahi
AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
aux dem

'He moved over to a different position, and the monster attacked him.'

17 *Fito* *nake* *he* *watamatamonaka* *ahi*
fito na -kI hee wata -himata -mona -ka ahi
rush AUX coming 3SG.O catch FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
vi aux pron vt dem

'It attacked, and caught him.'

18 *He* *wate* *fawa* *ne* *bete* *hikawe* *he*
hee wata+M fawa na+M bete hi- ka- na -waha+M hee
3SG.O catch disappear AUX run OC COMIT AUX change 3SG.O
pron vt vi aux vi aux pron

towatamaki *he* *kakame* *he*
to- wata -makI+M hee ka- ka -ma+M hee
away catch following 3SG.O COMIT go/come back 3SG.O
vt pron vt pron

kakamematamonaka
ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vt

'It caught him. He got free, and ran away with it. It caught him again. It brought him back.'

19 *He* *kakame* *hinaka* *hisiri* *itimetemone*
hee ka- ka -ma+M hinaka hisiri iti -hemete -mone
3SG.O COMIT go/come back 3SG.POSS basket pick up FP.N+F REP+F
pron vt pron nf vt

amake *hisiri*
ama -ke hisiri
SEC DECL+F basket
sec nf

'It brought him back. It picked up its basket.'

20 *Hisiri* *ya* *hiberise* *wete* *hikane* , *wete*
hisiri ya hi- ibI -risa+M wete hi- ka- na+M wete
basket ADJU OC put inside down tie OC COMIT AUX tie
nf prt vt vt aux vt

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'It swung him back and forth, and threw him. Instead of landing in the water, he went back.'

31 *Towakame* , *tih* *tokaname* , *Omm* ,
to- ka- ka -ma+M , tih to- ka- na -ma+M , omm ,
away COMIT go/come back hit away COMIT AUX back
vi vi aux

kabokebona *one* , *hiba* .
ka- boka -hibona ati o- na+M , hiba .
COMIT enter water INT+M say 1SG.S AUX wait
vi vt interj

'He went back, and landed there. "Humph, I wanted him to go in the water, wait."'

32 *Kisamake* *kisamake*
ka -risa -makI ka -risa -makI
go/come down following go/come down following
vi vi

warewame *yama* *hoti* *howa* *toni* *ya*
waa -rI -waha -ma+M yama hoti howa to- na.NOM+F ya
stand raised surface change back thing hole be open CH AUX ADJU
vi nf pn vi nm prt

sonehimatamonaka *ahi* *karii*
sona -himata -mona -ka ahi karii
fall FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then (sound of going down)
vi dem sound

beo .
beo
(sound of hitting ground)
sound

'It went down. It came back on the branch. It went down through an open place in the branches, karii, beo.'

33 *Faya* *hiwakitimake* ,
faya hi- to- ka- iti -makI ,
so OC away COMIT take out following
conj vt

hiwakitimakematamonaka .
hi- to- ka- iti -makI -himata -mona -ka
OC away COMIT take out following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vt

'It got him again.'

34 *Hiwakitimake* , *hiwakitimake* ,
hi- to- ka- iti -makI , hi- to- ka- iti -makI ,
OC away COMIT take out following OC away COMIT take out following
vt vt

Hee .
hee
hey
interj

'It got him again. "Help."'

35 *Oo* *ha* *rima* *tinahi* .
oo haa na -rima ti- na -hi
oh no call AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
interj vi aux aux

""Hey, don't call.""

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36 *Yama abara awineni , hee* .
 yama ahaba -ra+F awine -ni , hee
 thing end NEG seem+F BKG+F hey
 nf vi sec interj

'"There is no one to help me, help."'

37 *Mitarama ni ha ne ha ni kasiromona*
 mita -rama na.NFIN haa na+M haa na.NFIN kasiro -himona
 hear unusual AUX call AUX call AUX be perverse REP+M
 antip aux vi aux vi aux vi

ha ni kasiromonamako noko mi
 haa na.NFIN kasiro -mona -mako noko mii
 call AUX be perverse REP+M for this reason+M face+M defecate on
 vi aux vi pn vt

hinematamonaka ahi .
 hi- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'But he kept on calling out. Because he stubbornly kept on calling out, it defecated on his face.'

38 *Noko iyo kowewe kihakiha* .
 noko iyo kowewe kiha- kiha
 face+M feces diarrhea DUP have
 pn nf nf vt

'His face had diarrhea on it.'

39 *Noko iyo kihematamona* .
 noko iyo kiha -himata -mona
 face+M feces have FP.N+M REP+M
 pn nf vt

'His face had feces on it.'

40 *Noko mi hine , noko mi hine*
 noko mii hi- na+M , noko mii hi- na+M
 face+M defecate on OC AUX face+M defecate on OC AUX
 pn vt aux pn vt aux

hiwakimisamatamatamona
 hi- to- ka- ka -misa -ma -tasa -himata -mona
 OC away COMIT go/come up back again FP.N+M REP+M
 vt

'It defecated on his face. It took him back up in the basket.'

41 *Hiwakimisamatase* ,
 hi- to- ka- ka -misa -ma -tasa+M
 OC away COMIT go/come up back again
 vt

hiwakimisamematamona .
 hi- to- ka- ka -misa -ma -himata -mona
 OC away COMIT go/come up back FP.N+M REP+M
 vt

'It took him back up in the basket.'

42 *Hiwakimisame Ho-o ho-o , ho-o , ho-o ati*
 hi- to- ka- ka -misa -ma+M ho-o ho-o , ho-o , ho-o ati
 OC away COMIT go/come up back interj interj interj interj voice
 vt pn

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tokomisamematamona

to- ka -misa -ma -himata -mona
away go/come up back FP.N+M REP+M
vi

'It took him back up. "Ho-o, ho-o, ho-o, ho-o." Its voice could be heard as it went back up.'

43 *Ati tokomisame* , *ati tokomisame* , *ati*
ati to- ka -misa -ma+M ati to- ka -misa -ma+M , ati
voice away go/come up back voice away go/come up back voice
pn vi pn vi pn

tokomisame bori tomisame Oof
to- ka -misa -ma+M bori to- na -misa -ma+M oof
away go/come up back get close away AUX up back hoo
vi vi aux interj

'Its voice could be heard as it went back up. It was close. "Whew."'

44 *Weye kani forima hine bere*
weye ka- na.NFIN forima hine na+M bere
carry COMIT AUX do properly OC AUX be across
vt aux vi aux vi

hikawitematamonaka

hi- to- ka- na -witI -himata -mona -ka
OC away COMIT AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vt

'It straightened the basket so it would not fall. It went along the limb with him.'

45 *Bere hikawite* , *bere*
bere hi- to- ka- na -witI , bere
be across OC away COMIT AUX out be across
vi aux vi

hikawitematamonaka

hi- to- ka- na -witI -himata -mona -ka
OC away COMIT AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vt

'It went along the limb with him.'

46 *Bere hikawite wati hikane tawi*
bere hi- to- ka- na -witI wati hi- ka- na+M tawi
be across OC away COMIT AUX out plan against OC COMIT AUX spin
vi aux vt aux vi

hikanematamonaka

hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka
OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux

'It went along the limb with him. It planned against him. It swung him back and forth.'

47 *Tawi hikane* , *koro*
tawi hi- ka- na+M , koro
spin OC COMIT AUX (sound of something being thrown)
vi aux sound

'It swung him back and forth, and threw him.'

48 *Faya* , *towakematamonaka* , *ahi*
faya to- ka- ka -himata -mona -ka ahi
so away COMIT go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
conj vi dem

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kabokabakani

ka- boka -ba -kani
COMIT enter water FUT CNTRFACT
vi

'But he went back, even though the monster thought he was going to go in the water.'

49 **Fa fa baki yokana iss sss towakame**
faha faha baki yokana to- ka- ka -ma+M
water water inside surface+F true away COMIT go/come back
nf nf pn adj vi

tihi tokanamematamonaka

tihi to- ka- na -ma -himata -mona -ka
hit away COMIT AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi aux

'He almost touched the surface of the water as he went back. He landed back there.'

50 **Aa , kabokebona one**
aa ka- boka -hibona ati o- na+M
(expression of displeasure) COMIT enter water INT+M say 1SG.S AUX
interj vi vt

, **kabokebona one , kakasi raba**
ka- boka -hibona ati o- na+M , ka- kasi na -raba
COMIT enter water INT+M say 1SG.S AUX DUP be naughty AUX a bit
vi vt vi aux

reba ama narani , faha ihi toehibona
na -ra -hiba ama na.NOM+M -rani , faha ihi to- ha -hibona
AUX NEG FUT+M SEC AUX ? water victim of+F CH be INT+M
aux sec aux nf pn vc

onahari

ati o- na -haari
say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+M
vt

""Aa, I wanted him to go in the water. He is naughty. I wanted him to drown.""

51 **Bere name bere name sonematamonaka**
bere na -ma+M bere na -ma+M sona -himata -mona -ka
be across AUX back be across AUX back fall FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi aux vi aux vi

ahi

ahi
then
dem

'It came back on the limb, and went down.'

52 **Sonematamonaka ahi baasa**
sona -himata -mona -ka ahi baasa
fall FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then (sound of hitting leaves)
vi dem sound

beo

beo
(sound of hitting ground)
sound

'It went down, baasa, beo.'

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53 *Faya ha ne Ha nareka*
 faya haa na+M haa na -hare -ka
 so call AUX call AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 conj vi aux vi aux

'He called out. "He is calling out."'

54 *Yama abara awineni*
 yama ahaba -ra awine -ni
 thing die NEG seem+F BKG+F
 nf vi sec

""He didn't die.""

55 *Hee*
 hee
 hey
 interj

""Hey!""

56 *Ha rima tinahi*
 haa na -rima ti- na -hi
 call AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 vi aux aux

""Don't call out.""

57 *Hiwakitimake noko mi hinemata*
 hi- ka- iti -makI , noko mii hi- na -himata
 OC COMIT take out following face+M defecate on OC AUX FP.N+M
 vt pn vt aux

'It came and got him. It defecated on his face.'

58 *Ha ni kasiromona noko mi*
 haa na.NFIN kasiro -himona noko mii
 call AUX be perverse REP+M face+M defecate on
 vi aux vi pn vt

hinematamonaka ahi iyo kowewe ya
 hi- na -himata -mona -ka ahi iyo kowewe ya
 OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then feces diarrhea ADJU
 aux dem nf nf prt

'Because he said he wouldn't stop calling out, it defecated diarrhea on his face.'

59 *Faya noko mi hine noko mi hine*
 faya noko mii hi- na+M , noko mii hi- na+M
 so face+M defecate on OC AUX face+M defecate on OC AUX
 conj pn vt aux pn vt aux

hiwakimisame Oof hoo hiba
 hi- to- ka- ka -misa -ma+M , oof , hoo hiba
 OC away COMIT go/come up back hoo humph wait
 vt interj interj interj

kabokaba nena
 ka- boka+M -ba na -hina
 COMIT enter water FUT AUX IRR+M
 vi aux

'It defecated on his face. It took him back up. "Oof, hoo, he should have gone into the water."'

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hikanematamonaka

hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'It took him out on the limb again. When it arrived, it swung him back and forth.'

66 **Tawi hikanematamona**

tawi hi- ka- na -himata -mona
 spin OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi aux

'It swung him back and forth.'

67 **Tawi hikane**

tawi hi- ka- na+M , koro
 spin OC COMIT AUX (sound of something being thrown)
 vi aux sound

towake

to- ka- ka+M
 away COMIT go/come
 vi

towake

to- ka- ka+M
 away COMIT go/come
 vi

kabokebona

ka- boka -hibona
 COMIT enter water INT+M
 vi

towakamatasematamonaka

to- ka- ka -ma -tasa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 away COMIT go/come back again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem

ahi

sissss sssi

'It swung him back and forth. Koro, he went out. He didn't fall in the water, but went along the surface, sissss, sssi.'

68 **Fara**

fara fara wasina wai ya
 same+F same+F kapok stand ADJU
 dem dem nf vi prt

totokowitamematamonaha

to- to- ka- ita -ma -himata -mona -ha
 DUP away COMIT sit back FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 vi

'He landed and sat again where the kapok tree was.'

69 **Aa**

aa
 (expression of displeasure)
 interj

kakasi

ka- kasi
 DUP be naughty
 vi

raba

na -raba
 AUX a bit
 aux

nahare

na -hare
 AUX IP.E+M
 aux

""Aa, there he goes again.""

70 **Kame**

ka -ma+M bere
 go/come back be across
 vi vi

bere

na -ma+M
 AUX back
 aux

name

sona -tasa -himata -mona -ka
 fall again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

sonatasematamonaka

sona -tasa -himata -mona -ka
 fall again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

fahi

fahi
 then
 dem

'It came back along the branch again, and came down again.'

71 **Sone**

sona+M , me inamati narabi hawihani
 fall spirits ear+F work IP.N+F
 vi nf pn vi

me inamati

me inamati
 3PL spirits
 pron nf

narabi

me inamati
 3PL spirits
 pron nf

hawihani

me inamati
 3PL spirits
 pron nf

me

me inamati
 3PL spirits
 pron nf

me inamati

me inamati
 3PL spirits
 pron nf

inamati

inamati
 spirit
 nm

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narabo hawihino me me famemetemoneke me
 narabo hawi -hino me me fama -hemete -mone -ke me
 ear+M work IP.N+M 3PL 3PL.S be two FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.POSS
 pn vi pron pron vi pron

narabi hawihani mati
 narabi hawi -hani mati
 ear+F work IP.N+F 3PL.POSS
 pn vi pron

'It came down. The spirits heard something. The spirit heard something. There were two of them that heard something.'

72 **Inamati ama narani one ha ne inamati**
 inamati ama na.NOM+M -rani ati o- na -ne haa na+M inamati
 someone be AUX ? say 1SG.S AUX BKG+M call AUX spirit
 nm vc aux vt vi aux nm

were kanareka owahari
 were ka- na -hare -ka o- awa -haari
 throw COMMIT AUX IP.E+M DECL+M 1SG.S see IP.E+M
 vt aux vt

""The monster threw someone in something who was calling, I saw him.""

73 **Hari hiwakimisamatase**
 haari hi- to- ka- ka -misa -ma -tasa+M
 that one+M OC away COMMIT go/come up back again
 dem vt

""There, it took him up again.""

74 **Hibare mata awaraba timata mata**
 hibare mata awaraba ti- na -mata mata
 wait for now leave alone 2SG.S AUX short time for now
 interj prt vi aux prt

""Wait, don't do anything yet.""

75 **E kakatomamata**
 ee ka- katoma -mata
 1IN.S COMMIT look at short time
 pron vt

""Let's watch him.""

76 **Faya bere hikaname bere**
 faya bere hi- to- ka- na -ma+M bere
 so be across OC away COMMIT AUX back be across
 conj vi aux vi

hikaname Tekatoma
 hi- to- ka- na -ma+M ti- ka- katoma
 OC away COMMIT AUX back 2SG.S COMMIT look at
 aux vt

'It took him out on the limb. "Look at him."'

77 **Faya koro hikanamatase matamonaka ahi**
 faya koro hi- to- ka- na -ma -tasa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 so throw OC away COMMIT AUX back again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj vt aux dem

'It threw him again.'

THE MAN WHO GOT AWAY FROM THE KOSE MATI

78 *Koro hikaname kabokebona*
 koro hi- to- ka- na -ma+M ka- boka -hibona
 throw OC away COMIT AUX back COMIT enter water INT+M
 vt aux vi

kakamatasematamonaka ahi isissss
 ka- ka -ma -tasa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 DUP go/come back again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem

'It threw him. He didn't fall into the water, but went back again, isissss.'

79 *Tihi tokanama tihi tokaname ya*
 tihi to- ka- na -ma.LIST tihi to- ka- na -ma.NOM+M ya
 hit away COMIT AUX back hit away COMIT AUX back ADJU
 vi aux vi aux prt

Owati tikasawariara tini
 o- ati ti- ka- sawari -hara ti- ni
 1SG.POSS voice 2SG.S COMIT frustrate IP.E+F 2SG.S BKG+F
 pn vt prt

'He landed on his feet. "I told you."'

80 *Inamati inamati were kane amane hiba*
 inamati inamati were ka- na+M ama -ne hiba
 someone spirit throw COMIT AUX SEC BKG+M wait
 nm nm vt aux sec interj

""The monster threw someone in something.""

81 *Bao nisematamona*
 bao na -risa -himata -mona
 come down AUX down FP.N+M REP+M
 vi aux

'It jumped down.'

82 *Bao nisi me hiwe fare sosona yokana*
 bao na -risa.NFIN me hi- awa+M fare so- sona yokana
 come down AUX down 3PL.S OC see same+M DUP fall true
 vi aux pron vt dem pn adj

ya sosona yokana ya wabise yoro naba me
 ya so- sona yokana ya wabise yoro na -haba me
 ADJU DUP fall true ADJU spear stand AUX FUT+F 3PL.S
 prt pn adj prt nf vi aux pron

kakietemoneni
 ka- ka -kI -hemete -mone -ni
 COMIT go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi

'They saw him coming down. Two spears would stand right where he came down. The two of them came.'

83 *Me kakietemoneke*
 me ka- ka -kI -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S COMIT go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They came.'

84 *Inamati inamati were kanaka me ati na*
 inamati inamati were ka- na -ka me ati na+F
 spirit spirit throw COMIT AUX DECL+M 3PL.S say AUX
 nm nm vt aux pron vt aux

THE MAN WHO GOT AWAY FROM THE KOSE MATI

me me , Hiya
 me me hiya
 3PL.S 3PL come on
 pron pron interj
 "He fooled the monster," they said. "Here."

85 *Weye hikamisa weye hikamisame*
 weye hi- ka- na -misa.LIST weye hi- ka- na -misa -ma.NOM+M
 carry OC COMIT AUX up carry OC COMIT AUX up back
 vt aux vt aux

ya hiwakimisama
 ya hi- to- ka- ka -misa -ma.LIST
 ADJU OC away COMIT go/come up back
 prt vt

hiwakisamematamonaka ahi
 hi- to- ka- ka -misa -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi
 OC away COMIT go/come up back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt dem

'It put him on his back again in the basket. It went up with him.'

86 *Hiwakimisame me kafotoke me*
 hi- to- ka- ka -misa -ma+M me ka- foto -kI me
 OC away COMIT go/come up back 3PL.S COMIT appear coming 3PL.S
 vt pron vi pron

wabise me taba nisikimemetemone ahi
 , wabise me taba na -risa -kima -hemete -mone ahi
 spear 3PL.S stick in AUX down two FP.N+F REP+F then
 nf pron vt aux dem

tokanokomisaharo ahi
 to- ka- noko -misa -haaro ahi
 away COMIT point up IP.E+F then
 vi dem

'It took him up. The two of them appeared. They stuck two spears in the ground. They were standing upright.'

87 *Wabise tokanokomisemetemone ama ahi ini*
 wabise to- ka- noko -misa -hemete -mone ama ahi ini
 spear away COMIT point up FP.N+F REP+F SEC then point+F
 nf vi sec dem pn

famariaro ahi
 fama -ri -haaro ahi
 be two DISTR IP.E+F then
 vi dem

'The spears were pointing up, two together.'

88 *Faya ini famaria me , wabise me taba*
 faya ini fama -ri+F me wabise me taba
 so point+F be two DISTR 3PL spear 3PL.S stick in
 conj pn vi pron nf pron vt

nisikima me me yoro na me tokome
 na -risa -kima+F me me yoro na+F me to- ka -ma+M
 AUX down two 3PL.S 3PL.S stand AUX 3PL.S away go/come back
 aux pron pron vi aux pron vi

bere hikawitematamonaka
 bere hi- to- ka- na -witI -himata -mona -ka
 be across OC away COMIT AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vt

'The points were together. They stuck the two spears in the ground. They stood there. It went and took him

THE MAN WHO GOT AWAY FROM THE KOSE MATI

95 *Wabise yoro na me , kari*
 wabise yoro na+F me , kari
 spear stand AUX 3PL (sound of dropping)
 nf vi aux pron sound

beo nebona wabise tasi hine kiya
 beo na -hibona wabise tasi hi- na+M kiya
 (sound of hitting ground) AUX INT+M spear string OC AUX yell
 sound aux nf vt aux vi

nematamonaka

na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'The two spears were upright. It dropped, and when it was going to hit the ground, the spears went through it, and it cried out.'

96 *Aya aya aya , kiya*
 aya aya aya , kiya
 (expression of pain) (expression of pain) (expression of pain)
 interj interj interj yell
 vi

kanematamonaka

ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'"Aya, aya, aya." It cried out.'

97 *Toharisaba ne rama wabise mate ka*
 to- iha -risa -baa na+M rama wabise mate ka
 away be located down at a distance AUX unusual spear base+F LOC
 vi aux prt nf pn prt

ya ahi , sona raba namako
 ya ahi , sona na -raba na -mako
 ADJU then fall AUX a bit AUX for this reason+M
 prt dem vi aux aux

'It went right down to the hilts of the spears, because it fell hard.'

98 *Faya kiya kane , me fito hikanamaki*
 faya kiya ka- na+M , me fito hi- to- ka- na -makI+M
 so yell COMIT AUX 3PL.S rush OC away COMIT AUX following
 conj vi aux pron vi aux

me hinabowame , me hinabowematamonaka
 me hi- na- aboha -ma+M , me hi- na- aboha -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.S OC CAUS die back 3PL.S OC CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt pron vt

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

'It cried out. They rushed it, and finished it off. They killed it.'

99 *Ahabe ya , abematamonaka*
 ahaba.NOM+M ya , ahaba -himata -mona -ka
 die ADJU die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi prt vi

'It died.'

THE MAN WHO GOT AWAY FROM THE KOSE MATI

watareka

wata -hare -ka
catch IP.E+M DECL+M
vt

"I didn't see it, and it captured me from behind."

108 *Faya me , me , Homahari ha*
faya me , me , homa -haari haa
so 3PL 3PL lie on ground look+M DEM
conj pron pron vi dem

"There it is, lying on the ground."

109 *Tiwa ha*
ti- awa haa
2SG.S see DEM
vt dem

"Look at it."

110 *Homakane*
homa -kane
lie on ground ?+M
vi

"Look at it lying there."

111 *Kose mati amoamosa nematamonaha*
kose mati amo- amosa na -himata -mona -ha
(name of monster) DUP be good AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
nm vi aux

"The kose mati is huge."

112 *Ota kabebanaka*
otaa kaba -hibana -ka
1EX.O eat FUT+M DECL+M
pron vt

"We will eat it."

113 *Faya he me he me katisemetemoneke fahi*
faya hee me hee me ka- tisa -hemete -mone -ke fahi
so 3SG.O 3PL 3SG.O 3PL.S COMIT undo FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
conj pron pron pron pron vt dem

'Then they untied him.'

114 *He me katisa noko me hikatise me*
hee me ka- tisa+F noko me hi- ka- tisa+M me
3SG.O 3PL.S COMIT undo face+M 3PL.S OC COMIT undo 3PL.S
pron pron vt pn pron vt pron

fito hinihe Afi tinahi
fito hi- to- niha- na+M afi ti- na -hi
rush OC CH CAUS AUX bathe 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
vi aux vi aux

'They untied him. They untied the basket over his face. They let him out. "Go take a bath."

115 *Timo kitake*
ti- maho kita -ke
2SG.POSS smell be strong DECL+F
pn vi

"You smell bad."

THE MAN WHO GOT AWAY FROM THE KOSE MATI

116 *Tiwa mi narene*
 tiwa mii na -hare -ne
 2SG.O defecate on AUX IP.E+M BKG+M
 pron vt aux

"It defecated on you."

117 *Afi nebona tokifiwame afi ne*
 afi na -hibona to- ka -fi -waha -ma+M afi na+M
 bathe AUX INT+M away go/come water change back bathe AUX
 vi aux vi vi aux

afi nematamonaka
 afi na -himata -mona -ka
 bathe AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'He went to the water to bathe. He bathed.'

118 *Afi ne afi ni afi ni hawa*
 afi na+M , afi na.NFIN , afi na.NFIN hawa
 bathe AUX bathe AUX bathe AUX be finished
 vi aux vi aux vi aux vi

toe ya kimisamematamona
 to- ha.NOM+M ya ka -misa -ma -himata -mona
 CH AUX ADJU go/come up back FP.N+M REP+M
 aux prt vi

'He bathed. When he finished bathing, he came onto the shore.'

119 *Kimisame kimisamematamonaka*
 ka -misa -ma+M , ka -misa -ma -himata -mona -ka
 go/come up back go/come up back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi

'He came onto the shore.'

120 *Kimisame ya Oof owa te kasomake*
 ka -misa -ma.NOM+M ya , oof owa tee ka- soma -ke
 go/come up back ADJU hoo 1SG.O 2PL.S COMIT help DECL+F
 vi prt interj pron pron vt

'He came onto the shore. "Hoo, you saved me."'

121 *Tika ha ni tika ha ni ota mita*
 ti- ka haa na.NFIN ti- ka haa na.NFIN otaa mita+F
 2SG.POSS POSS call AUX 2SG.POSS POSS call AUX 1EX.S hear
 prt vi aux prt vi aux pron vt

otake
 otaa -ke
 1EX.S DECL+F
 pron

"We heard you calling."

122 *Tika ha ni ota mita otani*
 ti- ka haa na.NFIN otaa mita+F otaa -ni
 2SG.POSS POSS call AUX 1EX.S hear 1EX.S BKG+F
 prt vi aux pron vt pron

"We heard you calling."

THE MAN WHO GOT AWAY FROM THE KOSE MATI

123 *Ha tina tika ha ni ota*
 haa ti- na+F ti- ka haa na.NFIN otaa
 call 2SG.S AUX 2SG.POSS POSS call AUX 1EX.S
 vi aux prt vi aux pron
mitimakoni ota kakia tiwa ota
 mita -makoni otaa ka- ka -kI+F , tiwa otaa
 hear for this reason+F 1EX.S COMIT go/come coming 2SG.O 1EX.S
 vt pron vi pron pron

wasikineke
 wasi -kI -ne -ke
 find coming CONT+F DECL+F
 vt

"When you called, we heard you calling, and for this reason we came and found you."

124 *Tiwa ota wasia tiwa ota kasoma*
 tiwa otaa wasi+F tiwa otaa ka- soma+F
 2SG.O 1EX.S find 2SG.O 1EX.S COMIT help
 pron pron vt pron pron vt

"We found you, and saved you."

125 *Tiwa kabene amake*
 tiwa kaba -hene ama -ke
 2SG.O eat IRR+F SEC DECL+F
 pron vt sec

"It would have eaten you."

126 *Tiwa kabene amani*
 tiwa kaba -hene ama -ni
 2SG.O eat IRR+F SEC BKG+F
 pron vt sec

"It would have eaten you."

127 *Tiwa kabehene amake*
 tiwa kaba -hene ama -ke
 2SG.O eat IRR+F SEC DECL+F
 pron vt sec

"It would have eaten you."

128 *Tiwa nabowehene amake*
 tiwa na- aboha -hene ama -ke
 2SG.O CAUS die IRR+F SEC DECL+F
 pron vt sec

"It would have killed you."

129 *Tiwa nabowehene tiwa tiwa ota kasomineke*
 tiwa na- aboha -hene tiwa , tiwa otaa ka- soma -ne -ke
 2SG.O CAUS die IRR+F 2SG.O 2SG.O 1EX.S COMIT help CONT+F DECL+F
 pron vt pron pron pron vt

"It would have killed you. We saved you."

130 *Hasi tina tikamahi*
 hasi ti- na+F ti- to- ka -ma -hi
 escape 2SG.S AUX 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
 vi aux vi

"You have escaped, now go home."

THE MAN WHO GOT AWAY FROM THE KOSE MATI

- 131 **Tikamahi**
 ti- to- ka -ma -hi
 2SG.S away go/come back IMP+F
 vi
 "Go home."
- 132 **Ota towakamiba**
 otaa to- ka- ka -ma -baha+F
 1EX.S away COMIT go/come back before
 pron vt
 "We will take it away."
- 133 **Ota kabibe**
 otaa kaba -be
 1EX.S eat IMMED+F
 pron vt
 "We will eat it."
- 134 **Te kabiya**
 tee kaba -yahi
 2PL.S eat DIST.IMP+F
 pron vt
 "You eat it."
- 135 **Owa owa wataharake**
 owa owa wata -hara -ke
 1SG.O 1SG.O catch IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron pron vt
 "It captured me."
- 136 **Awaawa orahani**
 awa- awa o- na -ra -hani
 DUP see 1SG.S AUX NEG IP.N+F
 vt aux
 "I didn't see it."
- 137 **Obatasi** **ka ya owa wata amake**
 o- batasi ka ya owa wata+F ama -ke
 1SG.POSS middle of back LOC ADJU 1SG.O catch SEC DECL+F
 pn prt prt pron vt sec
 "It captured me from behind."
- 138 **Faya me towakamemetemoneke**
 faya me to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 so 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj pron vi
 "Then the two of them went away."
- 139 **Tokome** **nowati ya me towakama me**
 to- ka -ma+M nowati ya me to- ka- ka -ma+F me
 away go/come back after ADJU 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 vi pn prt pron vi pron
tiwa himisa me me tiwa himisa me
 tiwa hi- na -misa+F me me tiwa hi- na -misa+F me
 carry OC AUX up 3PL 3PL.S carry OC AUX up 3PL.S
 vt aux pron pron vt aux pron

THE MAN WHO GOT AWAY FROM THE KOSE MATI

145 *Kose mati* *toa* *awine* *kose mati*
 kose mati to- ha+F awine kose mati
 (name of monster) CH be seem+F (name of monster)
 nm vc sec nm

"It must have been a kose mati."

146 *Inamati* *wehinoka* *wasina* *habi* *ya* , *mase*
 inamati waa -hino -ka wasina habi ya , mase
 spirit stand IP.N+M DECL+M kapok root+F ADJU curassow
 nm vi nf pn prt nm

hi *ni* *hiri* *ne* *tonokomisari* *ahi*
 hii na.NFIN hiri na+M to- noko -misa -haari ahi
 (call of curassow) AUX make AUX away point up IP.E+M then
 vi aux vt aux vi dem

"The monster was standing among the buttress roots of a kapok tree, looking up and calling like a curassow."

147 *Tonokomiseno* *ki* *one* *obatasi*
 to- noko -misa -hino kii o- na+M o- batasi
 away point up IP.N+M look at 1SG.S AUX 1SG.POSS middle of back
 vi vt aux pn

ka *owawitebone* *obatasi* *owa*
 ka o- to- waa -witI -habone o- batasi owa
 LOC 1SG.S away stand out INT+F 1SG.POSS middle of back 1SG.O
 prt vi pn pron

watareka
 wata -hare -ka
 catch IP.E+M DECL+M
 vt

"It was looking up. I was looking at it, and when I changed my position, it captured me from behind."

148 *Kose mati* *tohe* *awane*
 kose mati to- ha+M awa -ne
 (name of monster) CH be seem+M BKG+M
 nm vc sec

"It must have been a kose mati."

149 *Oof* *totoka* *tihahi* *waha* *ya*
 oof to- to- ka ti- to- ha -hi waha ya
 hoo DUP away go/come 2SG.S CH AUX IMP+F flooded forest ADJU
 interj vi aux nf prt

"You shouldn't go to the flooded forest."

150 *Yama* *watemone* *amani* *waha* *ya*
 yama wata -hamone ama -ni waha ya
 thing be located REP+F SEC BKG+F flooded forest ADJU
 nf vi sec nf prt

"The monster is there in the flooded forest."

151 *Waha* *ya* *watemona* *me* *na*
 waha ya wata -himona me ati na
 flooded forest ADJU be located REP+M 3PL.S say AUX
 nf prt vi pron vt

hihehimari *amane* *tiwa* *wata* *nanoho*
 hi- to- ha -himari ama -ne tiwa wata.CONT+M na.NOM+M -no -ho
 OC CH AUX FP.E+M SEC BKG+M 2SG.O catch AUX IP.N+M DUP
 aux sec pron vt aux

THE MAN WHO GOT AWAY FROM THE KOSE MATI

"People used to say long ago that it is in the flooded forest, and now it captured you."

152 *Owa wate owa were kane me inamati owa kasoma*
 owa wata+M owa were ka- na+M me inamati owa ka- soma+F
 1SG.O catch 1SG.O throw COMMIT AUX spirits 1SG.O COMMIT help
 pron vt pron vt aux nf pron vt
me towakamarake
 me to- ka- ka -ma -hara -ke
 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come back IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vi

"It captured me, and threw me. Two spirits saved me, and then went away."

153 *Owa me kasoma me towakamarake*
 owa me ka- soma+F me to- ka- ka -ma -hara -ke
 1SG.O 3PL.S COMMIT help 3PL.S away COMMIT go/come back IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron pron vt pron vi

"They saved me, and then went away."

154 *Owa owa tiwarene ama tike*
 owa owa ti- awa -ra -hene ama ti- ke
 1SG.O 1SG.O 2SG.S see NEG IRR+F SEC 2SG.S DECL+F
 pron pron vt sec prt

"You wouldn't have seen me anymore."

155 *Owa wete kanareka isiri ya*
 owa wete ka- na -hare -ka isiri ya
 1SG.O tie COMMIT AUX IP.E+M DECL+M basket ADJU
 pron vt aux nf prt

"It tied me in a basket."

156 *Ha onamone onoko mi hina ama*
 haa o- na -hamone o- noko mii hi- na+F ama
 call 1SG.S AUX REP+F 1SG.POSS face defecate on OC AUX SEC
 vi aux pn vt aux sec

haro
 haaro
 that one+F
 dem

"It defecated on my face, because it said I was calling out."

157 *Iyo wani ama ahi*
 iyo wana.NOM+F ama ahi
 feces be attached SEC then
 nf vi sec dem

"There were feces on my face."

158 *Onoko mi ne owa towakimisamatase koro tokowite*
 o- noko mii na+M owa
 1SG.POSS face defecate on AUX 1SG.O
 pn vt aux pron
 to- ka- ka -misa -ma -tasa+M , owa koro tokowite
 away COMMIT go/come up back again 1SG.O throw away COMMIT AUX out
 vt pron vt aux

THE MAN WHO GOT AWAY FROM THE KOSE MATI

, *okobokabone* *owa*
o- ka- boka -habone owa
1SG.S COMIT enter water INT+F 1SG.S
vi pron

"It defecated on my face. It took me back up again in the tree, and threw me, so I would go into the water."

159 *Fa* *boti* *ihi* *ohabone* *ati* *narene*
faha boti ihi o- to- ha -habone ati na -hare -ne
water inside victim of+F 1SG.S CH be INT+F say AUX IP.E+M BKG+M
nf pn pn vc vt aux

"It wanted me to drown."

160 *Faya* *okobokabone* *ati* *ne* , *kaboki*
faya o- ka- boka -habone ati na+M ka- boka.NFIN
so 1SG.S COMIT enter water INT+F say AUX COMIT enter water
conj vi vt aux vi

owatorara *oke*
o- wato -ra -hara o- ke
1SG.S know NEG IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F
vt prt

"It wanted me to go in the water, but I couldn't go in the water."

161 *Kaboki* *owatorimakoni* *hasi*
ka- boka.NFIN o- wato -ra -makoni hasi
COMIT enter water 1SG.S know NEG for this reason+F escape
vi vt vi

one *oni*
o- na -ne o- ni
1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
aux prt

"Because I couldn't go in the water, I survived."

162 *Faya* *hasi* *onara* *fahi*
faya hasi o- na -hara fahi
so escape 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F then
conj vi aux dem

"I survived."

163 *Oko* *ha* *ni* *me* *mitahani* *owa* *me*
o- ka haa na.NFIN me mita -hani owa me
1SG.POSS POSS call AUX 3PL.S hear IP.N+F 1SG.O 3PL.S
prt vi aux pron vt pron pron

nakiani *me* , *i* *kiya*
na- ka -kI -hani me ihi kiya
CAUS go/come coming IP.N+F 3PL.POSS result of+F yell
vt pron pn vi

kanarake *okowitabasa* *owa* *ni* *ya*
ka- na -hara -ke o- ka- ita -basa+F owa ni ya
COMIT AUX IP.E+F DECL+F DUP COMIT sit edge 1SG to ADJU
aux vi pron prt prt

"They heard me calling, and came after me. Because of them the monster cried out, as I was in the basket on the edge of the lake."

THE MAN WHO GOT AWAY FROM THE KOSE MATI

164 *Kosi abono me kosi abono memone me ati na*
 kosi abono me kosi abono me -mone me ati na+F
 palm sp spirit 3PL palm sp spirit 3PL REP+F 3PL.S say AUX
 nm pn pron nm pn pron pron vt aux
me kosi abono me owa me kasoma me
 me kosi abono me owa me ka- soma+F me
 3PL.S palm sp spirit 3PL.S 1SG.O 3PL.S COMIT help 3PL.S
 pron nm pn pron pron pron vt pron

towakamarake

to- ka- ka -ma -hara -ke
 away COMIT go/come back IP.E+F DECL+F
 vi

"They said they were spirits of the *kosi* palm. The two *kosi* spirits saved me, and then went away."

165 *Okoma tasi onamine o*
 o- ka -ma+F tasi o- na -ma -ne o-
 1SG.S go/come back emerge 1SG.S AUX back CONT+F 1SG.S
 vi vi aux prt

"I came back, and appeared."

166 *Owa te awamarene te amake*
 owa tee awa -ma -ra -hene tee ama -ke
 1SG.O 2PL.S see back NEG IRR+F 2PL.S SEC DECL+F
 pron pron vt pron sec

"You wouldn't have seen me anymore."

167 *Oabene ama oni fu boti ya*
 o- ahaba -hene ama o- ni faha boti ya
 1SG.S die IRR+F SEC 1SG.S BKG+F water inside ADJU
 vi sec prt nf pn prt

"I would have died in the depths of the water."

168 *Faha boti ya ohabene ama oke*
 faha boti ya o- ahaba -hene ama o- ke
 water inside ADJU 1SG.S die IRR+F SEC 1SG.S DECL+F
 nf pn prt vi sec prt

"I would have died in the water."

169 *Haha okomina te mitaharo*
 haaha o- kamina+F tee mita -haro
 this+F 1SG.S tell 2PL.S hear RP.E+F
 dem vt pron vt

okoyo

o- ka ayo o- ka ayo
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 1SG.POSS POSS older brother
 nm nm

hikaraboemetemone

hi- karaboha -hemete -mone
 OC shoot with blowgun FP.N+F REP+F
 vt

'Did you already hear the one I told, about what my older brother shot with a blowgun?'

170 *Afa okomina te mitaroke*
 afa o- kamina+F tee mita -haro -ke
 this+F 1SG.S tell 2PL.S hear RP.E+F DECL+F
 dem vt pron vt

'I told it, and you heard it.'

THE MAN WHO GOT AWAY FROM THE KOSE MATI

171 *One* , *oneboneke* , *kose mati* *owa* .
one one -bone -ke kose mati owa
other+F other+F INT+F DECL+F (name of monster) other+M
adj adj nm adj
'It will be another story, about another kose mati.'

THE KOSE MATI THAT FELL IN THE THORNS

Free Translation

As he was coming, the voices of spider monkeys started up by him. The spider monkeys were making lots of noise. "Aa, aa, aa, aa, aa."

He thought the monkeys were making noise because of a jaguar. It was because of a monster that they were making noise, a kose mati. The spider monkeys were making a racket because they saw the kose mati. The kose mati was standing there. As it stood there looking, the man came toward it, carrying a blowgun. He had the blowgun under his arm. He was looking in the distance.

"Let him keep coming," it thought.

The spider monkeys were looking in a different direction. He saw the spider monkeys looking in the other direction, and he looked that way, too, and saw something. The monster was standing there.

It saw that the man had seen him. It saw his face. "He saw me," it thought. It rushed in. It came. "He saw me," it thought.

He quickly threw the blowgun away, and took the bag of darts off his shoulder, and threw the darts away, and ran away. He went running away. He circled around the monster, and circled around it again. He came running back. He ran away from it. The man got tired because of the dense brush, but he evaded the kose mati.

Then he spoke. "Yikes," he said.

"Yikes." It was imitating him.

Bao, bao, bao, bao, bao [sound of feet]. As he ran, it tried repeatedly to grab him. He had seen a place where there were star nut palm thorns on the ground. As he came he saw the palm thorns. "There are star nut palm thorns on the ground there." He came running. He circled around.

It could be heard speaking as it came behind. The sound of its feet could be heard behind.

He jumped over the palm thorns.

It came stepping on the thorns. Saki, saki. "Oh no, he has caused me to fall into a trap, and he is going to escape." There were thorns in its back, too, because it fell. There were lots of thorns stuck in its feet, all over its feet. It had also gotten thorns in its hands, and there were lots in its rear end, too, and in its legs. There was no one to remove the thorns.

He went home. Their village was not far. He went running home. It would have arrived with him. If it had arrived with him, it would have fought against the people.

He arrived back. "Mother, a monster ran after me and is coming."

His father quickly got his bow and arrows.

"Be careful. The monster is coming. It cried out." "He must be sitting on the ground, hurt."

"Let's go look at it. It will die," they said.

They went with their bows and arrows. They went off. That man was also with them, so he could show them the place.

"Run away fast. It is fast. It doesn't let the forest stop it. I eluded it. I looped around. It tired me out. I looped around. I looped around again. I was tired because of it. I brought it to some star nut palm thorns that I had seen. I brought it. It must be sitting there, hurt. Look ahead."

They went after it. They were planning to shoot it with arrows. It went away, limping. It

THE KOSE MATI THAT FELL IN THE THORNS

disappeared, hurt. They looked for it.

"It disappeared. Call out."

"Kose mati, kose mati."

It didn't call.

"It probably thought, 'If I go after them, they will shoot me with arrows,' we said," they said. So they came back. "The kose mati disappeared."

"You have never seen anything so big. It is really tall. It didn't get caught in the vegetation, as it was chasing me. I didn't have anything. My darts were on the ground, I threw them away. They are on the ground. My blowgun was on the ground, too. My arrows were on the ground. Why did the kose mati come here? I was after the spider monkeys, which were making a racket. I saw the faces of the monkeys, which were in the trees looking at something. I looked over there and saw something. The monster was standing there. I came back fast. 'He has seen me,' it thought. It rushed at me, and I went off into the forest with it. I looped around. It was on the edge of the stream. I went off with it. The sound of its feet came behind. Look at its footprints."

"It was leaving footprints in the soft earth as it chased him."

"Look at its footprints. Look at the marks of its claws."

They came back. "Come on."

They came back, and they arrived back. "The kose mati disappeared. It went away, hurt. The thorns hurt it. The place where it was has no thorns [that is, all the thorns were in its flesh]. It was sitting there, and it got up and went away, hurt."

It went away. They came back, and arrived back.

"Whew, we could have shot it with arrows. I thought it would be sitting there hurt, but it was gone. It went away, hurt. Watch out. Those monsters kill people, they are catchers of people," they used to say, my grandfather said, Bono Wiyo. "Watch out. Watch out when you hunt. You should look around, and run away."

Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Biyo</i> biyo spider monkey nf	,	<i>biyo</i> biyo spider monkey nf	,	<i>aya</i> aya this dem	<i>kakehi</i> ka go/come vi	-kI+M coming	<i>ni</i> ni to prt	<i>ya</i> ya ADJU prt	,
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<i>biyo</i> biyo spider monkey nf	<i>ati</i> ati voice pn	<i>yana</i> yana start vi	<i>torawemetemone</i> to- na -rawa -hemete -mone CH AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F aux	.
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'As he was coming, the voices of spider monkeys started up by him.'

2	<i>Biyo</i> biyo spider monkey nf	<i>kayawarawemetemone</i> ka- yawa -rawa -hemete -mone COMIT be upset F.PL FP.N+F REP+F vi	.
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'The spider monkeys were making noise.'

3	<i>Biyo</i> biyo spider monkey nf	<i>kayawarawa</i> ka- yawa -rawa+F COMIT be upset F.PL vi	<i>Aa</i> aa (call of spider monkey) sound
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THE KOSE MATI THAT FELL IN THE THORNS

<p>aa aa (call of spider monkey) sound</p> <p>aa aa (call of spider monkey) sound</p> <p>aa aa (call of spider monkey) sound</p> <p>aa aa (call of spider monkey) sound</p> <p>aa aa (call of spider monkey) sound</p> <p>aa aa (call of spider monkey) sound</p>	<p>aa aa (call of spider monkey) sound</p> <p>aa aa (call of spider monkey) sound</p> <p>aa aa (call of spider monkey) sound</p> <p>aa aa (call of spider monkey) sound</p> <p>aa aa (call of spider monkey) sound</p> <p>aa aa (call of spider monkey) sound</p>	<p>aa aa (call of spider monkey) sound</p> <p>aa aa (call of spider monkey) sound</p> <p>aa aa (call of spider monkey) sound</p> <p>aa aa (call of spider monkey) sound</p> <p>aa aa (call of spider monkey) sound</p> <p>aa aa (call of spider monkey) sound</p>
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"The spider monkeys were making noise. "Aa, aa, aa, aa, aa."

4	Yome	,	yome	ehene	kayawa	nakani	,	ati
	yomee		yomee	ehene	ka- yawa.CONT+M	na+M -kani		ati
	jaguar		jaguar	result of+M	COMIT be excited	AUX CNTRFACT		say
	nm		nm	pn	vi	aux		vt

nematamonaka

na -himata -mona -ka
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux

'He thought the monkeys were making noise because of a jaguar.'

5	Inamati	inamati	ene	kayaweno		kose mati
	inamati	inamati	ehene	ka- yawa	-hino	kose mati
	spirit	spirit	result of+M	COMIT be excited	IP.N+M	(name of monster)
	nm	nm	pn	vi		nm

'It was because of a monster that they were making noise, a kose mati.'

6	Kose mati		me	biyo	,	awarawa
	kose mati		me	biyo		awa -rawa+F
	(name of monster)		3PL	spider monkey		see F.PL
	nm		pron nf			vt

kayawarawani

ka- yawa -rawa -hani
COMIT be excited F.PL IP.N+F
vi

'The spider monkeys were making a racket because they saw the kose mati.'

7	Kose mati		wehimatamonaka		ahi
	kose mati		waa -himata -mona -ka		ahi
	(name of monster)		stand FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M		then
	nm		vi		dem

'The kose mati was standing there.'

THE KOSE MATI THAT FELL IN THE THORNS

8 *Wahi* , *yama* *kakatome* *ni* *ya* *inamati*
 waa+M , yama ka- katoma+M ni ya inamati
 stand thing COMIT look at to ADJU someone
 vi nf vt prt prt nm

kakematamonaka *ahi* *karaboa* *karaboa* *tama*
 ka -kI -himata -mona -ka ahi karaboha karaboha tama
 go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then blowgun blowgun hold onto
 vi dem nf nf vt

kanahari
 ka- na -haari
 COMIT AUX IP.E+M
 aux

'As it stood there looking, the man came toward it, carrying a blowgun.'

9 *Karaboa* *bati* *kanematamona* *ahi*
 karaboha bati ka- na -himata -mona ahi
 blowgun pinch COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 nf vt aux dem

'He had the blowgun under his arm.'

10 *Kiki* *ba* *nematamonaka* *ahi*
 ki- kii na -baa na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 DUP look AUX at a distance AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi aux aux dem

'He was looking in the distance.'

11 *Hiwa* *kakeba* *ne* *amane* *ati* *ne* ,
 hiwa ka -kI -ba na+M ama -ne ati na+M
 only.M go/come coming without stopping AUX SEC BKG+M say AUX
 pron vi aux sec vt aux

biyo *biyo* *ha* *ya* *tonokomatamonaka* *ahi*
 biyo biyo haa ya to- noko -himata -mona -ka ahi
 spider monkey spider monkey DEM ADJU CH point FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nf nf dem prt vi dem

'"Let him keep coming," it thought. The spider monkeys were looking in a different direction.'

12 *Biyo* *tonoko* *awahi* *noko* *tokomakebona*
 biyo to- noko.NFIN awa+M noko to- ka -makI -hibona
 spider monkey CH point see eye+M away go/come following INT+M
 nf vi vt pn vi

noko *awematamonaka* *ahi*
 noko awa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 eye+M see FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 pn vi dem

'He saw the spider monkeys looking in the other direction, and he looked that way, too, and saw something.'

13 *Inamati* *wahimatamonaka* *ahi*
 inamati waa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 spirit stand FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm vi dem

'The monster was standing there.'

14 *Inamati* *we* *awe* , *he* *he* *awe* *rama* *ahi*
 inamati waa+M awa+M , hee hee awa+M rama ahi
 spirit stand see 3SG.O 3SG.O see unusual then
 nm vi vt pron pron vt prt dem

THE KOSE MATI THAT FELL IN THE THORNS

'It saw that the man had seen him.'

15	Noko	hiwatomemata		awaka	
	noko	hi- ka- katoma	-himata	awa	-ka
	face+M	OC COMIT look at	FP.N+M	seem+M	DECL+M
	pn	vt		sec	

'It saw his face.'

16	Owa	awaharene		ati	nemata	awaka
	owa	awa -hare -ne		ati	na -himata	awa -ka
	1SG.O	see IP.E+M BKG+M		say	AUX FP.N+M	seem+M DECL+M
	pron	vt		vt	aux	sec

'"He saw me," it thought.'

17	Fito	nakematamonaka
	fito	na -kI -himata -mona -ka
	rush	AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	vi	aux

'It rushed in.'

18	Kake		Owa	awakara		ati	nematamonaka
	ka	-kI	owa	awa.CONT+M -kara		ati	na -himata -mona -ka
	go/come	coming	1SG.O	see ?+M		say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
	vi		pron	vt		vt	aux

'It came. "He saw me," it thought.'

19	Karaboa	koro	kana	kanibote	sare	sota
	karaboha	koro	ka- na	ka- na -bote	sarehe	sota
	blowgun	throw	COMIT AUX	COMIT AUX quickly	blowgun dart	remove
	nf	vt	aux	aux	nf	vt

	tokana		sare	koro	tokowite	kana
	to- ka- na.LIST		sarehe	koro	to- ka- na -witI	kana
	CH COMIT AUX		blowgun dart	throw	away COMIT AUX out	run
	aux		nf	vt	aux	vi

	ni	tokomematamona		ahi
	na.NFIN	to- ka -ma -himata -mona		ahi
	AUX	away go/come back	FP.N+M REP+M	then
	aux	vi		dem

'He quickly threw the blowgun away, and took the bag of darts off his shoulder, and threw the darts away, and ran away.'

20	Kana	ni	toke		moto	hikawame	moto
	kana	na.NFIN	to- ka+M		moto	hi- ka- na -waha -ma+M	moto
	run	AUX	away go/come		loop	OC COMIT AUX change back	loop
	vi	aux	vi		vi	aux	vi

	hikawematamonaka		ahi
	hi- ka- na -waha -himata -mona -ka		ahi
	OC COMIT AUX change	FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	then
	aux		dem

'He went running away. He circled around the monster, and circled around it again.'

21	Kana	ni	kamematamonaka		ahi
	kana	na.NFIN	ka -ma -himata -mona -ka		ahi
	run	AUX	go/come back	FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	then
	vi	aux	vi		dem

'He came running back.'

THE KOSE MATI THAT FELL IN THE THORNS

22 *Hiwake* , *yama* *tata* *raba* *ri*
 hi- to- ka- ka+M , yama ta- taa na -raba na -ra.NOM+F
 OC away COMIT go/come thing DUP be dense AUX a bit AUX NEG
 vt nf vi aux aux

ya *inamati* *ma* *toe* , *kose mati*
 ya inamati maa to- ha+M , kose mati
 ADJU someone be tired CH AUX (name of monster)
 prt nm vi aux nm

kasawarimatamona *amane* , *ati* *yana* *tonebana*
 ka- sawari -himata -mona ama -ne , ati yana to- na -hibana
 COMIT frustrate FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M voice start CH AUX FUT+M
 vt sec pn vi aux

ahi .
 ahi
 then
 dem

'He ran away from it. The man got tired because of the dense brush, but he evaded the kose mati. Then he spoke.'

23 *Ami* *ami* *ami* *ami* *ami* *ami* *ami* *ami* *ami* *ati*
 ami ami ami ami ami ami ami ami ami ati
 yikes yikes yikes yikes yikes yikes yikes yikes yikes say
 interj interj interj interj interj interj interj interj interj vt

nematamonaka *ahi* .
 na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'"Yikes," he said.'

24 *Ami* *ami* *ami* *ami* *ami* *ami* .
 ami ami ami ami ami ami
 yikes yikes yikes yikes yikes yikes
 interj interj interj interj interj interj

'"Yikes."'

25 *Ati* *yotobisematamonaka* .
 ati yoto -bisa -himata -mona -ka
 voice follow also FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pn vi

'It was imitating him.'

26 *Bao* *bao*
 bao bao
 (sound of feet hitting ground) (sound of feet hitting ground)
 sound sound

bao *bao*
 bao bao
 (sound of feet hitting ground) (sound of feet hitting ground)
 sound sound

bao *yama* *kakana* *raba* *ne* *ra* ,
 bao yama ka- kana na -raba na+M ra ,
 (sound of feet hitting ground) thing DUP run AUX a bit AUX O
 sound nf pn aux aux prt

THE KOSE MATI THAT FELL IN THE THORNS

warawara nawa tosi
wara- wara na -waha to- na -sii
DUP grab AUX change CH AUX slowly along the way
vt aux aux

hinehimatamonaka ahi
hi- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
aux dem

'Bao, bao, bao, bao, bao. As he ran, it tried repeatedly to grab him.'

27 **Aya , haso atine kawi hiwe**
aya haso atine ka- waa.NFIN hi- awa+M
this star nut palm thorn+M COMMIT stand OC see
dem nm pn vi vt

kakehi haso atine awahi Haso atine
ka -kI+M haso atine awa+M haso atine
go/come coming star nut palm thorn+M see star nut palm thorn+M
vi nm pn vt nm pn

kawe ama ahi
ka- waa+M ama ahi
COMIT stand SEC there
vi sec dem

'He had seen a place where there were star nut palm thorns on the ground. As he came he saw the palm thorns. "There are star nut palm thorns on the ground there."'

28 **Kana ni kame moto kanibote nematamona**
kana na.NFIN ka -ma+M moto ka- na -bote na -himata -mona
run AUX go/come back loop COMMIT AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M
vi aux vi vi aux aux

ahi
ahi
then
dem

'He came running. He circled around.'

29 **Ati yotohemetemoneke ahi , tame moni yoto**
ati yoto -hemete -mone -ke ahi , tame moni yoto
voice follow FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then foot+F sound follow
pn vi dem pn pn vi

rama ahi
rama ahi
unusual then
prt dem

'It could be heard speaking as it came behind. The sound of its feet could be heard behind.'

30 **Haso atine yora kariwa**
haso atine yora ka- na -riwaha
star nut palm thorn+M jump COMMIT AUX across
nm pn vi aux

tohitamatamonaka ahi
to- na -hitI -himata -mona -ka ahi
CH AUX along the way FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
aux dem

'He jumped over the palm thorns.'

THE KOSE MATI THAT FELL IN THE THORNS

37 *Me bai hinemetemone amani*
 me bai hi- na -hemete -mone ama -ni
 3PL.S remove OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
 pron vt aux sec

'There was no one to remove the thorns.'

38 *Tokome yama yabori ya me wini*
 to- ka -ma+M yama yabo -ra.NOM+F ya me wina.NFIN
 away go/come back thing be far NEG ADJU 3PL.S live
 vi nf vi prt pron vi

yabori ya kana ni
 yabo -ra.NOM+F ya kana na.NFIN
 be far NEG ADJU run AUX
 vi prt vi aux

tokomematamonaka ahi tasi
 to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi tasi
 away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then emerge
 vi dem vi

hikanamarenehe
 hi- to- ka- na -ma -ra -hene -he
 OC away COMIT AUX back NEG IRR+F DUP
 aux

'He went home. Their village was not far. He went running home. It would have arrived with him.'

39 *Tasi hikanami ya mera nofenemete*
 tasi hi- to- ka- na -ma.NOM+F ya mera nofa -hene -mete
 emerge OC away COMIT AUX back ADJU 3PL.O like IRR+F FP.N+F
 vi aux prt pron vt

'If it had arrived with him, it would have fought against the people.'

40 *Faya tasi tonamematamonaka ahi*
 faya tasi to- na -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi
 so emerge away AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj vi aux dem

'He arrived back.'

41 *Ami yama owa kiyoha kamaki ahi*
 ami yama owa kiyof+ ka -makI.NOM ahi
 mother thing 1SG.O chase go/come following there
 nf nf pron vt vi dem

'"Mother, a monster ran after me and is coming."'

42 *Bati wati kakitikabote nematamonaka*
 bati wati ka- iti -kabote na -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS.father arrow COMIT pick up quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm nm vt aux

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'His father quickly got his bow and arrows.'

43 *Yama te kakatomahi*
 yama tee ka- katoma -hi
 thing 2PL.S COMIT look at IMP+F
 nf pron vt

'"Be careful."'

THE KOSE MATI THAT FELL IN THE THORNS

44 *Yama kamakiarani*

yama ka -makI -hara -ni
 thing go/come following IP.E+F BKG+F
 nf vi

"The monster is coming."

45 *Kiya kanarene*

kiya ka- na -hare -ne
 yell COMMIT AUX IP.E+M BKG+M
 vi aux

"It cried out."

46 *Kawita awineke*

ka- ita+F awine -ke
 COMMIT sit seem+F DECL+F
 vi sec

"It must be sitting on the ground, hurt."

47 *E towamahi*

ee to- awa -ma -hi
 1IN.S away see back IMP+F
 pron vt

"Let's go look at it."

48 *Abibeya*

ahaba -be -ya
 die IMMED+F now
 vi

"It will die."

49 *Abibeya me ati nemetemoneke*

ahaba -be -ya me ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 die IMMED+F now 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi pron vt aux

"It will die," they said.'

50 *Wati me bokori kana me*

wati me bokori ka- na+F me
 arrow 3PL.S hold COMMIT AUX 3PL.S
 nm pron vt aux pron

tokometemoneke

to- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi dem

"They went with their bows and arrows.'

51 *Me tokoma me me tokoma me* ,

me to- ka -ma+F me me to- ka -ma+F me
 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

fare sawi nematamonaka yofi

fare sawi.LIST na -himata -mona -ka yofi
 same+M be present AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M show
 dem vi aux vt

THE KOSE MATI THAT FELL IN THE THORNS

katibonaha

ka- na -tee.NOM -bona -ha
COMIT AUX HAB INT+M DUP

aux

'They went off. That man was also with them, so he could show them the place.'

52 **Te bete ni kitiyahi**
tee bete na.NFIN kita -yahi
2PL.S run AUX be strong DIST.IMP+F
pron vi aux vi

'''Run away fast.'''

53 **Yama kitaharake**
yama kita -hara -ke
thing be strong IP.E+F DECL+F
nf vi

'''It is fast.'''

54 **Yama kabani aima nini**
yama kabani aima na -ni
forest ignore AUX BKG+F
nf vt aux

'''It doesn't let the forest stop it.'''

55 **Okasawaria ama moto okowama yama**
o- ka- sawari+F ama moto o- ka- na -waha -ma+F yama
1SG.S COMIT frustrate SEC loop 1SG.S COMIT AUX change back thing
vt sec vi aux nf

owa ma toniharo
owa maa to- niha- ha -haaro
1SG.O be tired CH CAUS AUX IP.E+F
pron vi aux

'''I eluded it. I looped around. It tired me out.'''

56 **Moto okowama moto okowama**
moto o- ka- na -waha -ma+F moto o- ka- na -waha -ma+F
loop 1SG.S COMIT AUX change back loop 1SG.S COMIT AUX change back
vi aux vi aux

e okanama e okanamatasa ona
ee o- ka- na -ma+F ee o- ka- na -ma -tasa o- na+F
motion 1SG.S COMIT AUX back 1IN.S 1SG.S COMIT AUX back again 1SG.S AUX
vi aux pron aux aux

ihi ma oha haso atine
ihi maa o- to- ha+F haso atine
because of+F be tired 1SG.S CH AUX star nut palm thorn+M
post vi aux nm pn

kawi owe ya owakamarake
ka- waa.NFIN o- awa+M ya o- ka- ka -ma -hara -ke
COMIT stand 1SG.S see ADJU 1SG.S COMIT go/come back IP.E+F DECL+F
vi vt prt vt

fahi

fahi
then
dem

'''I looped around. I looped around again. I was tired because of it. I brought it to some star nut palm thorns that I had seen.'''

THE KOSE MATI THAT FELL IN THE THORNS

- 64 *Kose mati* , *kose mati*
 kose mati , kose mati
 (name of monster) (name of monster)
 nm nm
 "'Kose mati, kose mati.'"
- 65 *Ha ni wataremetemoneke*
 haa na.NFIN wata -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 call AUX exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux vi
 'It didn't call.'
- 66 *Me onakama owa me sa*
 me o- to- na- ka -ma+F owa me saa
 3PL.O 1SG.S away CAUS go/come back 1SG.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow
 pron vt pron pron vt
nibe ati nani awine ota ati narake me
 na -be ati na -hani awine otaa ati na -hara -ke me
 AUX IMMED+F say AUX IP.N+F seem+F 1EX.S say AUX IP.E+F DECL+F 3PL.S
 aux vt aux sec pron vt aux pron
ati nemetemone
 ati na -hemete -mone
 say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vt aux
 "'It probably thought, 'If I go after them, they will shoot me with arrows,' we said," they said.'
- 67 *Faya me kamemetemone fahi*
 faya me ka -ma -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron vi dem
 'So they came back.'
- 68 *Kose mati fawa ne*
 kose mati fawa na+M
 (name of monster) disappear AUX
 nm vi aux
 "'The kose mati disappeared.'"
- 69 *Yama te awi toera yama ebote*
 yama tee awa to- ha -ra+F yama ehebote
 thing 2PL.S see CH AUX NEG thing big
 nf pron vt aux nf adj
 "'You have never seen anything so big.'"
- 70 *Yama waba narani nemehari ahi*
 yama waa -baa na -hara -ni nemeha -haari ahi
 thing stand at a distance AUX IP.E+F BKG+F be high IP.E+M this
 nf vi aux vi dem
 "'It is really tall.'"
- 71 *Yama wawasikosa ra owa kiyoharo*
 yama wa- wasi -kosa na -ra+F owa kiyo -haaro
 thing DUP get caught middle AUX NEG 1SG.O chase IP.E+F
 nf vi aux pron vt
 "'It didn't get caught in the vegetation, as it was chasing me.'"

THE KOSE MATI THAT FELL IN THE THORNS

72 *Oka* *hinita* *tohinari*
 o- ka hinita to- ha+F -naari
 1SG.POSS POSS empty CH be ?
 prt pn vc

"I didn't have anything."

73 *Oko* *sare* *kahamine* *ha* *koro*
 o- ka sarehe ka- homa -ne haa koro
 1SG.POSS POSS blowgun dart COMIT lie on ground CONT+F DEM throw
 prt nf vi dem vt

okowiteharo

o- to- ka- na -witI -haaro
 1SG.S away COMIT AUX out IP.E+F
 aux

"My darts were on the ground, I threw them away."

74 *Kahamaro* *ha*
 ka- homa -haaro haa
 COMIT lie on ground look+F DEM
 vi dem

"They are on the ground."

75 *Oko* *karaboa* *homa*
 o- ka karaboha homa.LIST
 1SG.POSS POSS blowgun lie on ground
 prt nf vi

"My blowgun was on the ground, too."

76 *Oko* *wati* *kahame* *ama* *ahi*
 o- ka wati ka- homa+M ama ahi
 1SG.POSS POSS arrow COMIT lie on ground SEC there
 prt nm vi sec dem

"My arrows were on the ground."

77 *Oko* *wati* *kame* *ama* *ahi*
 o- ka wati ka- homa.NOM+M ama -ke ahi
 1SG.POSS POSS arrow COMIT lie on ground be DECL+F there
 prt nm vi vc dem

"My arrows were on the ground."

78 *Kose mati* *himatabiyo* *kake* *namata*
 kose mati , himatabiyo ka -kI.CONT na.NOM+M -mata
 (name of monster) why go/come coming AUX ?+M
 nm interrog vi aux

one ?

ati o- na+M
 say 1SG.S AUX
 vt

"Why did the kose mati come here?"

79 *Biyo* *kayawa* *noko* *onihemenehe*
 biyo ka- yawa+F noko o- to- niha- ha -hemenehe
 spider monkey COMIT be upset attraction 1SG.S CH CAUS be HYPOTH+F
 nf vi pn vt

THE KOSE MATI THAT FELL IN THE THORNS

biyo	yama	kakatoma	wina	noki	owa	
biyo	yama	ka- katoma+F	wina+F	noki	o- awa+F	,
spider monkey	thing	COMIT look at	hang	face+F	1SG.S see	
nf	nf	vt	vi	pn	vt	

onoko	tokabone	onoko	awa	inamati
o- noko	to- ka	-habone	o- noko	awa+F inamati
1SG.POSS eye	away go/come	INT+F	1SG.POSS eye	see spirit
pn	vi	pn	vi	nm

wareka	ahi
waa -hare -ka	ahi
stand IP.E+M DECL+M	there
vi	dem

"I was after the spider monkeys, which were making a racket. I saw the faces of the monkeys, which were in the trees looking at something. I looked over there and saw something. The monster was standing there."

80 Wete	kabote	onara	oni
wete	na -kabote	o- na -hara	o- ni
return AUX	quickly	1SG.S AUX IP.E+F	1SG.S BKG+F
vi	aux	aux	prt

"I came back fast."

81 Owa	awarene	ati	ne	fito	namaki	amake	ahi
owa	awa -hare -ne	ati	na+M	fito	na -makI.NOM	ama -ke	ahi
1SG.O	see IP.E+M BKG+M	say	AUX	rush	AUX following	be DECL+F	then
pron	vt	vt	aux	vi	aux	vc	dem

"'He has seen me,' it thought. It rushed at me."

82 Fito	namaki	owaki	amake	ahi
fito	na -makI+M	o- to- ka-	ka.NOM+F	ama -ke
rush	AUX following	1SG.S away	COMIT go/come	be DECL+F
vi	aux	vt	vc	dem

"It rushed at me, and I went off into the forest with it."

83 Owaka	moto	okowami	ama
o- to- ka- ka+F	moto	o- ka- na	-waha -ma.NOM+F
1SG.S away	COMIT go/come	loop	1SG.S COMIT AUX change back
vt	vi	aux	vc

ahi
ahi
then
dem

"I went off with it. I looped around."

84 Fa	witi	amake	haro
faha	witi	ama -ke	haaro
stream	edge	be DECL+F	that one+F
nf	pn	vc	dem

"It was on the edge of the stream."

85 Owakama	tame	moni	yotoha	tame	ihi
o- to- ka- ka	-ma+F	tame	moni	yoto+F	tame ihi
1SG.S away	COMIT go/come	back	foot+F	sound	follow
vt	pn	pn	vi	pn	pn

THE KOSE MATI THAT FELL IN THE THORNS

te **awari** **haro**
tee awa -ra.NOM+F haaro
2PL.S see NEG that one+F
pron vt dem

"I went off with it. The sound of its feet came behind. Look at its footprints."

86 **Yama** **tafotafo** **ra** **hikiyono** **ati** **amake**
yama tafo- tafo na -ra+F hi- kiyo -hino ati ama -ke
thing DUP be soft AUX NEG OC chase IP.N+M voice be DECL+F
nf vi aux vt pn vc

"It was leaving footprints in the soft earth as it chased him."

87 **Yama** **ihi** **tiwa**
yama ihi ti- awa
thing result of+F 2SG.S see
nf pn vt

"Look at its footprints."

88 **Tame** **ihi** **tiwa** **tame** **atari**
tame ihi ti- awa tame atari
foot+F result of+F 2SG.S see foot+F nail+F
pn pn vt pn pn

"Look at the marks of its claws."

89 **Faya** **me** **kamemetemone** **fahi**
faya me ka -ma -hemete -mone fahi
so 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then
conj pron vi dem

"They came back."

90 **Me** **kama** **Hima**
me ka -ma+F hima
3PL.S go/come back let's go
pron vi interj

"They came back. "Come on."

91 **Faya** **me** **kamemetemone** **fahi**
faya me ka -ma -hemete -mone fahi
so 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then
conj pron vi dem

"They came back."

92 **Me** **kama** **me** **me** **kobo** **nama** **me**
me ka -ma+F me me kobo na -ma+F me
3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S
pron vi pron pron vi aux pron

Kose mati **fawa** **ne**
kose mati fawa na+M
(name of monster) disappear AUX
nm vi aux

"They came back, and they arrived back. "The kose mati disappeared."

93 **Towakamenoka**
to- ka- ka -ma -hino -ka
away COMIT go/come back IP.N+M DECL+M
vi

"It went away, hurt."

THE KOSE MATI THAT FELL IN THE THORNS

94 *Atiwa hikatomeno taboro wafowafono nareka*
 atiwa hi- katoma -hino taboro wafo- wafo na -hare -ka
 thorn OC damage IP.N+M place+M DUP be clean AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
 nm vt pn vi aux

ahi iteno karo
 ahi ita.NOM+M -no karo
 there sit IP.N+M LOC
 dem vi prt

"The thorns hurt it. The place where it was has no thorns."

95 *Iteno yana kaneno*
 ita -hino yana ka- na -hino
 sit IP.N+M get up COMIT AUX IP.N+M
 vi vi aux

towakamenoka
 to- ka- ka -ma -hino -ka
 away COMIT go/come back IP.N+M DECL+M
 vi

"It was sitting there, and it got up and went away, hurt."

96 *Towakameno me me kama me*
 to- ka- ka -ma -hino me me ka -ma+F me
 away COMIT go/come back IP.N+M 3PL 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S
 vt pron pron vi pron

kobo nama me Hoo tisa naba nena
 kobo na -ma+F me hoo tisa na+M -ba na -hina
 arrive AUX back 3PL.S whew shoot with arrow AUX FUT AUX IRR+M
 vi aux pron interj result aux aux

kawitabakani one fawa kana
 ka- ita+M -ba -kani ati o- na+M fawa ka- na.CONT+M
 COMIT sit FUT CNTRFACT say 1SG.S AUX disappear COMIT AUX
 vi vt vi aux

'It went away. They came back, and arrived back. "Whew, we could have shot it with arrows. I thought it would be sitting there hurt, but it was gone."

97 *Towatowakama raba renoka*
 towa- to- ka- ka -ma na -raba na -ra -hino -ka
 DUP away COMIT go/come back AUX a bit AUX NEG IP.N+M DECL+M
 vi aux aux

"It went away, hurt."

98 *Te te te te kakatomiyahi*
 tee tee tee tee ka- katoma -yahi
 2PL 2PL 2PL.O 2PL.S COMIT look at DIST.IMP+F
 pron pron pron pron vt

"Watch out."

99 *Yama yama ihi iiti toarawemetemone*
 yama yama ihi i- iti to- ha -rawa -hemete -mone
 thing thing victim of+F DUP exist CH AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F
 nf nf pn vi aux

amani yama era wawatatemone me aati
 ama -ni yama era wa- wata -tee -mone -he me a- ati
 SEC BKG+F thing 1IN.O DUP catch HAB REP+F DUP 3PL.S DUP say
 sec nf pron pn pron vt

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

Free Translation

A man, a teenager, who had been trained as a shaman, went out into the forest. He went out, and smelled the same smell.¹⁶³

Sniff, sniff. "It's the smell of white-lipped peccaries," he said, as he stood in the buttress roots of a tree. As he stood in the buttress roots of the tree, he smelled its smell. "Oh, it's the smell of peccaries. It's not the smell of white-lipped peccaries. It's the smell of something else," he said.

If there had been two of them, his companion would have caused trouble for him.

He went. It was a *bisiwa* monster. The *bisiwa* was standing. It came walking fast. Takai, went the sound. He looked around.

"Aya." He ran away. It tried to grab him, but it missed. He ran off into the forest, with the monster after him. He ran away from it. It was running behind him. It tired him out, and caught him.

He was not yet a grown up teenager. He was a young teenager. They had just trained him as a shaman. He had started walking again, and was improving, but he was still skinny, and the monster caught him. He was weak because he was tired. If he had been fatter, the monster wouldn't have caught him. The *bisiwa* caught him.

He got sick because of the smell of the *bisiwa*. He smelled the smell of the *bisiwa*. It made him sick. He came back sick. The *bisiwa* had held onto him, but he had gotten free.

He came back onto the trail, and went home.

It looked for him. "Where is the one who got away?"

Its vagina had a lot of hair, the *bisiwa*. He saw the hair of its vagina.

He went home. He bathed before entering the village. He went home. He was weak. He got sick because of the *bisiwa*.

"The monster chased me, don't go where it is. Don't go there. The monster that chased me is there."

"He said the *bisiwa* chased him. He is carrying the smell of it," his father said. "He says the *bisiwa* caught him."

"Yes, the *bisiwa* caught me, Father."

"The *bisiwa* caught my son, and he says he is sick because of the smell of the *bisiwa*."

He was sick, and his father took care of him. "The *bisiwa* touched you, and it is the sickness of its smell. It is the sickness of the smell of the monster."

His brother-in-law was ready. "I'm going to go and take a look at it, I'm stronger," he said, another man, his brother-in-law. That's what his brother-in-law said. "The thing that chased my brother-in-law will be seen. If I see it looking sideways toward me, I will shoot it with an arrow, if it chases me. It will fall because of the *iha* poison."

He came. He came after what his brother-in-law had told about.

"This is where the *bisiwa* was."

He came. He saw where the water from its feet was after it was wading.

"There, there is water from its feet there. There are its footprints going off. Its trail goes that

¹⁶³ This is a reference to the previous story, about a *kose mati* monster.

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

way. It must be there."

He looked. As he stood there looking, a figure moved. "There," he said. "That's it."

"Fofowi, fofowi. Come here, I want to see you," he whistled.

He strung the bow. "It's going to be speared with an arrow." He was planning to shoot it with an arrow.

As he was planning against it, it came toward him. It came, looking ahead.

There was a tree. He stood beside the tree. He put an arrow in his bow and stood there. It saw him as it came along. It looked far away with its head to the side. It saw his face now. It walked fast. He inserted an arrow in the bow. He pulled back hard and shot the arrow at it. *Batikari, toko*. He hit it with an arrow in the chest.

It attacked him. It attacked, but couldn't get him. It tried to catch him, but he jumped.

"Kesesesesese." He went up into the tree, and held on the side of the tree. His voice was that of a *coati*.

It waved its arms and fell. He shot it with an arrow in the chest. "Yay, I killed it. Peeoo."

He couldn't pull out the arrow. The arrow was still in its chest. Its smell was strong. "Oh my," he said. "The hair of its vagina," he said. "Wow, look at the hair of its vagina. Its crotch can't be seen. Let it be there on the ground."

He left it there. He had shot it with an arrow because he was upset because his brother-in-law had gotten sick. He was upset because his brother-in-law had gotten sick, and he had shot it with an arrow.

"Why did it come here?"

He came back to the trail, and came home. On the way back he came upon some monkeys, and he shot monkeys with his blowgun.

As he was shooting the monkeys, there was whistling, "Hohohohohoo."

"That's not monkeys whistling. It's the whistling of a spirit." It was the whistling of a *yima*. "It's the whistling of a *yima*." "I'm not going to answer its whistling," he thought. He said he wasn't going to answer its whistling.

It didn't whistle anymore. "There is no whistling. I'm going to whistle to it. "Hohohohohoo," he whistled.

"Hohohoho," it whistled, as he was coming closeby, as it was coming. As it came, its whistling started, as it was moving.

When it heard him whistling, it didn't stop. It came. It had its head down. It was walking fast. "I'm going to do the same thing I did before," he said.

It came. As it came, he pulled back hard and shot an arrow at it. *Betikari, wakai*. It made a *wakai* sound.

"Aha, aya, brother." It was careeling. "Who is shooting me with arrows?"

He was holding on the tree trunk in the middle of the tree, being quiet.

It looked for him. It looped around, and came back. "Someone wounded me, someone standing over there."

Then the *iha* poison affected it. It was trembling because of the *iha*. It was trembling, and it sat down on the ground. It sat on the ground, and keeled over. It was moving its legs up and down. It died.

When it died, he jumped down. "Let's go, the two of them are dead, this one and its mate, great."

I'm remembering the one who they always said who killed two monsters, because he knew a lot.

He left it there. "Let it be there on the ground. Let it rot. They are not going to see its penis,

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because I'm not going to cut off its penis and carry its penis. Let it remain attached to it. I didn't cut off the hair of the vagina of the bisiwa," he said. "I'm not going after it. Let it rot."

He came back, and arrived back. He brought back the monkeys that he had shot. He came back carrying them. He came back, and arrived back late in the day.

"I killed the two monsters that had killed people. I think they were living there. It came downstream to there. Its mate came downstream first, and I shot it first. Its mate is lying there. The hair on my head is like the hair of the vagina of the bisiwa."

"Didn't you have sex with it?" his wife said.

"I wouldn't have sex with it, its smell is too strong. Its smell is really strong. I came back, I didn't lie on the ground and have sex with it. I shot it with an arrow. It's lying there on the ground. As I was coming back, its mate whistled. I shot its mate, too. The two of them are dead. The two of them died. The vultures will eat them. They died. Both of them died. I think there are only two of them," he said.

"Children, when you go into the forest, be careful. Watch out. It sneaks around."

"I saw the water from its feet. It went. It knew I was there. It saw me, and came. It was looking as it came along, and I saw it. As I stood there, I whistled. 'Fofowi, come here and see me,' my whistling said. It came on fast. It came with its head down. As it came I shot it with an arrow. I shot it, and it died. It wanted to grab me with the tree, but I jumped up into the tree. I jumped up and held on the trunk of the tree. When it died, I jumped back down."

"Then as I came back, I came upon some monkeys. As I was shooting monkeys with my blowgun, the monster's mate came to me. Its mate whistled. It started whistling. I didn't want to answer its whistle, but then I did answer its whistle, because I wanted it to die. I answered its whistle. It came, and I shot it with an arrow. It wanted to grab me along with the tree. It died. I shot it, and it is there on the ground. It looked around. I was holding onto the tree trunk. It looked for me. It went back and forth, and went off, wounded. The *iha* poison affected it, and it came back. 'Someone hit me with an arrow,' it said. It came back."

"We are short compared to them. They are very tall. It went back and forth. When the *iha* poison affected it, it made it tremble. It sat down hard. It sat there for a little while, and then keeled over. It moved its legs back and forth. It stuck its legs in the air."

"We should eat it."

"Don't eat it. Don't talk about eating it. How can you eat it all, its legs are huge, and its tailbone."

"Where? Upstream?"

"Yes. Wait, we will go after it tomorrow."

Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Inamati</i>	,	<i>inamati</i>	<i>inamati</i>	<i>yetene</i>	,	<i>inamati</i>	<i>yetene</i>	
	inamati		inamati	inamati	yetene		inamati	yetene	
	someone		someone	someone	teenage boy		someone	teenage boy	
	nm		nm	nm	adj		nm	adj	
	<i>toahi</i>	--	<i>afo</i>		<i>nari</i>	--	<i>me</i>	<i>afo</i>	<i>hinahi</i>
	to- ha+M		afo		na -haari		me	afo	hi- na+M
	CH be		blow snuff into		AUX IP.E+M		3PL.S	blow snuff into	OC AUX
	vc		result		aux		pron	vt	aux
	,		<i>tokahi</i>	,	<i>tokehimatamona</i>				
	to- ka+M		to- ka		-himata -mona				
	away go/come		away go/come		FP.N+M REP+M				
	vi		vi						

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

'A man, a teenager, who had been trained as a shaman, went out into the forest.'

2 *Toke* , *toke* *fara* *fara* *mai* *hisi*
 to- ka+M , to- ka+M fara fara mahi hisi
 away go/come away go/come same+F same+F smell+F sniff
 vi vi dem dem pn vt

hinemetemone

hi- na -hemete -mone

OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F

aux

'He went out, and smelled the same smell.'

3 *Ho* , *ho* , *hiyama* *me* *maikira*
 ho ho hiyama me mahi -kira
 sound sound white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS smell+F ?+F
 nm pron pn

'Sniff, sniff. "It's the smell of white-lipped peccaries."'

4 *Hiyama* *me* *maikira* *ati* *nematamona*
 hiyama me mahi -kira ati na -himata -mona
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS smell+F ?+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm pron pn vt aux

waharo *awa* *mate* *ya*
 waa -haaro awa mate ya
 stand IP.E+F tree base+F ADJU
 vi nf pn prt

'"It's the smell of peccaries," he said, as he stood in the buttress roots of a tree.'

5 *Awa* *mate* *ya* *waha* *mai* *hisi* *hina* , *awa* *mate*
 awa mate ya waa+F mahi hisi hi- na+F awa mate
 tree base+F ADJU stand smell+F sniff OC AUX tree base+F
 nf pn prt vi pn vt aux nf pn

ya *waha* *mai* *hisi* *hinemetemone*
 ya waa+F mahi hisi hi- na -hemete -mone
 ADJU stand smell+F sniff OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 prt vi pn vt aux

'As he stood in the buttress roots of the tree, he smelled its smell.'

6 *Mai* *hisi* *hina* *mai* *hisi* *hina* *Hoho*
 mahi hisi hi- na+F mahi hisi hi- na+F hoho
 smell+F sniff OC AUX smell+F sniff OC AUX look
 pn vt aux pn vt aux interj

hiyama *me* *mai* *toake*
 hiyama me mahi to- ha -ke
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS smell+F CH be DECL+F
 nm pron pn vc

'He smelled its smell. "Oh, it's the smell of peccaries."'

7 *Hiyama* *me* *mai* *toatoa* *ra*
 hiyama me mahi toha- to- ha na -ra+F
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS smell+F DUP CH be AUX NEG
 nm pron pn vc aux

'"It's not the smell of white-lipped peccaries."'

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

8 *Yama one mahi , ati nematamona*
 yama one mahi , ati na -himata -mona
 thing other+F smell+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nf adj pn vt aux

'It's the smell of something else," he said.'

9 *Me famasa nemenehe me fami ya , owa*
 me fama -saa na -hemenehe me fama.NOM+F ya , owa
 3PL.S be two still AUX HYPOTH+F 3PL.S be two ADJU 1SG.O
 pron vi aux pron vi prt pron

hiyokona

hi- yoko -hina
 OC bring misfortune on IRR+M
 vt

'If there had been two of them, his companion would have caused trouble for him.'

10 *Faya , yana tonemetemone amani*
 faya , yana to- na -hemete -mone ama -ni
 so start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
 conj vi aux sec

'He went.'

11 *Yama bisiwa bisiwametemoneni*
 yama bisiwa bisiwa -mete -mone -ni
 thing (name of monster) (name of monster) FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 nf nf nf

bisiwa

bisiwa
 (name of monster)
 nf

'It was a bisiwa monster.'

12 *bisiwa , wahani yakayaka kawahe*
 bisiwa , waa -hani yaka- yaka ka- na -waha+M ,
 (name of monster) stand IP.N+F DUP walk COMIT AUX change
 nf vi vi vi aux

takai
 takai yama moni na ki kabote
 (sound of twigs breaking) thing make sound AUX look AUX quickly
 sound nf vt aux vi aux

nematamonaka ahi
 na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'The bisiwa was standing. It came walking fast. Takai, went the sound. He looked around.'

13 *Aya bete nawahematamonaka ahi*
 aya bete na -waha -himata -mona -ka ahi
 (expression of pain) run AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 interj vi aux dem

'"Aya." He ran away.'

14 *He taboro watamakemetemoneke ahi*
 hee taboro wata -makI -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3SG.POSS place catch following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron pn vt dem

'It tried to grab him, but it missed.'

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

15 *Heka* , *hiwakemetemone*
 hi- to- ka- ka+F , hi- to- ka- ka -hemete -mone
 OC away COMIT go/come OC away COMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F
 vt vt

'He ran off into the forest, with the monster after him.'

16 *Kana hikana* , *kana ni yotohemetemoneke* *ahi*
 kana hi- ka- na+F , kana na.NFIN yoto -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 run OC COMIT AUX run AUX follow FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 vi aux vi aux vi dem

'He ran away from it. It was running behind him.'

17 *Kana ni yotoha* , *hiba he ma*
 kana na.NFIN yoto+F , hiba hee maa
 run AUX follow soon after 3SG.O be tired
 vi aux vi conj pron vi
tonihimakoni *he watemetemone*
 to- niha- na -makoni hee wata -hemete -mone
 CH CAUS AUX for this reason+F 3SG.O catch FP.N+F REP+F
 aux pron vt

'It was running behind. It tired him out, and caught him.'

18 *He towatamakiemetemoneke* *ahi*
 hee to- wata -makI -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 3SG.O away exist following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron vt dem

'It caught him.'

19 *Yetene bati toharematamona*
 yetene bati to- ha -ra -himata -mona
 teenage boy true CH be NEG FP.N+M REP+M
 adj adj vc

'He was not yet a grown up teenager.'

20 *Yetene bitimatamonaka*
 yetene biti -mata -mona -ka
 teenage boy small+M FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 adj adj

'He was a young teenager.'

21 *Hibayata me afo* *hine wamise* *wawama*
 hibayata me afo hi- na+M waa -misa+M wa- waa -ma
 just now 3PL.S blow snuff into OC AUX stand up DUP stand back
 adv pron vt aux vi vi

tohe , *imare* *ra watemetemoneni* , *mama*
 to- ha+M , ima -ra+M ra wata -hemete -mone -ni , ma- maa
 CH AUX be fat NEG O catch FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F DUP be tired
 aux vi prt vt nf

kanakomahari , *imehimanaha*
 ka- na- koma -haari , ima -himanaha
 COMIT CAUS hurt IP.E+M be fat HYPOTH+M
 vt vi

'They had just trained him as a shaman. He had started walking again, and was improving, but he was still skinny, and the monster caught him. He was weak because he was tired. If he had been fatter, the monster wouldn't have caught him.'

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

22 *Faya* *bisiwa* *hiwate* , *bisiwa* *mai*
 faya bisiwa hi- wata+M , bisiwa mahi
 so (name of monster) OC catch (name of monster) smell+F
 conj nf vt nf pn

ihi *toehibanoho*
 ihi to- ha -hiba -no -ho
 victim of+F CH be FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 pn vc

'The bisiwa caught him. He got sick because of the smell of the bisiwa.'

23 *Bisiwa* *mai* *hisi* *ne* , *faya* , *yama* *kiya*
 bisiwa mahi hisi na+M , faya , yama kiya
 (name of monster) smell+F sniff AUX so thing be sick
 nf pn vt aux conj nf vi

hinihe *kakame*
 hi- niha- na+M , ka- ka -ma+M ,
 OC CAUS AUX COMIT go/come back
 aux vi

kakamematamonaka
 ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'He smelled the smell of the bisiwa. It made him sick. He came back sick.'

24 *Kakame* , *bisiwa* *tama* *hine* *hiwa*
 ka- ka -ma+M , bisiwa tama hi- na+M hiwa
 COMIT go/come back (name of monster) hold onto OC AUX 3SG.REFL.M
 vt nf vt aux pron

fawa *ni* , *tasi* *toname* , *tasi* *toname*
 fawa niha- na+M , tasi to- na -ma+M , tasi to- na -ma+M
 disappear CAUS AUX emerge away AUX back emerge away AUX back
 vi aux vi aux vi aux

tokomematamonaka
 to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'He came back sick. The bisiwa had held onto him, but he had gotten free. He came back onto the trail, and went home.'

25 *Tokome* , *he* *siba* *na* *Hibaka* *toemata*
 to- ka -ma+M , hee siba na+F hibaka to- ha.NOM+M -mata
 away go/come back 3SG.O look for AUX where CH be ?+M
 vi pron vt aux interrog vc

one *fawa* *nane*
 ati o- na+M fawa na.CONT+M -ne
 say 1SG.S AUX disappear AUX BKG+M
 vt vi aux

'He went home. It looked for him. "Where is the one who got away?"'

26 *Hinaka* *yama noko* *kone* , *hinaka* *yama noko* *konakona*
 hinaka yama noko kone , hinaka yama noko kona- kona
 3SG.POSS vagina hair 3SG.POSS vagina DUP have hair
 pron nm pn pron nm vi

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

raba	rematamona		ini	amani	bisiwa
na -raba	na -ra -himata -mona		ini	ama -ni	bisiwa
AUX a bit	AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M		name+F	be BKG+F	(name of monster)
aux	aux		pn	vc	nf

toaharo
to- ha -haaro
CH be IP.E+F
vc

'Its vagina had a lot of hair, the bisiwa.'

27 Hinaka	yama noko	kone	me	hiwe	faya	tokome
hinaka	yama noko	kone	me	hi- awa+M	faya	to- ka -ma+M
3SG.POSS	vagina	hair	3PL	OC see	so	away go/come back
pron	nm	pn	pron	vt	conj	vi

tokome		afi	tonakosame		tokomawe
to- ka -ma+M		afi	to- na -kosa -ma+M		to- ka -ma -waha+M
away go/come back		bathe	away AUX middle back		away go/come back change
vi		vi	aux		vi

,	tokome		siwa	rebanoho
	to- ka -ma+M		siwa	na -ra -hiba -no -ho
	away go/come back		die	AUX NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
	vi		vi	aux

'He saw the hair of its vagina. He went home. He bathed before entering the village. He went home. He was weak.'

28 Bisiwa		mai	ihi	abematamonaka
bisiwa		mahi	ihi	ahaba -himata -mona -ka
(name of monster)		smell+F	because of+F	die FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nf		pn	post	vi

'He got sick because of the bisiwa.'

29 Ahabe	Yama	owa	kiyoha	wai	yama	owa	kiyoha	wai
ahaba+M	yama	owa	kiyo+F	waa.NOM	yama	owa	kiyo+F	waa.NOM
die	thing	1SG.O	chase	stand	thing	1SG.O	chase	stand
vi	nf	pron	vt	vi	nf	pron	vt	vi

ya	te	tokariyahi
ya	tee	to- ka -ra -yahi
ADJU	2PL.S	away go/come NEG DIST.IMP+F
prt	pron	vi

'He got sick. "The monster chased me, don't go where it is."

30 Te	tokariya
tee	to- ka -ra -yahi
2PL.S	away go/come NEG DIST.IMP+F
pron	vi

"Don't go there."

31 Yama	owa	kiyoha	warake	ahi
yama	owa	kiyo+F	waa -hara -ke	ahi
thing	1SG.O	chase	stand IP.E+F DECL+F	there
nf	pron	vt	vi	dem

"The monster that chased me is there."

32 Bisiwa	hikiyono	ati	ama
bisiwa	hi- kiyo -hino	ati	ama
(name of monster)	OC chase IP.N+M	voice	be
nf	vt	pn	vc

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

39 *Yama mai komemetemone amani*
 yama mahi koma -hemete -mone ama -ni
 thing smell+F hurt FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
 nf pn vi sec

"It is the sickness of the smell of the monster."

40 *Wabori yana tone , Totowawite*
 wabori yana to- na+M , to- to- awa -witI
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law start CH AUX DUP away see out
 nm vi aux vt

obe

o- na -be
 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F
 aux

'His brother-in-law was ready. "I'm going to go and take a look at it."

41 *Totowawite obe ha owa ta kikita*
 to- to- awa -witI o- na -be haa owa taa ki- kita
 DUP away see out 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F DEM 1SG contrast DUP be strong
 vt aux dem pron prt vi

ona owa , ati nematamonaka owa ,
 o- na+F owa , ati na -himata -mona -ka owa ,
 1SG.S AUX 1SG.S say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M other+M
 aux pron vt aux adj

wabori

wabori
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law
 nm

"I'm going to go and take a look at it, I'm stronger," he said, another man, his brother-in-law.'

42 *Wabori atimatamonane*
 wabori ati -mata -mona -ne
 3SG.POSS brother-in-law voice FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 nm pn

'That's what his brother-in-law said.'

43 *Ota owa kiyohani , ota owa*
 ota owa kiyohani -hani , ota owa
 1SG.POSS.brother-in-law chase IP.N+F 1SG.POSS.brother-in-law
 nm vt nm

kiyohani aawa nibanara , hiba
 kiyohani a- awa na+F -bana -hara , hiba
 chase IP.N+F DUP see AUX FUT IP.E+F wait
 vt result aux interj

"The thing that chased my brother-in-law will be seen."

44 *Ki nawake owi ya sa*
 kii na -waha -kI o- awa.NOM+F ya saa
 look at AUX change coming 1SG.S see ADJU shoot with arrow
 vt aux vt prt vt

okanaba amake ahi owa , owa kiyo ya
 o- ka- na -haba ama -ke ahi owa , owa kiyo.NOM ya
 1SG.S COMIT AUX FUT+F SEC DECL+F then 1SG.O 1SG.O chase ADJU
 aux sec dem pron pron vt prt

"If I see it looking sideways toward me, I will shoot it with an arrow, if it chases me."

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

45 *Ia* *ene* *sonaba* *amake* *ahi* .
 iha ehene sona -haba ama -ke ahi
 plant sp because of+M fall FUT+F SEC DECL+F then
 nm pn vi sec dem

"It will fall because of the *iha* poison."

46 *Faya* *kake* *wabori* *hikamina*
 faya ka -kI wabori hi- kamina+F
 so go/come coming 3SG.POSS brother-in-law OC tell
 conj vi nm vt

hinakake , *bisiwa* *waimone* *amake*
 hi- na- ka -kI bisiwa waa.NOM -mone ama -ke
 OC CAUS go/come coming (name of monster) stand REP+F be DECL+F
 vt nf vi vc

ahi .
 ahi
 here
 dem

'He came. He came after what his brother-in-law had told about. "This is where the *bisiwa* was."

47 *Kame* , *tokomani* *yo* *tonamani*
 ka -ma+M to- ka -ma -hani yoo to- na -ma -hani
 go/come back away go/come back IP.N+F wade away AUX back IP.N+F
 vi vi vi aux

tame *fe* *hiwa* , *Haro* , *tame* *fe* *nani*
 tame fehe hi- awa+F , haaro , tame fehe na -hani
 foot+F water+F OC see that one+F foot+F water+F AUX IP.N+F
 pn pn vt dem pn pn aux

haro
 haaro
 that one+F
 dem

'He came. He saw where the water from its feet was after it was wading. "There, there is water from its feet there."

48 *Tame* *tokomani* *haro* .
 tame to- ka -ma -hani haaro
 foot+F away go/come back IP.N+F that one+F
 pn vi dem

"There are its footprints going off."

49 *Tame* *tokoma* , *wa* *awineke* *ahi* .
 tame to- ka -ma+F , waa+F awine -ke ahi
 foot+F away go/come back stand seem+F DECL+F there
 pn vi vi sec dem

"Its trail goes that way. It must be there."

50 *Yama* *kakatome* *yama* *kakatome* *ya* , *yama*
 yama ka- katoma+M yama ka- katoma.NOM+M ya , yama
 thing COMMIT look at thing COMMIT look at ADJU thing
 nf vt nf vt prt nf
kakatome *wahi* *ni* *ya* , *inamati* *e* *nemetemoneke*
 ka- katoma+M waa+M ni ya , inamati ee na -hemete -mone -ke
 COMMIT look at stand to ADJU someone motion AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt vi prt prt nm vi aux

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

- 57 *Wati hikana kamemetemoneke*
 wati hi- ka- na+F , ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 plan against OC COMIT AUX go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux vi
 'As he was planning against it, it came toward him.'
- 58 *Kama kiki tosi*
 ka -ma+F ki- kii to- na -sii
 go/come back DUP look CH AUX slowly along the way
 vi vi aux
- nemetemoneni*
 na -hemete -mone -ni
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 aux
 'It came, looking ahead.'
- 59 *Awa waimete*
 awa waa.NOM+F -mete
 tree stand FP.N+F
 nf vi
 'There was a tree.'
- 60 *Awa awa fariboti ya we wati watari*
 awa awa fariboti ya waa+M , wati wata -rI+M
 tree tree armpit ADJU stand arrow put raised surface
 nf nf pn prt vi nm vt
- wematamonaka ahi*
 waa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 stand FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem
 'He stood beside the tree. He put an arrow in his bow and stood there.'
- 61 *Aawa tosi hinematamonaka ahi*
 a- awa to- na -sii hi- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 DUP see CH AUX slowly along the way OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vt aux aux dem
- 'It saw him as it came along.'
- 62 *Ki nisaba nemetemone ahi*
 kii na -risa -baa na -hemete -mone ahi
 look at AUX down at a distance AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 vi aux aux dem
 'It looked far away with its head to the side.'
- 63 *Noko hiwawe rama ahi*
 noko hi- awa -waha+M rama ahi
 face+M OC see change unusual then
 pn vt prt dem
 'It saw his face now.'
- 64 *Yakayaka kawemetemoneke*
 yaka- yaka ka- na -waha -hemete -mone -ke
 DUP walk COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux
 'It walked fast.'

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

65 *Wati yori kabote nematamonaka ahi*
 wati yori na -kabote na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 arrow insert AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm vt aux aux dem

'He inserted an arrow in the bow.'

66 *Hoka hikana rama ahi*
 hoka hi- ka- na+F rama ahi
 yank OC COMIT AUX unusual then
 vt aux prt dem

'He pulled back hard and shot the arrow at it.'

67 *Batikari toko baki*
 batikari toko baki
 (sound of arrow being released) (sound of arrow hitting flesh) chest+F
 sound sound pn

sa hikana rama ahi
 saa hi- ka- na+F rama ahi
 shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX unusual then
 vt aux prt dem

'Batikari, toko. He hit it with an arrow in the chest.'

68 *Fito kanakiemetemone amani ahi*
 fito ka- na -kI -hemete -mone ama -ni ahi
 rush COMIT AUX coming FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F then
 vi aux sec dem

'It attacked him.'

69 *Fito kanakia fito kanakia he*
 fito ka- na -kI+F fito ka- na -kI+F hee
 rush COMIT AUX coming rush COMIT AUX coming 3SG.O
 vi aux vi aux pron

naorabanihi
 naho -ra -haba -ni -hi
 touch NEG FUT+F IP.N+F DUP
 vt

'It attacked, but couldn't get him.'

70 *Fito kanakiemetemoneke*
 fito ka- na -kI -hemete -mone -ke
 rush COMIT AUX coming FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux

'It attacked him.'

71 *He watabone yora kabote nematamonaka ahi*
 hee wata -habone yora na -kabote na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 3SG.O catch INT+F jump AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 pron vt vi aux aux dem

kesesesesesesese
 'It tried to catch him, but he jumped. "Kesesesesesese."'

72 *Tokomisawite wana namatamona ahi*
 to- ka -misa -witI wana.CONT+M na.NOM+M -mata -mona ahi
 away go/come up out be attached AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 vi nm aux dem

'He went up into the tree, and held on the side of the tree.'

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

73 *Wanehimatamonaka*

wana	-himata	-mona	-ka	<i>ahi</i>
be attached	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	then
vi				dem

'He held on the side of the tree.'

74 <i>Yotomi</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>toe</i>	,	<i>yama</i>	<i>wara</i>	<i>nawa</i>
yotomi	ati	to-	ha+M	yama	wara	na -waha
coati	voice	CH	be	thing	grab	AUX change
nm	pn	vc		nf	vt	aux

tosemetemone

amani

to-	sona	-hemete	-mone	ama	-ni
CH	fall	FP.N+F	REP+F	SEC	BKG+F
vi				sec	

'His voice was that of a coati. It waved its arms and fell.'

75 <i>Baki</i>	<i>sa</i>		<i>hikana</i>		<i>rama</i>	<i>ahi</i>
baki	saa		hi-	ka-	na+F	rama
chest+F	shoot with arrow		OC	COMIT	AUX	unusual
pn	vt		aux			prt
						dem

'He shot it with an arrow in the chest.'

76 <i>Boro</i>		<i>okatomi</i>		<i>owatino</i>
boro		o-	katoma.NOM+F	owatino
(expression of glee)		1SG.S	damage	exclamation
interj		vt		interj

""Yay, I killed it.""

77 *Oho*
oho
interj

""Peeoo.""

78 <i>Tani</i>		<i>bete</i>	<i>hinamabone</i>		<i>tani</i>	<i>bete</i>
tani		bete	hi- na -ma -habone		tani	bete
weapon against		pull	OC AUX back INT+F		weapon against	pull
pn		vt	aux		pn	vt

hinamaremetemone

hi-	na	-ma	-ra	-hemete	-mone
OC	AUX	back	NEG	FP.N+F	REP+F
aux					

'He couldn't pull out the arrow.'

79 <i>Tani</i>		<i>wanemetemone</i>		<i>baki</i>	<i>ya</i>
tani		wana	-hemete -mone	baki	ya
weapon against		be attached	FP.N+F REP+F	chest+F	ADJU
pn		vi		pn	prt

'The arrow was still in its chest.'

80 <i>Yama</i>	<i>mai</i>	<i>kitemetemone</i>		<i>amani</i>
yama	mahi	kita	-hemete -mone	ama -ni
thing	smell+F	be strong	FP.N+F REP+F	SEC BKG+F
nf	pn	vi		sec

'Its smell was strong.'

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

- 106 **Kakemetemone** *ahi*
 ka -kI -hemete -mone ahi
 go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F then
 vi dem
 'It came.'
- 107 **Kake** *hoka hikana rama ahi*
 ka -kI hoka hi- ka- na+F rama ahi
 go/come coming yank OC COMIT AUX unusual then
 vi vt aux prt dem
 'As it came, he pulled back hard and shot an arrow at it.'
- 108 **Betikari** *wakai moni*
 betikari wakai moni
 (sound of arrow being released) (sound of hitting) sound
 sound sound pn
wakai tonemetemoneke
 wakai to- na -hemete -mone -ke
 (sound of hitting) CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux
 'Betikari, wakai. It made a wakai sound.'
- 109 **Aha** *aya ayo*
 aha aya ayo
 (unpleasant surprise) (expression of pain) older brother
 interj interj nm
 '"Aha, aya, brother."'
- 110 **Yama kakawarimatamonaka** *ahi*
 yama ka- ka -wahaRI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 thing COMIT go/come all over FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nf vi dem
 'It was careeling.'¹⁶⁴
- 111 **Kakawari** *Hibaka toemata one*
 ka- ka -wahaRI , hibaka to- ha.NOM+M -mata ati o- na+M
 COMIT go/come all over where CH be ?+M say 1SG.S AUX
 vi interrog vc vt
owa tisa kanane ?
 owa tisa ka- na.CONT+M -ne
 1SG.O shoot with arrow COMIT AUX BKG+M
 pron vt aux
 'It was careeling. "Who is shooting me with arrows?"'
- 112 **Wanehimatamonaka** *ahi*
 wana -himata -mona -ka ahi
 be attached FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem
 'He was holding on the tree trunk.'
- 113 **Awa enoki ya wanehimatamona** *ati watari*
 awa eenoki ya wana -himata -mona ati wata -ra.NFIN
 tree middle ADJU be attached FP.N+M REP+M voice exist NEG
 nf pn prt vi pn vi
 'He was holding on the tree trunk in the middle of the tree, being quiet.'

164 I am not sure of the morphological analysis of the verb.

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

114 *Siba hinematamonaka*
 siba hi- na -himata -mona -ka
 look for OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux

'It looked for him.'

115 *Siba hine moto towame kakame*
 siba hi- na+M , moto to- na -waha -ma+M ka- ka -ma+M
 look for OC AUX loop away AUX change back COMMIT go/come back
 vt aux vi aux vi

, *Inamati owa no tonihareka ahi ahi ahi*
 inamati owa noho to- niha- na -hare -ka ahi ahi ahi
 someone 1SG.O be hurt CH CAUS AUX IP.E+M DECL+M there there there
 nm pron vi aux dem dem dem

ahi ahi
 ahi ahi
 there there
 dem dem

'It looked for him. It looped around, and came back. "Someone wounded me, there."'

116 *Ia hiwasimatamona ahi*
 iha hi- wasi -himata -mona ahi
 plant sp OC find FP.N+M REP+M then
 nm vt dem

'Then the *iha* poison affected it.'

117 *Wawawawawa kana nematamona*
 wawa- wawawa ka- na na -himata -mona
 DUP tremble COMMIT AUX AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi aux aux

'It was trembling.'

118 *Wawawawawa kanematamona iha ehene ahi*
 wawa- wawawa ka- na -himata -mona iha ehene ahi
 DUP tremble COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M plant sp because of+M then
 vi aux nm post dem

'It was trembling because of the *iha*.'

119 *Wawawawawa ne ya itarisematamonaka ahi*
 wawa- wawawa na.NOM+M ya ita -risa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 DUP tremble AUX ADJU sit down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi aux prt vi dem

'It was trembling, and it sat down on the ground.'

120 *Itarise boto towitimatamonaka ahi*
 ita -risa+M , boto to- na -witI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 sit down fall over away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi vi aux dem

'It sat on the ground, and keeled over.'

121 *Yama tai nematamona ahi*
 yama tai na -himata -mona ahi
 thing step on AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
 nf vt aux dem

'It was moving its legs up and down.'

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

122 *Yama tairi ne , yama tai ne abarise*
 yama tai -ri na+M , yama tai na+M ahaba -risa+M ,
 thing step on DISTR AUX thing step on AUX die down
 nf vt aux nf vt aux vi

abarisematamonaka

ahaba -risa -himata -mona -ka
 die down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi

'It was moving its legs up and down. It died.'

123 *Abe , faya abe ya , yora nisame , Hima*
 ahaba+M , faya ahaba.NOM+M ya , yora na -risa -ma+M , hima
 die so die ADJU jump AUX down back let's go
 vi conj vi prt vi aux interj
 , *me fawa toki owatino fati famari*
 me fawa to- ka.NOM+F owatino fati fama -haari
 3PL.S disappear CH go/come exclamation 3SG.POSS.wife be with IP.E+M
 pron vi aux interj nf vi

'It died. When it died, he jumped down. "Let's go, the two of them are dead, this one and its mate, great."'

124 *Yama aawabisanari ene fawa*
 yama a- awa -bisa -naari ehene fawa
 thing DUP see also ? victim of+M disappear
 nf vt pn vi
tokanematamona me na hiemari wati
 to- ka- -na -himata -mona , me ati na hi- to- ha -himari wati
 CH COMIT DUP FP.N+M REP+M 3PL.S say AUX OC CH AUX FP.E+M remember
 aux pron vt aux vt

owahine oke
 o- na -waha -ne o- ke
 1SG.S AUX change CONT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 aux prt

'I'm remembering the one who they always said who killed two monsters, because he knew a lot.'

125 *Faya hekanakose , hekanakose*
 faya hi- ka- kana -kosa+M , hi- ka- kana -kosa+M
 so OC COMIT leave middle OC COMIT leave middle
 conj vt vt

hekanakosematamonaha

hi- ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ha
 OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 vt

'He left it there.'

126 *Hekanakose Hiwa homa na*
 hi- ka- kana -kosa+M hiwa homa.NOM+M na
 OC COMIT leave middle only.M lie on ground AUX
 vt pron vi aux

'He left it there. "Let it be there on the ground."'

127 *Hiwa bata*
 hiwa bata.NOM+M
 only.M be rotten
 pron vi

'Let it rot.'

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

128 *Sowiri* , *sowiri* *bobi* *osa* *sowiri* *tama*
 sowiri , sowiri bobi o- na -kosa.LIST sowiri tama
 penis penis slit 1SG.S AUX middle penis hold onto
 pn pn vt aux pn vt

onise *sowiri* *me* *hiwena* *amaka*
 o- na -risa+M sowiri me hi- awa -hina ama -ka
 1SG.S AUX down penis 3PL.S OC see IRR+M SEC DECL+M
 aux pn pron vt sec

"They are not going to see its penis, because I'm not going to cut off its penis and carry its penis."

129 *Hine* *wani* *na*
 hine wana.NOM+F na
 only be attached AUX
 pron vi aux

"Let it be attached to it."

130 *Bisiwa* *ka* *yama noko* *kone* *bobi*
 bisiwa ka yama noko kone bobi
 (name of monster) POSS vagina hair slit
 nf prt nm pn vt

okasarara *oke* *ati*
 o- ka- na -kosa -ra -hara o- ke ati
 1SG.S COMIT AUX middle NEG IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F say
 aux prt vt

tasematamona
 na -tasa -himata -mona
 AUX again FP.N+M REP+M
 aux

"I didn't cut off the hair of the vagina of the bisiwa," he said.'

131 *Onakama* *hine* *bati*
 o- to- na- ka -ma+F , hine bati.NOM+F
 1SG.S away CAUS go/come back only be rotten
 vt pron vi

"I'm not going after it. Let it rot."

132 *Faya* *kame* , *kame* *kobo* *name* , *hinaka*
 faya ka -ma+M , ka -ma+M kobo name , hinaka
 so go/come back go/come back arrive AUX back 3SG.POSS
 conj vi vi vi aux pron

bani *me* *fora* *hina* *me*
 bani me fora hi- na+F me
 animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun OC AUX 3PL.O
 nm pron vt aux pron

hekama *me* , *me* *weye* *kani*
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F me , me weye ka- na.NFIN
 OC away COMIT go/come back 3PL.O 3PL.O carry COMIT AUX
 vt pron pron vt aux

kame , *kamematamona*
 ka -ma+M , ka -ma -himata -mona
 go/come back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M
 vi vi

'He came back, and arrived back. He brought back the monkeys that he had shot. He came back carrying them. He came back.'

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

139 *Bisiwa* *bisiwa* *ka* *yama noko* *kone* *nima*
 bisiwa bisiwa ka yama noko kone nima
 (name of monster) (name of monster) POSS vagina hair like
 nf nf prt nm pn prt

otati *kone* *nine* *haro*
 o- tati kone na -ne haaro
 1SG.POSS head hair AUX CONT+F that one+F
 pn pn aux dem

"The hair on my head is like the hair of the vagina of the bisiwa."

140 *Yoyori* *tirinihi* *fati* *ati*
 yo- yori ti- na -ra.NOM+F -ni -hi fati ati
 DUP have sex with 2SG.S AUX NEG IP.N+F DUP 3SG.POSS.wife say
 vt aux nf vt

na *Yori* *oba* *mai* *kikita* *raba*
 na+F yori o- na.NOM -ba mahi ki- kita na -raba
 AUX have sex with 1SG.S AUX FUT smell+F DUP be strong AUX a bit
 aux vt aux pn vi aux

nara
 na -hara
 AUX IP.E+F
 aux

"Didn't you have sex with it?" his wife said. "I wouldn't have sex with it, its smell is too strong."

141 *Yama* *mai* *kitarake*
 yama mahi kita -hara -ke
 thing smell+F be strong IP.E+F DECL+F
 nf pn vi

"Its smell is really strong."

142 *Yori* *ni* *ohoma* *okomine*
 yori na.NFIN o- homa+F o- ka -ma -ne
 have sex with AUX 1SG.S lie on ground 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F
 vt aux vi vi

o
 o-
 1SG.S
 prt

"I came back, I didn't lie on the ground and have sex with it."

143 *Sa* *okanarake*
 saa o- ka- na -hara -ke
 shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 vt aux

"I shot it with an arrow."

144 *Homake* *ahi*
 homa -ke ahi
 lie on ground DECL+F there
 vi dem

"It's lying there on the ground."

145 *Okoma* *owa* *ni* *ya* *maki* *bono* *ati*
 o- ka -ma+F owa ni ya maki bono ati
 1SG.S go/come back 1SG to ADJU 3SG.POSS.husband upper lip+M voice
 vi pron prt prt nm pn pn

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

yana	namaki		maki		kamaki		maki
yana	na	-makI+M	maki		ka	-makI+M	maki
start	AUX	following	3SG.POSS.husband		go/come	following	3SG.POSS.husband
vi	aux		nm		vi		nm

sa		okana		me	fawa	
saa		o-	ka-	na.LIST	me	fawa
shoot with	arrow	1SG.S	COMIT	AUX	3PL.S	disappear
vt		aux		pron	vi	

tokanarake			ahi
to-	ka-	na	-hara -ke
CH	COMIT	AUX	IP.E+F DECL+F
aux			then
			dem

"As I was coming back, its mate whistled. I shot its mate, too. The two of them are dead."

146	Me	fawa	tokana	me	boko	me	me
	me	fawa	to- ka- na+F	me	boko	me	me
	3PL.S	disappear	CH COMIT AUX	3PL.S	vulture	3PL.O	3PL.S
	pron	vi	aux	pron	nf	pron	pron

hikababone		boko	mati
hi-	kaba	-habone	boko
OC	eat	INT+F	vulture
vt		nf	3PL
			pron

"The two of them died. The vultures will eat them."

147	Me	abarake
	me	ahaba -hara -ke
	3PL.S	die IP.E+F DECL+F
	pron	vi

"They died."

148	Fara	me	fawa	tokanarake
	fara	me	fawa	to- ka- na -hara -ke
	same+F	3PL.S	disappear	CH COMIT AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
	dem	pron	vi	aux

"Both of them died."

149	Fara	me	toirani	me	onara
	fara	me	to- ha.NOM+F -rani	me	ati o- na -hara
	same+F	3PL.S	CH be ?	3PL.O	say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F
	dem	pron	vc	pron	vt

oke		ati	nematamona	fahi
o-	ke	ati	na -himata -mona	fahi
1SG.S	DECL+F	say	AUX FP.N+M REP+M	then
prt		vt	aux	dem

"I think there are only two of them," he said.'

150	Mate	te	tokaha	yama	te	kakatoma
	matehe	tee	to- ka+F	yama	tee	ka- katoma+F
	children	2PL.S	away go/come	thing	2PL.S	COMIT look at
	nf	pron	vi	nf	pron	vt

"Children, when you go into the forest, be careful."

151	Te	te	kakatomiya
	tee	tee	ka- katoma -yahi
	2PL.O	2PL.S	COMIT look at DIST.IMP+F
	pron	pron	vt

"Watch out."

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

152 *Yama nahararani*
 yama naha -ra -hara -ni
 thing sneak around NEG IP.E+F BKG+F
 nf vi

"It sneaks around."

153 *Yama tame fehe owaha , tame fehe owa*
 yama tame fehe o- awa+F , tame fehe o- awa+F
 thing foot+F water+F 1SG.S see foot+F water+F 1SG.S see
 nf pn pn vt pn pn vt

tokomani
 to- ka -ma -hani , owa , owa watohani owa
 away go/come back IP.N+F 1SG.O 1SG.O know IP.N+F 1SG.O
 vi pron pron vt pron

awanike
 awa -hani -ke
 see IP.N+F DECL+F
 vt

"I saw the water from its feet. It went. It knew I was there. It saw me."

154 *Owa awani , kamani yama ki*
 owa awa -hani , ka -ma -hani yama kii
 1SG.O see IP.N+F go/come back IP.N+F thing look at
 pron vt vi nf vt

namahiteni owarake
 na -ma -hitI -hani o- awa -hara -ke
 AUX back along the way IP.N+F 1SG.S see IP.E+F DECL+F
 aux vt

"It saw me, and came. It was looking as it came along, and I saw it."

155 *Owa , kokowa ona Fofowi*
 o- waa+F , ko- kowa o- na+F fofowi
 1SG.S stand DUP whistle to 1SG.S AUX (sound of whistling)
 vi vt aux sound

tikamahi owa tiwibeya onara
 ti- ka -ma -hi owa ti- awa -be -ya ati o- na -hara
 2SG.S go/come back IMP+F 1SG.O 2SG.S see IMMED+F now say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F
 vi pron vt vt vt

oke obono ati na , mama raro
 o- ke o- bono ati na+F , ma- maa na -ra -haaro
 1SG.S DECL+F 1SG.POSS upper lip say AUX DUP stop AUX NEG IP.E+F
 prt pn vt aux vi aux

"As I stood there, I whistled. 'Fofowi, come here and see me,' my whistling said. It came on fast."

156 *Kama mowimowi kawahibote narake*
 ka -ma+F mowi- mowi ka- na -waha -bote na -hara -ke
 go/come back DUP bend COMIT AUX change quickly AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 vi vi aux

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

"It came with its head down."

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

onemako	bono	ati	wara
ati o- na -mako	bono	ati	wara
say 1SG.S AUX for this reason+M	upper lip+M	voice	respond to
vt	pn	pn	vt

onareka
o- to- na -hare -ka
1SG.S CH AUX IP.E+M DECL+M
aux

"It started whistling. I didn't want to answer its whistle, but then I did answer its whistle, because I wanted it to die."

162	Faya	bono	ati	wara	one	kamaki
	faya	bono	ati	wara	o- to- na+M	ka -makI+M
	so	upper lip+M	voice	respond to	1SG.S CH AUX	go/come following
	conj	pn	pn	vt	aux	vi

sa **okatasare**
saa o- ka- na -tasa -hare
shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX again IP.E+M
vt aux

"I answered its whistle. It came, and I shot it with an arrow."

163	Sa	okane	owa	owa	kawatebona
	saa	o- ka- na+M	owa	owa	ka- wata -hibona
	shoot with arrow	1SG.S COMIT AUX	1SG.O	1SG.O	COMIT catch INT+M
	vt	aux	pron	pron	vt

ati ne abareka
ati na+M , ahaba -hare -ka
say AUX die IP.E+M DECL+M
vt aux vi

"I shot it. It wanted to grab me along with the tree. It died."

164	Homareka	sa	okanari
	homa -hare -ka	saa	o- ka- na -haari
	lie on ground IP.E+M DECL+M	shoot with arrow	1SG.S COMIT AUX IP.E+M
	vi	vt	aux

"I shot it, and it is there on the ground."

165	Yama	siba	nareka	ahi
	yama siba	na -hare -ka	ahi	
	thing look for	AUX IP.E+M DECL+M	then	
	nf vt	aux	dem	

"It looked around."

166	Awa	ya	owanara	oke
	awa ya	o- wana -hara	o- ke	
	tree ADJU	1SG.S be attached IP.E+F	1SG.S DECL+F	
	nf prt	vi	prt	

"I was holding onto the tree trunk."

167	Awa	ya	owana	owa	siba	ne	yobi
	awa ya	o- wana+F	owa siba	na+M	yobi		
	tree ADJU	1SG.S be attached	1SG.O look for	AUX	go back and forth		
	nf prt	vi	pron vt	aux	vi		

kane towakame ia hiwasino
ka- na+M to- ka- ka -ma+M iha hi- wasi -hino
COMIT AUX away COMIT go/come back plant sp OC find IP.N+M
aux vt nm vt

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

kakame ka- ka -ma+M COMIT go/come back vt	Inamati inamati someone nm	owa owa 1SG.O pron	tisa tisa shoot with arrow vt	kane ka- na+M COMIT AUX aux	amake ama -ke be DECL+F vc
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ahi ahi then dem	ati ati say vt	ne na+M AUX aux	kakame ka- ka -ma+M COMIT go/come back vt	ahi ahi then dem
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"I was holding onto the tree trunk. It looked for me. It went back and forth, and went off, wounded. The *iha* poison affected it, and it came back. 'Someone hit me with an arrow,' it said. It came back."

168 **E nemehekere**
ee nemeha -ke -re
1IN.S be high DECL+F NEG+F
pron vi

"We are short compared to them."

169 Yama waba yama waa -baa thing stand at a distance nf vi	nara na -hara AUX IP.E+F aux	neme ya ahi neme ya ahi up ADJU there nf prt dem
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"They are very tall."

170 Yobi yobi go back and forth vi	kane ka- na+M COMIT AUX aux	ia iha plant sp nm	hiwasino hi- wasi.NOM -no OC find IP.N+M vt	ya ya ADJU prt
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yama wiyi hinareka yama wiyi hi- na -hare -ka thing shake OC AUX IP.E+M DECL+M nf vt aux	ahi ahi then dem
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"It went back and forth. When the *iha* poison affected it, it made it tremble."

171 Yama wiyi hine yama wiyi hi- na+M thing shake OC AUX nf vt aux	kasiro kasiro a lot adv	itarise ita -risa+M sit down vi	iita i- ita DUP stay vi
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kawahe ka- na -waha.NOM+M COMIT AUX change aux	ya ya ADJU prt	boto boto fall over vi	tosareka to- na -kosa -hare -ka CH AUX middle IP.E+M DECL+M aux	ahi ahi then dem
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"It made it tremble. It sat down hard. It sat there for a little while, and then keeled over."

172 Yama tai nare yama tai na -hare thing step on AUX IP.E+M nf vt aux
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"It moved its legs back and forth."

173 Teme feo nareka teme feo na -hare -ka foot+M move AUX IP.E+M DECL+M pn vi aux	ahi ahi then dem
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"It stuck its legs in the air."

THE BISIWA AND ITS MATE

174 *Kabarenaha*

kaba -ra -hina -ha
eat NEG IRR+M DUP
result

"We should eat it."

175 *Tikaba*

ti- kaba
2SG.S eat
vt

"Don't eat it."

176 *Kabi ino hiri tina*

kaba.NFIN ino hiri ti- na
eat name+M say 2SG.S AUX
result pn vt aux

"Don't talk about eating it."

177 *Fawa tinihaba yama , isi toarake*

fawa ti- niha- na -haba yama , isi to- ha -hara -ke
disappear 2SG.S CAUS AUX FUT+F thing leg+F CH be IP.E+F DECL+F
vi aux nf pn vc

ahi yama isi fotaharo , mete tone , ai

ahi yama isi fota -haaro , mete tone , ahi
this thing leg+F be big IP.E+F rear+M bone this
dem nf pn vi pn pn dem

"How can you eat it all, its legs are huge, and its tailbone."

178 *Fara* ?

fara
same+F
dem

"Where?"

179 *Nakani* ?

nakani
upstream
nf

"Upstream?"

180 *Ee , hiba , ota , faya , ota*

ee , hiba , otaa , faya , otaa
yes wait 1EX so 1EX.S
interj interj pron conj pron

tonakaminabanake

to- na- ka -mina -habana -ke
away CAUS go/come morning FUT+F DECL+F
vt

"Yes. Wait, we will go after it tomorrow."

181 *Ota tonakaminabana*

otaa to- na- ka -mina -habana
1EX.S away CAUS go/come morning FUT+F
pron vt

"We will go after it tomorrow."

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (2)

Free Translation

A jaguar had killed someone. "I will cut the jaguar's face with the hoe." He said he was going to cut the jaguar's head, then he went into the forest carrying a hoe.

"I'm going to shoot some spider monkeys with my blowgun. You will see them. I am a killer of spider monkeys since long ago."

So he went. The spider monkeys were calling, excited. The jaguar was standing on top of a log. It was standing on a straight tree that had fallen over long before, and was lying on top of another log. It was after the spider monkeys. It was walking around on top of the log. The monkeys were excited, aa aa aa aa.

The old man came. He wasn't being careful. He was concentrating on the monkeys. He was moving around to find the best spot. His hoe was lying on the ground far away.

When he was going to shoot a monkey, a sound started up a ways away. Kerererere [sound of jaguar's claws on the log as it jumped], he looked.

"Yikes."

The old man went running away. There was a thicket of rotted branches and the old man went running into it. The jaguar went in after him, and the jaguar was cleaning out the way behind him.

He kept going. The jaguar wanted to pull him back by his foot, and it pulled his leg. It was going along breaking the branches. It was pulling on the branches and the branches were breaking.

The old man went into the middle of the branches. The jaguar was breaking the branches as it went along. It was clearing out behind the old man as it went.

The old man dragged himself turning this way and that. He went on. There were big bunches of branches on the ground. He looped around the bunches of branches on the ground. The jaguar was breaking branches to get to him. It was tired, because it was breaking branches. It went after him further.

The old man kept going in, when he was about to be killed. A tree blocked him. The jaguar went after him. It got the old man. It dragged the old man back. It bit him in the head.

"Aya, my head, my head."

Then the old man died, and the jaguar ate the old man.

"My father hasn't come back. He has disappeared when he was carrying spider monkeys. He said he was going to shoot spider monkeys with his blowgun."

His two sons left when it was getting dark. "We are going to take a look at my father."

"Go look at my father," his daughter said when her older brother was leaving.

"What if there isn't anyone? Where would he be?"

The jaguar was watching him the whole time. It will go after you, trees won't stop it.

His two sons went. It was not far. They didn't find him. At the place where the old man had been eaten, they went back. They called, and because of their calling the jaguar got up and went away.

"My father's thing is lying here on the ground, the hoe. He will be seen tomorrow, my father. No one knows about him. He disappeared. Father."

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (2)

No one called. They called out. They came back. They would go out again. They arrived back, and slept.

"My father's hoe was lying there on the ground."

"His thing was lying right by where the jaguar ate him," his daughter said. His daughter knew about him.

"I don't think the jaguar ate him. We called him, but he didn't answer."

They slept, and they got up before dawn. When it was still a little dark, at dawn, they were ready, and they went. They disappeared in the forest.

"Don't call out."

They went. Right at the place where his father's thing was lying, there was a sound. The jaguar knew they were there. Takaa [sound of twigs breaking as the jaguar left].

"I told you."

Its sound started. It was the sound of it going away. It had come back to eat in the night.

"Walk fast. Don't be afraid. I will go the other way."

They circled around it. There was a log lying on another log. The jaguar went on top of the log lying on the other log. Its sound started. It saw them, and went away. It went away, and disappeared.

"After eating my father, it has gone away."

They hid from it, but it didn't come back, because it was full, it had eaten a lot. They waited for it, but it didn't come back.

They came back home. Someone met up with them as they were coming back.

"Well?"

"A jaguar ate my father. Not even his bones are left. We only have his skull with us as we are coming back. It ate my father with his bones."

They brought back his head, and buried his head. They buried him. They came back with his head, and they buried his head.

Interlinear Presentation

1	Okobi o- ka abi 1SG.POSS POSS father nm		okobi o- ka abi 1SG.POSS POSS father nm		yome yomee jaguar nm		yome yomee jaguar nm	ehene ehene victim of+M pn
	itimona iti.NOM -mona exist REP+M vi		Yome yomee jaguar nm		yome yomee jaguar nm		noko noko face+M pn	ka kaa chop vt
	oribana o- na -rI 1SG.S AUX raised surface aux		-bana -bana FUT		isawata isawata hoe nf		ya ya ADJU prt	

'A jaguar had killed someone. "I will cut the jaguar's face with the hoe."

2	Yome yomee jaguar nm		ka kaa chop vt		narebona na -rI AUX raised surface aux		ati ati say vt		ne na+M AUX aux		isawata isawata hoe nf	tiwa tiwa carry vt
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THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (2)

yai	tona	toforia	ya	
yai	to- na+F	to- forI+F	ya	.
be straight	CH AUX	CH lie on top	ADJU	
vi	aux	vi	prt	

'It was standing on top of a log. It was standing on a straight tree that had fallen over long before, and was lying on top of another log.'

10 Biyo	yama	narawe	bebere	nami
biyo	yama	na -rawa+M	be- bere	na -mii
spider monkey	work on	AUX F.PL	DUP be across	AUX walking around
nf	vt	aux	vi	aux

ne	ra	biyo	biyo
na+M	ra	biyo	biyo
AUX	O	spider monkey	spider monkey
aux	prt nf	nf	

kayawarawemetemoneke	ahi	aa
ka- yawa -rawa -hemete -mone -ke	ahi	aa
COMIT be excited F.PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	then	(call of spider monkey)
vi	dem	sound

aa	aa	aa
aa	aa	aa
(call of spider monkey)	(call of spider monkey)	(call of spider monkey)
sound	sound	sound

aa	aa	aa
aa	aa	aa
(call of spider monkey)	(call of spider monkey)	(call of spider monkey)
sound	sound	sound

aa	aa	aa
aa	aa	aa
(call of spider monkey)	(call of spider monkey)	(call of spider monkey)
sound	sound	sound

aa
aa
(call of spider monkey)
sound

'It was after the spider monkeys. It was walking around on top of the log. The monkeys were excited, aa aa aa aa aa.'

11 Iti	bote	iti	bote	kakematamonaka
iti	bote	iti	bote	ka -kI -himata -mona -ka
grandfather	old	grandfather	old	go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nm	adj	nm	adj	vi

ahi
ahi
then
dem

'The old man came.'

12 Kake	yama	kiki	re	rama	ahi
ka -kI	yama	ki- kii	na -ra+M	rama	ahi
go/come coming	thing	DUP look	AUX NEG	unusual	then
vi	nf	vi	aux	prt	dem

'He came. He wasn't being careful.'

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (2)

13 **Biyo** **noko** **tonihematamonaka**
 biyo noko to- niha- ha -himata -mona -ka
 spider monkey attraction CH CAUS be FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf pn vc

'He was concentrating on the monkeys.'

14 **Biyo** **noko** **tonihe** **wawa**
 biyo noko to- niha- ha+M wa- waa
 spider monkey attraction CH CAUS be DUP stand
 nf pn vc vi

tohitamatamonaka **ahi**
 to- na -hitI -himata -mona -ka ahi
 CH AUX along the way FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux dem

'He was concentrating on the monkeys. He was moving around to find the best spot.'

15 **Hinaka** **isawata** **kahamemetemone** **hike** **ya**
 hinaka isawata ka- homa -hemete -mone hike ya
 3SG.POSS hoe COMIT lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F far ADJU
 pron nf vi nf prt

'His hoe was lying on the ground far away.'

16 **Biyo** **karaboebona** **yama** **moni** **yana**
 biyo karaboha -hibona yama moni yana
 spider monkey shoot with blowgun INT+M thing sound start
 nf vt nf pn vi

tonemetemone **hike** **ya**
 to- na -hemete -mone hike ya
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F far ADJU
 aux nf prt

'When he was going to shoot a monkey, a sound started up a ways away.'

17 **Kerererere** **ki** **kabote** **nematamonaka**
 kii na -kabote na -himata -mona -ka
 look AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux aux

'Kerererere, he looked.'

18 **Ami**
 ami
 yikes
 interj

""Yikes.""

19 **Iti** **bote** **kana** **ni** **toke** **awa** **ini**
 iti bote kana na.NFIN to- ka+M awa ini
 grandfather old run AUX away go/come tree branch+F
 nm adj vi aux vi nf pn

tahemetemoneke
 taa -hemete -mone -ke
 be dense FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'The old man went running away. There was a thicket of branches.'

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (2)

20 *Awa ini botoha ini taha ini boti ya*
 awa ini boto+F ini taa+F , ini boti ya
 tree branch+F rot branch+F be dense branch+F inside ADJU
 nf pn vi pn vi pn pn prt
iti bote kana ni tokiyomematamonaka
 iti bote kana na.NFIN to- ka -yoma -himata -mona -ka
 grandfather old run AUX away go/come through FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm adj vi aux vi

ahi
 ahi
 then
 dem

'There was a thicket of rotted branches and the old man went running into it.'

21 *Yome tokiyomamake yome tore*
 yomee to- ka -yoma -makI yomee tore
 jaguar away go/come through following jaguar pull
 nm vi nm vt

hikanematamonaka

hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'The jaguar went in after him, and the jaguar was cleaning out the way behind him.'

22 *Toka tohitimatamonaka*
 to- ka to- na -hitI -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come CH AUX along the way FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'He kept going.'

23 *Toka tohiti teme teme ka ya horo*
 to- ka to- na -hitI+M teme teme ka ya horo
 away go/come CH AUX along the way foot+M foot+M with ADJU drag
 vi aux pn pn prt prt vt

hinamebona

hi- na -ma -hibona iso horo kanakabote
 OC AUX back INT+M leg+M drag COMIT AUX quickly
 aux pn vt aux

nematamonaka

na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'He kept going. It wanted to pull him back by his foot, and it pulled his leg.'

24 *Faya yome awa ini baka nematamonaka ahi*
 faya , yomee awa ini baka na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 so jaguar tree branch+F break AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj nm nf pn vt aux dem

'The jaguar was breaking the branches.'

25 *Awa ini baka namakiti awa ini*
 awa ini baka na -makI -hitI+M awa ini
 tree branch+F break AUX following along the way tree branch+F
 nf pn vt aux nf pn

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (2)

hohoka nise awa ini baka tona iti bote
 ho- hoka na -risa+M awa ini baka to- na+F iti bote
 DUP yank AUX down tree branch+F break CH AUX grandfather old
 vt aux nf pn vt aux nm adj

tokematamona ahi awa ini boti ya ahi
 to- ka -himata -mona ahi awa ini boti ya ahi
 away go/come FP.N+M REP+M then tree branch+F inside ADJU there
 vi dem nf pn pn prt dem

'It was going along breaking the branches. It was pulling on the branches and the branches were breaking. The old man went into the middle of the branches.'

26 **Yome awa ini baka ne awa ini baka**
 yomee awa ini baka na+M awa ini baka
 jaguar tree branch+F break AUX tree branch+F break
 nm nf pn vt aux nf pn vt
tonamakehite iti bote kanamose
 to- na -makI -hitI iti bote ka- na- amosa+M
 away AUX following along the way grandfather old COMIT CAUS be good
 aux nm adj vt

tokomake iti bote hiwa horo nawa
 to- ka -makI , iti bote hiwa horo na -waha
 away go/come following grandfather old 3SG.REFL.M drag AUX change
 vi nm adj pron vt aux

tohiti toke awa ini tabi
 to- na -hitI+M to- ka+M awa ini tabi
 CH AUX along the way away go/come tree branch+F cluster+F
 aux vi nf pn pn

nafihemetemoneke kahamaro
 nafi -hemete -mone -ke ka- homa -haaro
 be big FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F COMIT lie on ground IP.E+F
 vi vi

'The jaguar was breaking the branches. It was breaking the branches as it went along. It was clearing out behind the old man as it went. The old man dragged himself turning this way and that. He went on. There were big bunches of branches on the ground.'

27 **Awa ini kahama ya moto nawa**
 awa ini ka- homa+F ya moto na -waha
 tree branch+F COMIT lie on ground ADJU loop AUX change
 nf pn vi prt vi aux

tohiti baka hikanematamonaka ahi
 to- na -hitI+M , baka hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 CH AUX along the way break OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 aux vt aux dem

'He looped around the bunches of branches on the ground. It was breaking branches to get to him.'

28 **Yome ma toematamona awa baka nari**
 yomee maa to- ha -himata -mona awa baka na -haari
 jaguar be tired CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M tree break AUX IP.E+M
 nm vi aux nf vt aux

'The jaguar was tired, because it was breaking branches.'

29 **Yome tokomake tonamakehite**
 yomee to- ka -makI to- na -makI -hitI
 jaguar away go/come following away AUX following along the way
 nm vi aux

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (2)

iti	bote	tokiyoma		tohiti	
iti	bote	to- ka	-yoma	to- na	-hitI+M
grandfather	old	away go/come	through	CH AUX	along the way
nm	adj	vi		aux	

nabowi		watabano		ya	
na- aboha.NFIN		wata.NOM+M	-ba -no	ya	
CAUS die		exist	FUT IP.N+M	ADJU	
result		vi		prt	

'The jaguar went after him further. The old man kept going in, when he was about to be killed.'

30 Awa	bari	hikanematamonaka			
awa	bari	hi- ka- na	-himata	-mona	-ka
tree	impede	OC COMIT	AUX FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M
nf	vt	aux			

'A tree blocked him.'

31 Faya	tokomake		tokomake		iti	bote
faya	to- ka	-makI	to- ka	-makI	iti	bote
so	away go/come	following	away go/come	following	grandfather	old
conj	vi		vi		nm	adj

iti	bote	wate	iti	bote	horo
iti	bote	wata+M	iti	bote	horo
grandfather	old	catch	grandfather	old	drag
nm	adj	vt	nm	adj	vt

namematamonaka			ai		
na -ma -himata	-mona -ka		ahi		
AUX back	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	then	
aux			dem		

'It went after him. It got the old man. It dragged the old man back.'

32 Tati	yaki	hirematamona			
tati	yaki	hi- na -rI		-himata	-mona
head	bite into	OC AUX	raised surface	FP.N+M	REP+M
pn	vt	aux			

'It bit him in the head.'

33 Aya		otati	ra	otati	ra
aya		o- tati	ra o- tati	ra	ra
(expression of pain)		1SG.POSS	head	O	1SG.POSS
interj		pn	prt	pn	prt

""Aya, my head, my head.""

34 Faya	yome	iti	bote	ahabe	iti	bote
faya	yomee	iti	bote	ahaba+M	iti	bote
so	jaguar	grandfather	old	die	grandfather	old
conj	nm	nm	adj	vi	nm	adj

kabematamonaka			fahi		
kaba -himata	-mona -ka		fahi		
eat	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M	then	
vt			dem		

'Then the old man died, and it ate the old man.'

35 Iti	bote	kabe	iti	bote	kabematamona	fahi
iti	bote	kaba+M	iti	bote	kaba -himata	-mona
grandfather	old	eat	grandfather	old	eat	FP.N+M
nm	adj	vt	nm	adj	vt	REP+M
						then
						dem

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (2)

'It ate the old man.'

36	Iti	bote	kabe	Okobi		kakama	
	iti	bote	kaba+M	o-	ka	abi	ka- ka -ma
	grandfather	old	eat	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	DUP go/come back
	nm	adj	vt	nm			vi

re

na -ra+M

AUX NEG

aux

'It ate the old man. "My father hasn't come back."'

37	Biyo	weye	narawe	fawa	nane	
	biyo	weye	na -rawa+M	fawa	na.CONT+M	-ne
	spider monkey	carry	AUX F.PL	disappear	AUX	BKG+M
	nf	vt	aux	vi	aux	

biyo	fora		narawebona		ati	nari
biyo	fora		na -rawa -hibona		ati	na -haari
spider monkey	shoot with blowgun		AUX F.PL INT+M		say	AUX IP.E+M
nf	vt		aux		vt	aux

"He has disappeared when he was carrying spider monkeys. He said he was going to shoot spider monkeys with his blowgun."

38	Biyo	weye	narawe	fawa	nane	
	biyo	weye	na -rawa+M	fawa	na.CONT+M	-ne
	spider monkey	carry	AUX F.PL	disappear	AUX	BKG+M
	nf	vt	aux	vi	aux	

"He has disappeared when he was carrying spider monkeys."

39	Yama	sosokirisa	raba	ni	ya	biti	me
	yama	so- soki	-risa	na -raba	na.NOM+F	ya	biti
	thing	DUP be dark	down	AUX a bit	AUX	ADJU	3SG.POSS.son
	nf	vi		aux	aux	prt	nm
							3PL.S
							pron

yana	tokanemetemone					
yana	to- ka-	na	-hemete	-mone		
start	CH	COMIT	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	
vi	aux					

'His two sons left when it was getting dark.'

40	Okobi		ota	totowamake	
	o-	ka	abi	otaa	to- to- awa -makI
	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	1EX.S	DUP away see following
	nm			pron	vt

namatibe

na -mata -be

AUX short time IMMED+F

aux

"We are going to take a look at my father."

41	Okobi		te	towamakehi	
	o-	ka	abi	tee	to- awa -makI -hi
	1SG.POSS	POSS	father	2PL.S	away see following IMP+F
	nm			pron	vt

anoti	yana	tone	bite	ati
anoti	yana	to- na+M	bite	ati
3SG.POSS	older brother	start	CH	AUX
nm		vi	aux	3SG.POSS.daughter
				say
				nf
				vt

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (2)

nemetemoneke

na -hemete -mone -ke
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

"Go look at my father," his daughter said when her older brother was leaving.'

42 *Me towakamakia me , me*
 me to- ka- ka -makI+F me , me
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron

towakamakia Yama honari ya ,
 to- ka- ka -makI+F yama hona -ra.NOM+F ya ,
 away COMIT go/come following thing have something NEG ADJU
 vi nf vi prt

hibaka

hibaka
 where
 interrog

"What if there isn't anyone? Where would he be?"

43 *Kakatoma raba hinematamonaha*
 ka- katoma na -raba hi- na -himata -mona -ha
 COMIT look at AUX a bit OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 vt aux aux

'It was watching him the whole time.'

44 *Tiwa tonakebanane , awa bari*
 tiwa to- na- ka -hibana -ne , awa bari
 2SG.O away CAUS go/come FUT+M BKG+M tree impede
 pron vt nf vt

hikanebana

hi- ka- na -hibana
 OC COMIT AUX FUT+M
 aux

'It will go after you, trees won't stop it.'

45 *Faya , biti me kakamake yama*
 faya , biti me ka- ka -makI yama
 so 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S COMIT go/come following thing
 conj nm pron vi nf

yaboremoneke

yabo -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 be far NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'His two sons went. It was not far.'

46 *Hinaka iti bote kabi wate ya , yama*
 hinaka iti bote kaba.NFIN wata.NOM+M ya , yama
 3SG.POSS grandfather old eat be located ADJU thing
 pron nm adj result vi prt nf

soki ya me hiwasimakina me wete
 soki.NOM ya me hi- wasi -makI -hina , me wete
 be dark ADJU 3PL.S OC find following IRR+M 3PL.S return
 vi prt pron vt pron vi

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (2)

53 *Me ha na me kakama me , me*
 me haa na+F me ka- ka -ma+F me , me
 3PL.S call AUX 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron vi pron pron
towakama naba me kobo tokanama
 to- ka- ka -ma na -haba me kobo to- ka- na -ma+F
 away COMIT go/come back AUX FUT+F 3PL.S arrive away COMIT AUX back
 vi aux pron vi aux
me , amo nemetemoneke
 me , amo na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux
 'They called out. They came back. They would go out again. They arrived back, and slept.'

54 *Me amo na me , Okobi ka isawata*
 me amo na+F me , o- ka abi ka isawata
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 1SG.POSS POSS father POSS hoe
 pron vi aux pron nm prt nf
kahamarake ahi
 ka- homa -hara -ke ahi
 COMIT lie on ground IP.E+F DECL+F there
 vi dem
 'They slept. "My father's hoe was lying there on the ground."'

55 *Fare yome hikabano ya hinaka yama*
 fare yomee hi- kaba.NOM+M -no ya hinaka yama
 same+M jaguar OC eat IP.N+M ADJU 3SG.POSS thing
 dem nm vt prt pron nf
kamine ninihi bite ati
 ka- homa -ne na.NOM+F -ni -hi bite ati
 COMIT lie on ground CONT+F AUX IP.N+F DUP 3SG.POSS.daughter say
 vi aux nf vt
nemetemone
 na -hemete -mone
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 aux
 "'His thing was lying right by where the jaguar ate him," his daughter said.'

56 *Bite hiwatomatamona*
 bite hi- wato -himata -mona
 3SG.POSS.daughter OC know FP.N+M REP+M
 nf vt
 'His daughter knew about him.'

57 *Bite hiwatomatamonaha*
 bite hi- wato -himata -mona -ha
 3SG.POSS.daughter OC know FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 nf vt
 'His daughter knew about him.'

58 *Faya bite hiwato , Yome hikabare awa*
 faya bite hi- wato+M , yomee hi- kaba -ra+M awa
 so 3SG.POSS.daughter OC know jaguar OC eat NEG seem+M
 conj nf vt nm vt sec

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (2)

ha onahare

haa ati o- na -hare
DEM say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+M
dem vt

'His daughter knew about him. "I don't think the jaguar ate him."'

59 **Ota ha ne ota kasawarihareka**

otaa haa na+M otaa ka- sawari -hare -ka
1EX.S call AUX 1EX.O COMIT frustrate IP.E+M DECL+M
pron vt aux pron vt

""We called him, but he didn't answer.""

60 **Faya me , amo nemetemoneke me kakawaha**

faya me amo na -hemete -mone -ke me ka- ka- waha
so 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S DUP COMIT dawn
conj pron vi aux pron vi

raba mati

na -ra -haba mati
AUX NEG FUT+F 3PL.S
aux pron

'They slept, and they got up before dawn.'

61 **Yama sosoki ni ya yama we kamaki**

yama so- soki na.NOM+F ya yama wehe ka -makI.NOM
thing DUP be dark AUX ADJU thing light+F go/come following
nf vi aux prt nf pn vi

ya me yana tokana me

ya me yana to- ka- na+F me
ADJU 3PL.S start CH COMIT AUX 3PL.S
prt pron vi aux pron

towakemetemoneke ahi

to- ka- ka -hemete -mone -ke ahi
away COMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
vi dem

'When it was still a little dark, at dawn, they were ready, and they went.'

62 **Me towaka me , me fawa**

me to- ka- ka+F me me fawa
3PL.S away COMIT go/come 3PL.S 3PL.S disappear
pron vi pron pron vi

tokasawitia Ha rima tinahi

to- ka- na -kosa -witI+F , haa na -rima ti- na -hi
away COMIT AUX middle out call AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
aux vi aux aux

'They went. They disappeared in the forest. "Don't call out."'

63 **Ha rima tinahi**

haa na -rima ti- na -hi
call AUX NEG.IMP+F 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
vi aux aux

""Don't call out.""

64 **Me towakemetemoneke**

me to- ka- ka -hemete -mone -ke
3PL.S away COMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
pron vi

'They went.'

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (2)

65	Me	towaka		me	fara	bati		ka	
	me	to- ka-	ka+F	me	fara	bati		ka	
	3PL.S	away	COMIT	go/come	3PL.S	same+F	3SG.POSS.father	POSS	
	pron	vi		pron	dem	nm		prt	
	iteheni		kahami		ya	bati		ka	
	iteheni		ka- homa.NOM+F	ya	'	bati		ka	
	what's the name		COMIT lie on ground	ADJU		3SG.POSS.father		POSS	
	nm		vi	prt		nm		prt	
	iteheni		kami		ya	faya	yama	moni	yana
	iteheni		ka- homa.NOM+F	ya	faya	yama	moni	yana	
	what's the name		COMIT lie on ground	ADJU	so	thing	sound	start	
	nm		vi	prt	conj	nf	pn	vi	
	tonemetemone		mera	watohino					
	to- na -hemete	-mone	mera	wato -hino					
	CH AUX FP.N+F	REP+F	3PL.O	know IP.N+M					
	aux		pron	vt					

'They went. Right at the place where his father's thing was lying, there was a sound. It knew they were there.'

66	Takaa
	takaa
	(sound of twigs breaking)
	sound
	'Takaa.'

67	Owati		tikasawariara		tini
	o- ati	ti- ka-	sawari	-hara	ti- ni
	1SG.POSS voice	2SG.S COMIT	frustrate	IP.E+F	2SG.S BKG+F
	pn	vt			prt
	'I told you.'				

68	Faya	moni	yana	ne	tokehinoho			
	faya	moni	yana	na+M	to- ka	-hino	-ho	
	so	sound	start	AUX	away go/come	IP.N+M	DUP	
	conj	pn	vi	aux	vi			
	monimatamonane		tafamari		yama	soki	ya	
	moni -mata -mona	-ne	tafa -ma -haari		yama	soki.NOM	ya	
	sound FP.N+M	REP+M	BKG+M	eat back IP.E+M	thing	be dark	ADJU	
	pn		vi		nf	vi	prt	
	'Its sound started. It was the sound of it going away. It had come back to eat in the night.'							

69	Moni	yana	ne	Yaka	tinakosawitibote			
	moni	yana	na+M	yaka	ti- na	-kosa	-witI	-bote
	sound	start	AUX	walk	2SG.S AUX	middle	out	quickly
	pn	vi	aux	vi	aux			
	tinahi							
	ti- na	-hi						
	2SG.S AUX	IMP+F						
	aux							
	'Its sound started. "Walk fast."							

70	Watorima		tinahi
	wato	-rima	ti- na -hi
	be afraid	NEG.IMP+F	2SG.S AUX IMP+F
	vi		aux
	'Don't be afraid.'		

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (2)

71 **Okabisiba** *ahi*
 o- to- ka -bisa.NOM+F -ba ahi
 1SG.S away go/come also FUT there
 vi dem

"I will go the other way."

72 **Me kero hikanematamonaka**
 me kero hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.S go around OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt aux

"They circled around it."

73 **Me kero hikane , awa awa , awa**
 me kero hi- ka- na+M , awa awa , awa
 3PL.S go around OC COMIT AUX tree tree tree
 pron vt aux nf nf nf

foremetemoneke
 forI -hemete -mone -ke
 lie on top FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

"They circled around it. There was a log lying on another log."

74 **Awa fore , ya tokomisame , moni yana ne**
 awa forI , ya to- ka -misa -ma+M , moni yana na+M
 tree lie on top ADJU away go/come up back sound start AUX
 nf vi prt vi pn vi aux

mera awe , mera awe tokehimatamonane
 mera awa+M , mera awa+M to- ka -himata -mona -ne
 3PL.O see 3PL.O see away go/come FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 pron vt pron vt vi

"It went on top of the log lying on the other log. Its sound started. It saw them, and went away."

75 **Toke , faya fawa ne Okobi kabeno**
 to- ka+M , faya fawa na+M o- ka abi kaba -hino
 away go/come so disappear AUX 1SG.POSS POSS father eat IP.N+M
 vi conj vi aux nm vt

toka
 to- ka.CONT+M
 away go/come
 vi

"It went away, and disappeared. "After eating my father, it has gone away."

76 **Faya me hiwahiye , me hiwahiyehimatamona fahi**
 faya me hi- wahiya+M , me hi- wahiya -himata -mona fahi
 so 3PL.S OC hide from 3PL.S OC hide from FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj pron vt pron vt dem

"They hid from it."

77 **Me hiwahiye kamarematamonaka akare**
 me hi- wahiya+M ka -ma -ra -himata -mona -ka akara.NOM+M
 3PL.S OC hide from go/come back NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M be satiated
 pron vt vi vi

karo , nafi tafe karo
 karo nafi tafa.NOM+M karo
 because all eat because
 prt pn vi prt

"They hid from it, but it didn't come back, because it was full, it had eaten a lot."

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (2)

78 *Faya kamare me noki hine mera*
 faya ka -ma -ra+M me noki hi- na+M mera
 so go/come back NEG 3PL.S wait for OC AUX 3PL.O
 conj vi pron vt aux pron

kasawari me kakamemetemoneke
 ka- sawari+M , me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT frustrate 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt pron vi

'It didn't come back. They waited for it, but it didn't come back. They came back home.'

79 *Me kakama faya me kakama me*
 me ka- ka -ma+F , faya me ka- ka -ma+F me
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back so 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S
 pron vi conj pron vi pron

kakama me me kakamakebisani
 ka- ka -ma+F me me ka- ka -makI -bisa -hani
 COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S COMIT go/come following also IP.N+F
 vi pron vi pron vi

mera wasime me me wasima me Fera ?
 mera wasi -ma+M me me wasi -ma+F me , fee -ra ?
 3PL.O find back 3PL.O 3PL.S find back 3PL.S 3SG NPQ
 pron vt pron pron vt pron pron

'They came back. Someone met up with them as they were coming back. They met up with them. "Well?'"

80 *Okobi yome hikabenoka*
 o- ka abi yomee hi- kaba -hino -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS father jaguar OC eat IP.N+M DECL+M
 nm nm vt

'"A jaguar ate my father."'

81 *Hima tone watarareka*
 hima tone wata -ra -hare -ka
 let's go bone exist NEG IP.E+M DECL+M
 interj pn vi

'"Not even his bones are left."'

82 *Tati tone ohari tati tone ota tama namine ha*
 tati tone ohari+M tati tone otaa tama na -mina+M haa
 head bone be one head bone 1EX.S hold onto AUX morning DEM
 pn pn vi pn pn pron vt aux dem

'"We only have his skull with us as we are coming back."'

83 *Okobi tone yama okobi tone yama*
 o- ka abi tone yama o- ka abi tone yama
 1SG.POSS POSS father bone thing 1SG.POSS POSS father bone thing
 nm pn nf nm pn nf

yai kakanike
 yai ka- na -hani -ke
 bite off COMIT AUX IP.N+F DECL+F
 vt aux

'"It ate my father with his bones."'

84 *Tati me hekame tati me hikamomatamona*
 tati me hi- ka- ka -ma+M tati me hi- kamo -himata -mona
 head 3PL.S OC COMIT go/come back head 3PL.S OC bury FP.N+M REP+M
 pn pron vt pn pron vt

THE JAGUAR AND THE OLD MAN (2)

'They brought back his head, and buried his head.'

85 *Faya me , hikamo , tati me hikamomatamona fahi*
 faya me , hi- kamo+M , tati me hi- kamo -himata -mona fahi
 so 3PL.S OC bury head 3PL.S OC bury FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj pron vt pn pron vt dem

'They buried him. They buried his head.'

86 *Tati me tama hiname , tati me*
 tati me tama hi- na -ma+M , tati me
 head 3PL.S hold onto OC AUX back head 3PL.S
 pn pron vt aux pn pron

hikamomatamonaka

hi- kamo -himata -mona -ka
 OC bury FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'They came back with his head, and they buried his head.'

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Free Translation

Note: (1) In this story there are various groups attacking various other groups, and it difficult in some cases to determine exactly which group Siko is talking about. (2) Siko mentions the names of some of his relatives at the end, but they do not actually participate in the events of the story, so I have classified it as a traditional story.

Our relatives spoke like us. They spoke the same as us. They fought each other over women. They cut in before others to marry women. They cast spells on each other.

He married. A jaguar bit his wife's head off. He was sleepy. He lay there and had sex with his wife. He slept with his wife. He didn't know it, but he was in the hammock with his headless wife.

He woke up. "Oh no, I have been lying in the hammock with my wife in this state. Something killed my wife." The jaguar had killed someone.

Then her mother cried.

"Yes, something attacked my wife. Someone is responsible for this," he said.

They had formerly been fighting among themselves. They broke off relations with each other and began to fight each other. They used to be many, but they disappeared. They went into the forest. They are the ones who the Banawás found. There are many Banawás today. They were going to fight each other. They argued, and fought each other. They planned against each other. They fought each other. They coated arrows with iha poison. They coated arrows, and fought each other. They killed each other all day long. They shot each other with arrows.

"When my daughter was alive long ago..."¹⁶⁵

The first group arrived.

"I don't know. I guess she escaped. They went running away," said a woman of the man's daughter's village.

Then his daughter appeared. "There comes my daughter."

"Did you escape?"

"I escaped. Father, they killed my husband."

"Oh no."

"They killed my husband, and I went running after the others. I have come here," she said.

"I guess they killed my son-in-law. My son-in-law married my daughter."

Then they spoke. "They aren't anymore. They all died," said his daughter.

Others of her village went into the forest and came out at another place, and stayed there.

"Weren't you prepared?"

"Yes, we were prepared."

"Me. Go ahead and kill me."¹⁶⁶

Many young men carried bows and arrows. They went there carrying bows and arrows.

165 The man's daughter's village was attacked, and he thought his daughter had been killed.

166 The man was making a show of bravery, addressing their enemies, who were not present.

MANY BATTLES

Their voices could be heard. They were many.

"Someone is coming," they said.

They didn't fight at night. They fought during the day, so they could watch out. One of them went there. Right away someone cried out because he had shot him with an arrow.

They shot them with arrows. Tiii, the people of the village were running. The ones who survived pulled out arrows from the dead ones. They also shot the ones who lived in other houses nearby. They shot them with arrows, and they died.

When they had all died, they carried them off. They were in a pile. All the women died. They uncovered the vaginas of the women and the girls. They uncovered their vaginas as they lay on the ground dead.

They spoke. "Father, Father."

"Huh?"

"Father, look at the big vaginas. You shot my vagina with an arrow."¹⁶⁷

"Cut it out. Put it on your penis, so you can be with her. Let it rot."

Some of them survived, and they started out and went to another village. They all got together.

"They are really something. Some of them died. They didn't all die. We will shoot the ones that are left with arrows. We shot them with arrows."

Then they went there again. They came back, and slept. They left in the morning and went there again. They fought again, and some of them died.

They fought many times, because there were many of them. They shot each other with arrows. Half of them died.

They wanted to fight against the same group again. They fought them again. They killed them again. They shot them with arrows again.

Some of them escaped. They escaped because their arrows were all gone.

When they went there, "Let's go. Some of them got away, because the arrows are all gone."

The people of the village went running away. They ran after them. He hit one of them with one arrow. They shot arrows. He said he would be fierce. He hit away the arrows as they shot them. He hit away the arrows, and didn't die.

They started out, and they came home. They arrived back.

"Well, what about them? Did they die?"

"They didn't all die. Some escaped."

"May they not survive. May they die, all of them."

So they went after them again. They wanted to kill them, and they shot them with arrows. They fought each other, and shot each other with arrows. They kept going to them. Finally they died.

"Come on, some of them are still alive. They went running away. They escaped. They will gather themselves together." Some of them escaped.

They came back, and arrived back. The last ones were different than the other ones. They hated each other. They died on many occasions, because they were shooting each other with arrows.

Their women were not small, they were large. They came back, and arrived back.

They fought each other. They went there, and they shot them with arrows again. Some of them escaped again. There were many people. When they left, the Banawás saw them. They didn't die. They fought with each other. They killed each other. They almost all died. Where do their other people live?

They stopped fighting among themselves, and they came back. They arrived back. They

¹⁶⁷ He meant that he had wanted to marry the girl, but his father had shot and killed her.

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didn't stop fighting among themselves. We are their descendents. Their older brothers didn't fight much. Not many of them died. Then they stopped fighting. They stopped fighting, and lived together. Then the fighting stopped. They were at peace with each other.

My father wasn't born yet. Before my father was born, my grandfather and the others fought. My grandfather was living there, when he was a teenager, with his father and the others.

The Yiwa Me Fawa Kani people lived there. They caught fish with their hands. They planted gardens. When they were in the stream, they disappeared. The others came and lived in their village. They ate their crops. They ate yams. They didn't come back. They live in the depths of the water. They didn't come back. Their wives went there, too, and they didn't come back either, along with their children. They are there in the pool, at Yiwa Me Fawa Kani. They lived in their village, living by their crops. They lived there, and ate all their crops. They started living at Yiwa Me Fawa Kani.

The original inhabitants of Yiwa Me Fawa Kani burned their gardens, and planted their gardens, and then they did a bad thing. They planted their gardens, and then did a bad thing. They disappeared. Their wives came after them. "Let's go see them." They wanted to go after them, and they went into the water. They went after them. "Let's all go after them quickly." They all went after them. They would not come back. They were carrying the children in slings. They took them into the depths of the water.

Amoro, Siko's wife: Into the depths of the water?

Yes, into the depths of the water, the small children, the little boys. They were like you. Then the others started living in their village. They lived there.

A spirit told about the ones who disappeared. The spirit told about them. "Some of your relatives disappeared," the spirit said.

"What a thing, they disappeared. We will live here with their crops. We will come here to live. We live in a place that is not good for living."

"Come here. They don't live here anymore. Their crops are there. You eat their crops," the spirit said.

Then they lived there. After that was the time of my father. My father was not yet born. But my grandfather was alive, also my uncle and the others. I am trying to remember his name. Taori, my uncle's name was Taori. Taori was really old. So they lived there in their village, eating aba fish. They lived with the aba fish. Then my father and the others grew up. Also my uncle Kawi Yife, and their younger brother Kabiri, and my father Botehefo.

Interlinear Presentation

1	<i>Ee</i>	<i>ee</i>	<i>ota one</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>aamosa</i>
	ee	ee	otaa one	me	me	ati	a- amosa
	(pause)	(pause)	our relatives	3PL	3PL.POSS	voice	DUP be good
	interj	interj	nf	pron	pron	pn	vi

toemetemoneke

to- ha -hemete -mone -ke
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'Our relatives spoke like us.'

MANY BATTLES

2 **Haha** **ota** **ati** **nima** **me** **ati** **na** **me** **fara**
 haaha otaa ati nima me ati na+F me fara
 this+F 1EX.POSS voice like 3PL.POSS voice AUX 3PL.POSS same+F
 dem pron pn prt pron pn aux pron dem

me **abe** **kakako** **toemetemone** **me fanawi**
 me abe ka- kaako to- ha -hemete -mone me fanawi
 3PL.POSS RECIP DUP be angry with CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F women
 pron pn vt aux nf

ihi

ihi

because of+F

post

'They spoke the same as us. They fought each other over women.'

3 **Me fanawi** , **me fanawi** **me** **ka** **abe** **ka** **yibotebone** **me**
 me fanawi me fanawi me ka abe ka yibote -bone me
 women women 3PL POSS RECIP POSS wife INT+F 3PL.S
 nf nf pron prt pn prt nf pron

kakahiti **na** **me** , **me** **ka** , **me** **abe** **tokatowiha**
 ka- kahiti na me , me ka , me abe to- katowi+F
 DUP take first AUX 3PL.S 3PL POSS 3PL.POSS RECIP CH fight
 vt aux pron pron prt pron pn vt

me , **me** **abe** **tokatowiha** **me** **abe** ,
 me me abe to- katowi+F me abe ,
 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS RECIP CH fight 3PL.POSS RECIP
 pron pron pn vt pron pn

kahabanaha **me** **ka** , **fati** **hitiha** , **namiti** **ra** ,
 ka- habana+F me ka , fati hi- iti+F , namiti ra ,
 COMIT order 3PL POSS 3SG.POSS.wife OC marry neck O
 vt pron prt nf vt pn prt

yome **yai** **nakosematamonaka** **ahi**
 yomee yai na -kosa -himata -mona -ka ahi
 jaguar bite off AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nm vt aux dem

'They cut in before others to marry women. They fought over women. They cast spells on each other. He married. A jaguar bit his wife's head off.'

4 **Nokobisa** **awahi** , **nokobisa** **awe** **fore** **fati**
 nokobisa awa+M , nokobisa awa+M forI fati
 sleepiness feel sleepiness feel lie on top 3SG.POSS.wife
 nf vt nf vt vi nf

yor **ne** , **fati** **amo** **kaneno** ,
 yori na+M , fati amo ka- na -hino ,
 have sex with AUX 3SG.POSS.wife sleep COMIT AUX IP.N+M
 vt aux nf vi aux

fati **kote** **takorenoho** , **fati** **kote**
 fati kote takora -hino -ho , fati kote
 3SG.POSS.wife piece be in hammock with IP.N+M DUP 3SG.POSS.wife piece
 nf pn vt nf pn

takorematamonaka
 takora -himata -mona -ka
 be in hammock with FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'He was sleepy. He lay there and had sex with his wife. He slept with his wife. He didn't know it, but he was in the hammock with his headless wife.'

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12 *Me me abe me abe kakako*
 me me abe me abe ka- kaako
 3PL 3PL.POSS RECIP 3PL.POSS RECIP DUP be angry with
 pron pron pn pron pn vt

toamatemetemoneke

to- ha -mata -hemete -mone -ke
 CH AUX short time FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'They had formerly been fighting among themselves.'

13 *Me abe kakoa me me abe momowa*
 me abe kaako+F me me abe mo- mowa
 3PL.POSS RECIP be angry with 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS RECIP DUP fight
 pron pn vt pron pron pn vt

nawa toemetemoneni

na -waha to- ha -hemete -mone -ni
 AUX change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 aux aux

'They broke off relations with each other and began to fight each other.'

14 *Faya me , tatama toemetemone me , fawa*
 faya me , ta- tama to- ha -hemete -mone me , fawa
 so 3PL.S DUP be many CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S disappear
 conj pron vi aux pron vi

kine

ka- na -ne
 COMIT AUX CONT+F
 aux

'They used to be many, but they disappeared.'

15 *Me tokimetemone amake ahi*
 me to- ka.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi
 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then
 pron vi vc dem

'They went into the forest.'

16 *Afa mera , bato yafi me me wasihemetemoneke*
 afa mera , bato yafi me me wasi -hemete -mone -ke
 this+F 3PL.O Banawá 3PL.O 3PL.S find FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 dem pron npropm pron pron vt

'They are the ones who the Banawás found.'

17 *Bato yafi me tama me awineke*
 bato yafi me tama+F me awine -ke
 Banawá 3PL.S be many 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
 npropm pron vi pron sec

'There are many Banawás.'

18 *Faya me abe , mowa naba me abe ati yana*
 faya me abe , mowa naba me abe ati yana
 so 3PL.POSS RECIP fight AUX FUT+F 3PL.POSS RECIP voice start
 conj pron pn vt aux pron pn pn vi

kana me , me abe momowa toemetemone
 ka- na+F me , me abe mo- mowa to- ha -hemete -mone
 COMIT AUX 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS RECIP DUP fight CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 aux pron pron pn vt aux

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'They were going to fight each other. They argued, and fought each other.'

19	Me	abe	wati		kana		me	abe	mowa	na
	me	abe	wati		ka- na+F	me	abe	mowa	na+F	
	3PL.POSS	RECIP	plan against		COMIT AUX	3PL.POSS	RECIP	fight	AUX	
	pron	pn	vt		aux	pron	pn	vt	aux	
	me	wati	me	were	na	iha	ya	wati	me	were
	me	wati	me	were	na+F	iha	ya	wati	me	were
	3PL.POSS	arrow	3PL.S	coat	AUX	plant sp	ADJU	arrow	3PL.S	coat
	pron	nm	pron	vt	aux	nm	prt	nm	pron	vt
	na	me	wati	me	were	ni	ya	wati	me	abe
	na+F	me	wati	me	were	na.NOM+F	ya	wati	me	abe
	AUX	3PL.S	arrow	3PL.S	coat	AUX	ADJU	arrow	3PL.POSS	RECIP
	aux	pron	nm	pron	vt	aux	prt	nm	pron	pn
	mowa	me	abe	mowa	na	toemetemoneni				
	mowa.LIST	me	abe	mowa	na	to-	ha	-hemete	-mone	-ni
	fight	3PL.POSS	RECIP	fight	AUX	CH	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	BKG+F
	vt	pron	pn	vt	aux	aux				

'They planned against each other. They fought each other. They coated arrows with iha poison. They coated arrows, and fought each other.'

20	Faya	me	abe	mowa	na	me	abe	nahabi	natiha
	faya	me	abe	mowa	na+F	me	abe	na- ahaba	nahatI+F
	so	3PL.POSS	RECIP	fight	AUX	3PL.POSS	RECIP	CAUS die	daytime
	conj	pron	pn	vt	aux	pron	pn	vt	prt
	me	abe	tisa		na	me	me	abe	
	me	abe	tisa		na+F	me	me	abe	
	3PL.POSS	RECIP	shoot with arrow		AUX	3PL.POSS	3PL.POSS	RECIP	
	pron	pn	vt		aux	pron	pron	pn	
	tisa		ni	ya	Okoto	sawimaro		ya	
	tisa		na.NOM+F	ya	okoto	sawi.NOM	-maro	ya	
	shoot with arrow		AUX	ADJU	my daughter	be present	FP.E+F	ADJU	
	vt		aux	prt	nf	vi		prt	

'They fought each other. They killed each other all day long. They shot each other with arrows. "When my daughter was alive long ago..."

21	Inamati	haha	taiti		me	tohamakeha	me	kobo
	inamati	haaha	tai	-tee.NOM	me	to- ha -makI+F	me	kobo
	someone	this+F	be ahead	HAB	3PL.S	CH be following	3PL.S	arrive
	nm	dem	vi		pron	vc	pron	vi
	namakia	E	awara	awineni				
	na -makI+F	ee	awa -ra+F	awine -ni				
	AUX following	1IN.S	see NEG	seem+F BKG+F				
	aux	pron	vt	sec				

'The first group arrived. "I don't know..."

22	Hasi	na	awineni
	hasi	na+F	awine -ni
	escape	AUX	seem+F BKG+F
	vi	aux	sec

"I guess she escaped."

23	Me	kana	ni	tokarani
	me	kana	na.NFIN	to- ka -hara -ni
	3PL.S	run	AUX	away go/come IP.E+F BKG+F
	pron	vi	aux	vi

"They went running away."

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24 *Faya me* , *faya bite* *fotomaketemone*
 faya me , faya bite foto -makI -hemete -mone
 so 3PL so 3SG.POSS.daughter appear following FP.N+F REP+F
 conj pron conj nf vi

fahi .
 fahi
 then
 dem

'Then his daughter appeared.'

25 *Bite* *fotomake* , *Aa* *okoto*
 bite foto -makI aa okoto
 3SG.POSS.daughter appear following (pause) my daughter
 nf vi interj nf

kamakikeni *haro* .
 ka -makI -ke -ni haaro
 go/come following DECL+F IP.N+F that one+F
 vi dem

'His daughter appeared. "There comes my daughter."'

26 *Hasi tini* ?
 hasi ti- na -ni
 escape 2SG.S AUX BKG+F
 vi aux

""Did you escape?""

27 *Hasi onara* *oni* .
 hasi o- na -hara o- ni
 escape 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 vi aux prt

""I escaped.""

28 *Abi abi oko* *yibote me* *nabiarani* .
 abi abi o- ka yibote me na- ahaba -hara -ni
 father father 1SG.POSS POSS husband 3PL.S CAUS die IP.E+F BKG+F
 nm nm prt nm pron vt

""Father, they killed my husband.""

29 *Ooo* .
 ooo
 oh no
 interj

""Oh no.""

30 *Oko* *yibote me* , *nabia* *oko* *kana*
 o- ka yibote me , na- ahaba+F o- ka kana
 1SG.POSS POSS husband 3PL.S CAUS die 1SG.POSS POSS run
 prt nm pron vt prt vi

ni tokomake *okomakine* *oni*
 na.NFIN to- ka -makI o- ka -makI -ne o- ni
 AUX away go/come following 1SG.S go/come following CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F
 aux vi vi prt

, *ati nemetemoneke* .
 ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt aux

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"They killed my husband, and I went running after them. I have come here," she said.'

31 *Ati ni ya , Oka koma , oko*
 ati na.NOM+F ya , o- ka koma , o- ka
 say AUX ADJU 1SG.POSS POSS son-in-law 1SG.POSS POSS
 vt aux prt prt nm prt
koma me nahabia me awineke
 koma me na- ahaba+F me awine -ke
 son-in-law 3PL.S CAUS die 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
 nm pron vt pron sec

"I guess they killed my son-in-law."

32 *Oka koma , okoto itimari*
 o- ka koma , okoto iti -himari
 1SG.POSS POSS son-in-law my daughter marry FP.E+M
 prt nm nf vt

"My son-in-law married my daughter."

33 *Faya me , ati yana tonebano , Me*
 faya me , ati yana to- na -hiba -no , me
 so 3PL.POSS voice start CH AUX FUT+M IP.N+M 3PL.S
 conj pron pn vi aux pron

watamararani
 wata -ma -ra -hara -ni
 exist back NEG IP.E+F BKG+F
 vi

"Then they spoke. "They aren't anymore."

34 *Me nafi me nafi ahabarani*
 me nafi me nafi ahaba -hara -ni
 3PL.POSS all 3PL.POSS all die IP.E+F BKG+F
 pron pn pron pn vi

"They all died."

35 *Haha me , kana ni tokabisa me*
 haaha me , kana na.NFIN to- ka -bisa+F me
 this+F 3PL.S run AUX away go/come also 3PL.S
 dem pron vi aux vi pron

tofotomakia me yoro tokanamakia me
 to- foto -makI+F me yoro to- ka- na -makI+F me
 away appear following 3PL.S stand away COMMIT AUX following 3PL.S
 vi pron vi aux pron

Te te karawatorani te awineni ?
 tee tee karawato -ra -hani tee awine -ni
 2PL.O 2PL.S wait for NEG IP.N+F 2PL.S seem+F BKG+F
 pron pron vt pron sec

"They went into the forest and came out at another place, and stayed there. "Weren't you prepared?"

36 *Ee , ota ota karawatoha otake*
 ee , otaa otaa karawato+F otaa -ke
 yes 1EX.O 1EX.S wait for 1EX.S DECL+F
 interj pron pron vt pron

"Yes, we were prepared."

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37 *Aa* , *ha owa* , *ha owara* .
 aa , haa owa , haa owa -ra .
 (pause) DEM 1SG DEM 1SG NPQ
 interj dem pron dem pron

"Me."

38 *Owa te nabibeya* .
 owa tee na- ahaba -be -ya .
 1SG.O 2PL.S CAUS die IMMED+F now
 pron pron vt

"Go ahead and kill me."

39 *Me yetene tohaha me tamaha me wati me* ,
 me yetene to- ha+F me tama+F me , wati me ,
 young men CH be 3PL.S be many 3PL.S arrow 3PL.S
 nf vc pron vi pron nm pron

tiwari kawahemetemone
 tiwa -ri ka- na -waha -hemete -mone .
 carry DISTR COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F
 vt aux

'Many young men carried bows and arrows.'

40 *Wati me tiwari kawa me me* ,
 wati me tiwa -ri ka- na -waha+F me me ,
 arrow 3PL.S carry DISTR COMIT AUX change 3PL.S 3PL.S
 nm pron vt aux pron pron

tokomaketemoneke
 to- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke .
 away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'They went there carrying bows and arrows.'

41 *Me tokomake me me tokomake*
 me to- ka -makI me , me to- ka -makI
 3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.S 3PL.S away go/come following
 pron vi pron vi

me ati saihemetemoneke ahi .
 me me ati sai -hemete -mone -ke ahi .
 3PL.S 3PL.POSS voice be heard FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 pron pron pn vi dem

'They went. Their voices could be heard.'

42 *Tamabote memetemoneni* .
 tama -bote me -mete -mone -ni .
 be many very 3PL FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 adj pron

'They were many.'

43 *Inamati kamaki* .
 inamati ka -makI+M .
 someone go/come following
 nm vi

"Someone is coming."

MANY BATTLES

44 *Inamati kamaki*

inamati ka -makI+M
 someone go/come following
 nm vi

"Someone is coming."

45 *Inamati kamaki*

inamati ka -makI+M me ati nemetemoneke ahi
 someone go/come following 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 nm vi pron vt aux dem

"Someone is coming," they said.'

46 *Yama soki ya yama me momowa toaremetemone*

yama soki.NOM ya yama me momowa to- ha -ra -hemete -mone
 thing be dark ADJU thing 3PL.S DUP fight CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F
 nf vi prt nf pron vt aux

'They didn't fight at night.'

47 *Yama wa toni ya , yama wa toni ya*

yama waha to- na.NOM+F ya , yama waha to- na.NOM+F ya
 thing shine CH AUX ADJU thing shine CH AUX ADJU
 nf vi aux prt nf vi aux prt

yama me momowa toemetemoneke , hine me
 yama me mo- mowa to- ha -hemete -mone -ke , hine me
 thing 3PL.S DUP fight CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3.REFL 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux pron pron

kakatombone karo
 ka- katoma.NOM+F -bone karo
 COMIT look at INT+F to
 vt prt

'They fought during the day, so they could watch out.'

48 *Tokomake hibati , ene kiya*

to- ka -makI hibati , ehene kiya
 away go/come following right away victim of+M yell
 vi nf pn vi

kanematamonaka sa hikanari ahi
 ka- na -himata -mona -ka saa hi- ka- na -haari ahi
 COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M shoot with arrow OC COMIT AUX IP.E+M then
 aux vt aux dem

'He went there. Right away someone cried out because he had shot him with an arrow.'

49 *Me me tisa hina me*
 me me tisa hi- na+F me
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX 3PL.O
 pron pron vt aux pron

tiii wati me kayabemetemone
 tiii wati me ka- yaba -hemete -mone
 (sound of many people running) arrow 3PL.S COMIT take out FP.N+F REP+F
 sound nm pron vt

me one me one hasi na mati ahi , fara me
 me one me one hasi na+F mati ahi , fara me
 3PL other+F 3PL other+F escape AUX 3PL.S then same+F 3PL.POSS
 pron adj pron adj vi aux pron dem dem pron

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tabori karo ahi
 tabori karo ahi
 place+F which then
 pn prt dem

'They shot them with arrows. Tiii, the people of the village were running. The ones who survived pulled out arrows.'

50 **Me winakanikima ni ka me me tisa**
 me wina -kanikima na.NOM+F ka me me tisa
 3PL.S live scattered AUX because 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow
 pron vi aux prt pron pron vt

hibisemetemoneke ahi
 hi- na -bisa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
 OC AUX also FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux dem

'They also shot the ones who lived in other houses nearby.'

51 **Me me tisa hina me me ahaba me**
 me me tisa hi- na+F me me ahaba+F me
 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S die 3PL.S
 pron pron vt aux pron pron vi pron

me abemetemoneke
 me ahaba -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They shot them with arrows, and they died.'

52 **Me ahaba me me ahabi fawa ni ya**
 me ahaba+F me me ahaba.NFIN fawa na.NOM+F ya
 3PL.S die 3PL.S 3PL.S die disappear AUX ADJU
 pron vi pron pron vi vi aux prt

me me iso hina me me me ta
 me me iso hi- na+F me me me taa
 3PL.O 3PL.S carry off OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL 3PL.S be piled up
 pron pron vt aux pron pron pron vi

torewama me me fanawi me fanawi nafi
 to- na -rI -waha -ma+F me me fanawi me fanawi nafi
 CH AUX raised surface change back 3PL.S women women all
 aux pron nf

ahaba me fanawi atona toaha me ya me ka
 ahaba+F me fanawi atona to- ha+F me ya me ka
 die women maiden CH be 3PL ADJU 3PL POSS
 vi nf nf vc pron prt pron prt

yama noko me se hina me abowi so
 yama noko me see hi- na+F me abowi soo
 vagina 3PL.S open OC AUX 3PL.POSS dead body lie
 nm pron vt aux pron pn vi

tosa me ka yama noko me se na me ati
 to- na -kosa+F me ka yama noko me see na+F me ati
 CH AUX middle 3PL POSS vagina 3PL.S open AUX 3PL.POSS voice
 aux pron prt nm pron vt aux pron pn

yana tonematamona
 yana to- na -himata -mona
 start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi aux

'They died. When they had all died, they carried them off. They were in a pile. All the women died. They uncovered the vaginas of the women and the girls. They uncovered their vaginas as they lay on the ground

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dead. They spoke.'

53 *Abi* , *abi* .
 abi , abi
 father father
 nm nm

"Father, Father."

54 *Haa* ?
 haa
 huh?
 interj

"Huh?"

55 *Abi* *yama noko* *howeteno* *tiwa* .
 abi yama noko howe -tee -no ti- awa
 father vagina large HAB IP.N+M 2SG.S see
 nm nm adj vt

"Father, look at the big vaginas."

56 *Oko* *yama nokona* *sa* *tikanani*
 o- ka yama noko -na saa ti- ka- na -hani
 1SG.POSS POSS vagina IRR+M shoot with arrow 2SG.S COMIT AUX IP.N+F
 prt nm vt aux

tike
 ti- ke
 2SG.S DECL+F
 prt

"You shot my vagina with an arrow."

57 *Bobi* *tisaho* .
 bobi ti- na -kosa -ho
 slit 2SG.S AUX middle DUP
 vt aux

"Cut it out."

58 *Bobi* *tisaho* .
 bobi ti- na -kosa -ho
 slit 2SG.S AUX middle DUP
 vt aux

"Cut it out."

59 *Tinawanabaya* , *te* *famibana* .
 ti- na- wana -ba -ya tee fama+F -bana
 2SG.S CAUS be attached IMMED+M now 2PL.S be two FUT
 vt pron vi

"Put it on [your penis], so you can be with her."

60 *Yama* *hine* *ahabake* .
 yama hine ahaba -ke
 thing only end DECL+F
 nf pron vi

"Let it rot."

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61 *Yama hine abi na* .
 yama hine ahaba.NOM+F na
 thing only end AUX
 nf pron vi aux

"Let it rot."

62 *Me , faya me yana na me tokoma me* ,
 me faya me yana na+F me to- ka -ma+F me
 3PL so 3PL.S start AUX 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S
 pron conj pron vi aux pron vi pron

haha me onebisa , me tokomake me
 haaha me one -bisa , me to- ka -makI me
 this+F 3PL other+F also 3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.S
 dem pron adj pron vi pron

yoro tokowamake me , Hine me
 yoro to- ka- na -waha -makI me hine me
 be together away COMIT AUX change following 3PL.S only 3PL.S
 vi aux aux pron pron pron

kakasi raba ra me ama .
 ka- kasi na -raba ra -ra+F me ama
 DUP be naughty AUX a bit AUX NEG 3PL.S SEC
 vi aux aux pron sec

'Some of them started out and went to another village. They all got together. "They are really something."

63 *Me bokato abarake* .
 me bokato ahaba -hara -ke
 3PL fair amount die IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron adj vi

"Some of them died."

64 *Me , nafi abararani* .
 me nafi ahaba -ra -hara -ni
 3PL.POSS all die NEG IP.E+F BKG+F
 pron pn vi

"They didn't all die."

65 *Me isi ni , ota me sa*
 me isi ni , otaa me saa
 3PL.POSS little bit 1EX.S 3PL.O shoot with arrow
 pron pn pron pron vt

nibanarani hiba .
 na+F -bana -hara -ni hiba
 AUX FUT IP.E+F BKG+F wait
 aux interj

"We will shoot the ones that are left with arrows."

66 *Me ota sa narani* .
 me otaa saa na -hara -ni
 3PL.O 1EX.S shoot with arrow AUX IP.E+F BKG+F
 pron pron vt aux

"We shot them with arrows."

67 *Faya me tokomakewatasametemoneke* .
 faya me to- ka -makI -waha -tasa -mete -mone -ke
 so 3PL.S away go/come following change again FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj pron vi

'Then they went there again.'

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68 *Me tokomakewatasa me kama*
 me to- ka -makI -waha -tasa+F me , ka -ma+F
 3PL.S away go/come following change again 3PL.S go/come back
 pron vi pron vi

me amo nama me yana tonamina me
 me amo na -ma+F me yana to- na -mina+F me
 3PL.S sleep AUX back 3PL.S start CH AUX morning 3PL.S
 pron vi aux pron vi aux pron

tokomakeminatasa , faya me abe mowa
 to- ka -makI -mina -tasa+F , faya me abe mowa
 away go/come following morning again so 3PL.POSS RECIP fight
 vi conj pron pn vt

tasa , me isi ni ahabatasa faro
 na -tasa+F , me isi ni ahaba -tasa+F faaro
 AUX again 3PL.POSS little bit die again that+F
 aux pron pn vi dem

'They went there again. They came back, and slept. They left in the morning and went there again. They fought again, and some of them died.'

69 *Me tamimakoni ahi me abe momowa*
 me tama -makoni ahi me abe mo- mowa
 3PL.S be many for this reason+F then 3PL.POSS RECIP DUP fight
 pron vi dem pron pn vt

toemetemoneke
 to- ha -hemete -mone -ke
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 aux

'They fought many times, because there were many of them.'

70 *Faya me abe tisa na me , me*
 faya me abe tisa na+F me , me
 so 3PL.POSS RECIP shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS
 conj pron pn vt aux pron pron

beri ahaba
 beheri ahaba.LIST
 side die
 pn vi

'They shot each other with arrows. Half of them died.'

71 *Aa , te ati watarima nahi*
 aa , tee ati wata -rima na -hi
 (pause) 2PL.POSS voice exist NEG.IMP+F AUX IMP+F
 interj pron pn vi aux

'Be quiet.'

72 *Faya me ati yana tona , fara me me*
 faya me ati yana to- na+F , fara me me
 so 3PL.POSS voice start CH AUX same+F 3PL.O 3PL.S
 conj pron pn vi aux dem pron pron

wati hikana me , me me mowa hitasa
 wati hi- ka- na+F me , me me mowa hi- na -tasa+F
 plan against OC COMIT AUX 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S fight OC AUX again
 vt aux pron pron pron vt aux

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me , **me** **me** **mowa** **hitasemetemoneke**
 me me me mowa hi- na -tasa -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S fight OC AUX again FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pron pron vt aux

'They wanted to fight against the same group again. They fought them again.'

73 **Me** **me** **mowa** **hina** **me** **me** **hinahabihatasa**
 me me mowa hi- na+F me me hi- na- ahaba -tasa+F
 3PL.O 3PL.S fight OC AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S OC CAUS die again
 pron pron vt aux pron pron vt

me , **me** **me** **tisa** **hitasa** **me** , **me**
 me me me tisa hi- na -tasa+F me me
 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX again 3PL.O 3PL
 pron pron pron vt aux pron pron

one **hasi** **nemetemoneke** **haro**
 one hasi na -hemete -mone -ke haaro
 some+F escape AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that one+F
 adj vi aux dem

'They fought them again. They killed them again. They shot them with arrows again. Some of them escaped.'

74 **Me** **one** **hasi** **na** **me** , **me** **ka** **wati** **abe**
 me one hasi na+F me me ka wati ahaba.NOM+M
 3PL some+F escape AUX 3PL.S 3PL POSS arrow end
 pron adj vi aux pron pron prt nm vi

ka **me** **one** **hasi** **nemetemone**
 ka me one hasi na -hemete -mone
 because 3PL some+F escape AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 prt pron adj vi aux

'They escaped. They escaped because their arrows were all gone.'

75 **Me** **one** **hasi** **na** **me** **me** , **me** **tokomaki**
 me one hasi na+F me me me to- ka -makI.NOM
 3PL some+F escape AUX 3PL.S 3PL 3PL.S away go/come following
 pron adj vi aux pron pron pron vi

ya , **Hima**
 ya hima
 ADJU let's go
 prt interj

'Some of them escaped. When they went there, "Let's go."'

76 **Me** **hasihasi** **raba** **ri** **wati** **abe** **rama**
 me hasi- hasi na -raba na -ra.NOM+F wati ahaba+M rama
 3PL.S DUP escape AUX a bit AUX NEG arrow end unusual
 pron vi aux aux aux nm vi prt

'Some of them got away, because the arrows are all gone.'

77 **Me** **kana** **ni** **toka** **me** , **me** **kana** **ni**
 me kana na.NFIN to- ka+F me me kana na.NFIN
 3PL.S run AUX away go/come 3PL.POSS 3PL.S run AUX
 pron vi aux vi pron pron vi aux

toka **me** **me** **fito** **hikanamakia** , **wati**
 to- ka+F me me fito hi- to- ka- na -makI+F wati
 away go/come 3PL.O 3PL.S rush OC away COMMIT AUX following arrow
 vi pron pron vi aux nm

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owa ya wati ohari ya me sa
owa ya wati ohari+M ya me saa
other+M ADJU arrow be one ADJU 3PL shoot with arrow
adj prt nm vi prt pron vt

hikanamaki , **wati me tisa**
hi- to- ka- na -makI+M wati me tisa
OC away COMIT AUX following arrow 3PL.S shoot with arrow
aux nm pron vt

nemetemone
na -hemete -mone
AUX FP.N+F REP+F
aux

'They went running away. They ran after them. He hit him with one arrow. They shot arrows.'

78 **Yawabonemakoni** **ati saimatamonane**
yawa -bone -makoni ati sai -himata -mona -ne
enemies INT+F for this reason+F voice be heard FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
nf pn vi

'He said he would be fierce.'

79 **Wati taroro nematamonaka ahi me tisa**
wati taro -ro na -himata -mona -ka ahi me tisa
arrow hit DUP AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then 3PL.S shoot with arrow
nm vt aux dem pron vt

hinahari
hi- na -haari
OC AUX IP.E+M
aux

'He hit away the arrows as they shot them.'

80 **Faya wati taroro ne abarematamona fari**
faya wati taro -ro na+M ahaba -ra -himata -mona faari
so arrow hit DUP AUX die NEG FP.N+M REP+M that one+M
conj nm vt aux vi dem

'He hit away the arrows, and didn't die.'

81 **Hasi nematamonaka**
hasi na -himata -mona -ka
escape AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi aux

'He didn't die.'

82 **Faya me yana na me kama me me**
faya me yana na+F me ka -ma+F me me
so 3PL.S start AUX 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S
conj pron vi aux pron vi pron pron

kama me me kamemetemoneke
ka -ma+F me me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke
go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vi pron pron vi

'They started out, and they came home.'

83 **Me kama me me kobo namatasi ya**
me ka -ma+F me me kobo na -ma -tasa.NOM+F ya
3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive AUX back again ADJU
pron vi pron pron vi aux prt

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Fa **mera** ?
 faa me -ra
 that 3PL.S NPQ
 dem pron

"They came home. They arrived back. "Well, what about them?"

84 **Me** **abini** ?
 me ahaba -ni
 3PL.S die BKG+F
 pron vi

"Did they die?"

85 **Me** **abi**
 me ahaba.NOM+F
 3PL.S die
 pron vi

"They didn't all die."

86 **Me** **hasi** **narake**
 me hasi na -hara -ke
 3PL.S escape AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

"They escaped."

87 **Me** **hasi** **narake**
 me hasi na -hara -ke
 3PL.S escape AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

"They escaped."

88 **Me** , **faya** **me** **me** , **Me** **me** **hasi** **riyahi**
 me faya me me , me me hasi na -ra -yahi
 3PL so 3PL 3PL 3PL 3PL.S escape AUX NEG DIST.IMP+F
 pron conj pron pron pron pron vi aux

"May they not survive."

89 **Me** **ahabibeya** **me** **nafi**
 me ahaba -be -ya me nafi
 3PL.S die IMMED+F now 3PL.POSS all
 pron vi pron pn

"May they die, all of them."

90 **Faya** **me** , **me** **me** **hinakamakiemetemone**
 faya me , me me hi- to- na- ka -makI -hemete -mone
 so 3PL 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following FP.N+F REP+F
 conj pron pron pron vt

fahi **me** **tasa**
 fahi me tasa
 then 3PL again
 dem pron prt

'So they went after them again.'

91 **Me** **me** **hinakamakia** **me** **me** ,
 me me hi- to- na- ka -makI+F me me
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come following 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron pron vt pron pron

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wati **hikana** **me** **me** **tisa**
wati hi- ka- na+F me me tisa
plan against OC COMIT AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow
vt aux pron pron vt

hitasemetemoneke

hi- na -tasa -hemete -mone -ke
OC AUX again FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux

'They went after them. They wanted to kill them, and they shot them with arrows.'

92 **Faya** **me** **me** **wati** **hiwatasa** **me** **me**
faya me me wati hi- na -waha -tasa+F me me
so 3PL.O 3PL.S plan against OC AUX change again 3PL.O 3PL.S
conj pron pron vt aux pron pron

tisa **hitasa** **me** , **me** **abe** **mowa**
tisa hi- na -tasa+F me me abe mowa
shoot with arrow OC AUX again 3PL.O 3PL.POSS RECIP fight
vt aux pron pron pn vt

nemetemoneke

fahi
na -hemete -mone -ke fahi
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
aux dem

'They wanted to kill them, and they shot them with arrows. They fought each other.'

93 **Faya** **me** **abe** **mowa** **na** **me** **me** **abe**
faya me abe mowa na+F me me abe
so 3PL.POSS RECIP fight AUX 3PL.POSS 3PL.POSS RECIP
conj pron pn vt aux pron pron pn

tisa **na** **me** , **me** **me** **yobi**
tisa na+F me me me yobi
shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.POSS 3PL.O 3PL.S go back and forth
vt aux pron pron pron vi

hikanemetemoneke

hi- ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
aux

'They fought each other, and shot each other with arrows. They kept going to them.'

94 **Faya** **me** , **ahabemetemoneke** **fahi**
faya me ahaba -hemete -mone -ke fahi
so 3PL.S die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
conj pron vi dem

'Finally they died.'

95 **Me** **aba** , **Hima** , **me** **one** **hasi** **ni**
me ahaba+F hima me one hasi.LIST na.NOM+F
3PL.S die let's go 3PL some+F escape AUX
pron vi interj pron adj vi aux

'They died. "Come on, some of them are still alive."'

96 **Me** **kana** **ni** **tokaha** **me** **hasi** **faro** , **me**
me kana na.NFIN to- ka+F me hasi.LIST faaro me
3PL.S run AUX away go/come 3PL.S escape that+F 3PL.POSS
pron vi aux vi pron vi dem pron

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abe yoro tokaniwateba mati
 abe yoro to- ka- niha- na -waha -tee -haba mati
 RECIP be together CH COMIT CAUS AUX change HAB FUT+F 3PL.POSS
 pn vi aux pron

"They went running away. They escaped. They will gather themselves together."

97 **Faya me me one hasi nemetemone**
 faya me me one hasi na -hemete -mone
 so 3PL 3PL some+F escape AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 conj pron pron adj vi aux

'Some of them escaped.'

98 **Me one hasi na me , faya me kama me**
 me one hasi na+F me , faya me ka -ma+F me
 3PL some+F escape AUX 3PL.S so 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S
 pron adj vi aux pron conj pron vi pron

kobo namatasi ya , haha bara mebisa me ,
 kobo na -ma -tasa.NOM+F ya , haha bara me -bisa me ,
 arrive AUX back again ADJU this+F other+F 3PL also 3PL
 vi aux prt interj adj pron pron

me abe mowa ni yotoha me , barabisa
 me abe mowa na.NFIN yoto+F me , bara -bisa
 3PL.POSS RECIP fight AUX follow 3PL.POSS other+F also
 pron pn vt aux vi pron adj

memetemoneke furo
 me -mete -mone -ke faaro
 3PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F
 pron dem

'Some of them escaped. They came back, and arrived back. The last ones were different than the other ones.'

99 **Me abe kakako raba na toaremete**
 me abe ka- kaako na -raba na to- ha -ra -hemete
 3PL.POSS RECIP DUP be angry with AUX a bit AUX CH AUX NEG FP.N+F
 pron pn vt aux aux aux

me , me abi tamatama toemetemoneke
 me me ahaba.NFIN tama- tama to- ha -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S 3PL.S die DUP be many CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron pron vi vi aux

me abe tisa ni karo
 me abe tisa na.NOM+F karo
 3PL.POSS RECIP shoot with arrow AUX because
 pron pn vt aux prt

'They hated each other. They died on many occasions, because they were shooting each other with arrows.'

100 **Me fanawi , me fanawi isisi na toemetemone**
 me fanawi , me fanawi isi -si na to- ha -hemete -mone
 women women be small DUP AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nf nf vi aux aux

'Their women were not small.'

101 **Me fanawi me fanawi isisi na toemetemone me fanawi**
 me fanawi me fanawi isi -si na to- ha -hemete -mone me fanawi
 women women be small DUP AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F women
 nf nf vi aux aux nf

MANY BATTLES

howe

howe
large
adj

'Their women were not small, they were large.'

102 *Me fanawi fofota toemetemone amake*
me fanawi fo- fota to- ha -hemete -mone ama -ke
women DUP be big CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
nf vi aux sec

'Their women were large.'

103 *Faya me kama me kobo nama me me*
faya me ka -ma+F me kobo na -ma+F me me
so 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive AUX back 3PL.S 3PL.POSS
conj pron vi pron vi aux pron pron
abe mowa na me me tokomake me me
abe mowa na+F me me to- ka -makI me me
RECIP fight AUX 3PL.POSS 3PL.S away go/come following 3PL.O 3PL.S
pn vt aux pron pron vi pron pron

tisa hitasemetemoneke ahi
tisa hi- na -tasa -hemete -mone -ke ahi
shoot with arrow OC AUX again FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
vt aux dem

'They came back, and arrived back. They fought each other. They went there, and they shot them with arrows again.'

104 *Me me tisa hitasa me one hasi*
me me tisa hi- na -tasa+F me one hasi
3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow OC AUX again 3PL some+F escape
pron pron vt aux pron adj vi

nemetemoneke faro tasa
na -hemete -mone -ke faaro tasa
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F again
aux dem prt

'They shot them with arrows again. Some of them escaped again.'

105 *Me tatama toemetemone me me*
me ta- tama to- ha -hemete -mone me me
3PL.S DUP be many CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S 3PL.S
pron vi aux pron pron
tokimete ya bato yafi me me awanike
to- ka.NOM+F -mete ya bato yafi me me awa -hani -ke
away go/come FP.N+F ADJU Banawá 3PL.O 3PL.S see IP.N+F DECL+F
vi prt npropm pron pron vt

'There were many people. When they left, the Banawás saw them.'

106 *Faya me me ahabi wawato toaremetemone*
faya me me ahaba.NFIN wa- wato to- ha -ra -hemete -mone
so 3PL 3PL.S die DUP know CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F
conj pron pron vi vt aux

'They didn't die.'

107 *Me abarene fara hine me abe momowa*
me ababa -ra -hene fara hine me abe momowa
3PL.S die NEG IRR+F same+F 3.REFL 3PL.POSS RECIP DUP fight
pron vi dem pron pron pn vt

MANY BATTLES

113 *Afa me kotemete , me kotemete ota*
 afa me kote -mete , me kote -mete otaa
 this+F 3PL.POSS piece FP.N+F 3PL.POSS piece FP.N+F 1EX.S
 dem pron pn pron pn pron

amake

ama -ke
 be DECL+F
 vc

'We are their descendents.'

114 *Wete tinakihi*
 wete ti- na -kI -hi
 return 2SG.S AUX coming IMP+F
 vi aux

'Turn your head this way.'

115 *Me ka ayo me abe , mowa ni*
 me ka ayo me abe , mowa ni
 3PL POSS older brother 3PL.POSS RECIP fight na.NFIN
 pron prt nm pron pn vt aux

tamaremetemoneke

tama -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 be many NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi

'Their older brothers didn't fight much.'

116 *Me abi tamaremetemone fahi*
 me ahaba.NFIN tama -ra -hemete -mone fahi
 3PL.S die be many NEG FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron vi vi dem

'Not many of them died.'

117 *Faya me abe sa tosemetemone fahi*
 faya me abe saa to- na -kosa -hemete -mone fahi
 so 3PL.POSS RECIP release CH AUX middle FP.N+F REP+F then
 conj pron pn vt aux dem

'Then they stopped fighting.'

118 *Me abe sa tosa me , me faya me*
 me abe saa to- na -kosa+F me , me faya me
 3PL.POSS RECIP release CH AUX middle 3PL.POSS 3PL so 3PL.S
 pron pn vt aux pron pron conj pron

wiwinawa

tohemetemone

wi- wina -waha to- ha -hemete -mone
 DUP live change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 vi aux

'They stopped fighting, and lived together.'

119 *Faya abemetemoneke fahi*
 faya ahaba -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 so end FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 conj vi dem

'Then the fighting stopped.'

MANY BATTLES

me *afi* *na* *me* *me* *fawa* *kimetemone*
 me afi na+F me me fawa ka.NOM+F- na -mete -mone
 3PL.S bathe in AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vt aux pron pron vi aux

amake *ahi* , *fa* *me* *aafi* *toha* *mati* .
 ama -ke ahi faha me a- afi to- ha+F mati
 be DECL+F then water 3PL.S DUP bathe in CH AUX 3PL.S
 vc dem nf pron vt aux pron

'They planted gardens. When they were in the stream, they disappeared.'

125 *Faya* *me* *tabori* *ya* *me* *wiwinama*
 faya me tabori ya me wi- wina -ma
 so 3PL.POSS place+F ADJU 3PL.S DUP live back
 conj pron pn prt pron vi

tohemetemone
 to- ha -hemete -mone
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 aux

'The others came and lived in their village.'

126 *Me* *tafe* *me* *kakaba* *toimetemone* *amake*
 me tafe me ka- kaba to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke
 3PL.POSS crops+F 3PL.S DUP eat CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F
 pron pn pron vt aux vc

ahi *biha* , *bia* *me* *kabarawa* *mati* .
 ahi biha biha me kaba -rawa+F mati
 then yam yam 3PL.S eat F.PL 3PL.S
 dem nf nf pron vt pron

'They ate their crops. They ate yams.'

127 *Me* *kamaremetemoneke*
 me ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They didn't come back.'

128 *Me* *wina* *me* *awineke* *fa* *boti* *ya* .
 me wina+F me awine -ke faha boti ya
 3PL.S live 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F water inside ADJU
 pron vi pron sec nf pn prt

'They live in the depths of the water.'

129 *Me* *kamaremetemoneke*
 me ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi

'They didn't come back.'

130 *Me* *ka* *yibote* *me* *tokomake* ,
 me ka yibote me to- ka -makI
 3PL POSS wife 3PL.S away go/come following
 pron prt nf pron vi

kamarihi , *me* *ka* *mate* *me* *taba* *mati* .
 ka -ma -rihi me ka matehe me taba+F mati
 go/come back NEG.LIST 3PL POSS children 3PL.S be together 3PL.S
 vi pron prt nf pron vi pron

'Their wives went there, too, and they didn't come back either, along with their children.'

MANY BATTLES

131 *Me kawitineke Yiwa Me Fawa Kani karo*
 me ka- ita -ne -ke Yiwa Me Fawa Kani karo
 3PL.S COMIT sit CONT+F DECL+F (place name) LOC
 pron vi npropf prt

'They are there in the pool, at Yiwa Me Fawa Kani.'

132 *Faya me tabori ya me wiwinawa*
 faya me tabori ya me wi- wina -waha
 so 3PL.POSS place+F ADJU 3PL.S DUP live change
 conj pron pn prt pron vi

toimetemone amake me tafe me kawina
 to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke me tafe me ka- wina+F
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F 3PL.POSS food+F 3PL.S COMIT live
 aux vc pron pn pron vt

mati
 mati
 3PL.S
 pron

'They lived in their village, living by their crops.'

133 *Me wina me me tafe me*
 me wina+F me me tafe me
 3PL.S live 3PL.S 3PL.POSS crops+F 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron pn pron

totonafiyo hiemete awineke
 to- to- na- fiyo hi- to- ha -hemete awine -ke
 DUP CH CAUS be all gone OC CH AUX FP.N+F seem+F DECL+F
 vt aux sec

'They lived there, and ate all their crops.'

134 *Me wiwinawa toimetemone amake ahi*
 me wi- wina -waha to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi
 3PL.S DUP live change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F there
 pron vi aux vc dem

Yiwa Me Fawa Kani ya
 Yiwa Me Fawa Kani ya
 (place name) ADJU
 npropf prt

'They started living at Yiwa Me Fawa Kani.'

135 *Faya me tafe awa me sari na awa me*
 faya me tafe awa me sari na+F awa me
 so 3PL.POSS crops+F tree 3PL.S burn AUX garden 3PL.S
 conj pron pn nf pron vt aux nf pron

natafa me me ihi hiyaremetemone fara
 na- tafa+F me me ihi hiya -ra -hemete -mone fara
 CAUS eat 3PL.S 3PL.POSS deed+F be bad NEG FP.N+F REP+F same+F
 vt pron pron pn vi dem

mati
 mati
 3PL
 pron

'They burned their gardens, and planted their gardens, and then they did a bad thing.'

MANY BATTLES

136 *Awa me nanatafa toha me , me ihi*
 awa me na- na- tafa to- ha+F me , me ihi
 garden 3PL.S DUP CAUS eat CH AUX 3PL.S 3PL.POSS deed+F
 nf pron vt aux pron pron pn

hiyaraba mati
 hiya -ra -haba mati
 be bad NEG FUT+F 3PL.POSS
 vi pron

'They planted their gardens, and then did a bad thing.'

137 *Me fawa kiteba me , faya me fawa*
 me fawa ka- na -tee -haba me , faya me fawa
 3PL.S disappear COMIT AUX HAB FUT+F 3PL.S so 3PL.S disappear
 pron vi aux pron conj pron vi

kanemetemone me ka yibote me kamakia
 ka- na -hemete -mone , me ka yibote me ka -makI+F
 COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL POSS wife 3PL.S go/come following
 aux pron prt nf pron vi

me Me e totowamake nahi
 me , me ee to- to- awa -makI na -hi
 3PL.S 3PL.POSS 1IN.S DUP away see following AUX IMP+F
 pron pron pron vt aux

'They disappeared. Their wives came after them. "Let's go see them."'

138 *Faya mera towamakebone , bokarawa*
 faya mera to- awa -makI -habone , boka -rawa+F
 so 3PL.O away see following INT+F enter water F.PL
 conj pron vt vi

tokomakerawa E nafi
 to- ka -makI -rawa+F , ee nafi
 away go/come following F.PL 1IN.POSS all
 vi pron pn

tokomakibote nahi
 to- ka -makI -bote na -hi
 away go/come following quickly AUX IMP+F
 vi aux

'They wanted to go after them, and they went into the water. They went after them. "Let's all go after them quickly."'

139 *Nafi tokomakerawa kamarawabone*
 nafi to- ka -makI -rawa+F ka -ma -rawa -habone ,
 all away go/come following F.PL go/come back F.PL INT+F
 pn vi vi

mate me sanari hirawa , fa
 matehe me sana -ri hi- na -rawa+F , faha
 children 3PL.S carry strapped on shoulder DISTR OC AUX F.PL water
 nf pron vt aux nf

boti me hekamakirawemetemone
 boti me hi- to- ka- ka -makI -rawa -hemete -mone
 inside 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come following F.PL FP.N+F REP+F
 pn pron vt

'They all went after them. They would not come back. They were carrying the children in slings. They took them into the depths of the water.'

MANY BATTLES

140 *Fa* *boti* *ya* ?
 faha boti ya
 water inside ADJU
 nf pn prt

'Into the depths of the water?'

141 *Ee* , *fa* *boti* *ya* *matehe* *bite* , *yetene* *me*
 ee , faha boti ya matehe bite , yetene me
 yes water inside ADJU children small+F teenage boy 3PL.S
 interj nf pn prt nf adj adj

toha *mati* *me* *isisi* *na* *mati*
 to- ha+F mati me isisi -si na+F mati
 CH be 3PL.S 3PL.S be small DUP AUX 3PL.S
 vc pron pron vi aux pron

'Yes, into the depths of the water, the small children, the little boys.'

142 *Te* *nima* *me* *nemete* *me* *awineke*
 tee nima me na -hemete me awine -ke
 2PL like 3PL.S AUX FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
 pron prt pron aux pron sec

'They were like you.'

143 *Faya* *me* *me* *tabori* *ya* , *me* *tabori* *ya* *me*
 faya me me tabori ya , me tabori ya me
 so 3PL 3PL.POSS place+F ADJU 3PL.POSS place+F ADJU 3PL.S
 conj pron pron pn prt pron pn prt pron

wiwinawa *toemetemoneke*
 wi- wina -waha to- ha -hemete -mone -ke
 DUP live change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vi aux

'Then they started living in their village.'

144 *Me* *winawa* *me* , *me* , *me* *fawa* *na* *me*
 me winawa -waha me , me , me fawa na+F me
 3PL.S live change 3PL.S 3PL 3PL.S disappear AUX 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron pron vi aux pron

inamati *me* *hikaminemetemone* *inamati*
 inamati me hi- kamina -hemete -mone inamati
 spirit 3PL.O OC tell FP.N+F REP+F spirit
 nm pron vt nm

'They lived there. A spirit told about the ones who disappeared.'

145 *Inamati* *me* *hikamina* *me* , *Ee* *te* *ka* *one*
 inamati me hi- kamina+F me , ee tee ka one
 spirit 3PL.O OC tell 3PL.S (pause) 2PL POSS relative
 nm pron vt pron interj pron prt nf

me *fawa* *kanarani* , *inamati* *ati*
 me fawa ka- na -hara -ni , inamati ati
 3PL.S disappear COMMIT AUX IP.E+F BKG+F spirit say
 pron vi aux nm vt

nematamonaka
 na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux

'The spirit told about them. "Some of your relatives disappeared," the spirit said.'

MANY BATTLES

nematamonaha

na -himata -mona -ha
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 aux

"You eat their crops," the spirit said.'

154 **Me** , **me** **wiwinawa** **toimetemone** **amake**
 me , me wi- wina -waha to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke
 3PL 3PL.S DUP live change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F
 pron pron vi aux vc

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

'Then they lived there.'

155 **Faya** **okobiteba** **sasawiwa**
 faya o- ka abi -tee -ba sa- sawi -waha
 so 1SG.POSS POSS father HAB FUT DUP be present change
 conj nm vi

toemata

to- ha -himata
 CH AUX FP.N+M
 aux

'After that was the time of my father.'

156 **Okobi** **wawata** **toaremata** **awaka**
 o- ka abi wa- wata to- ha -ra -himata awa -ka
 1SG.POSS POSS father DUP exist CH AUX NEG FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M
 nm vi aux sec

'My father was not yet born.'

157 **Okiti** **ta** **sawi** , **ee** ,
 o- ka iti taa sawi.LIST , ee ,
 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather contrast be present (pause)
 nm prt vi interj

okobise , **okobise** **okobise** **mati** ,
 o- ka abise , o- ka abise o- ka abise mati ,
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle 1SG.POSS POSS uncle 1SG.POSS POSS uncle 3PL
 nm nm nm pron

ee , **ino** **siba** **omakone**
 ee , ino siba o- na -mako -ne
 (pause) name+M look for 1SG.S AUX for this reason+M BKG+M
 interj pn vt aux

'But my grandfather was alive, also my uncle and the others. I am trying to remember his name.'

158 **Taori** , **okobise** **ino** , **Taori** **totoa**
 Taori , o- ka abise ino , Taori to- to- ha
 (man's name) 1SG.POSS POSS uncle name+M (man's name) DUP CH be
 npropm nm pn npropm vc

toemari **amaka** **Taori** **bote** **bote**
 to- ha -himari ama -ka Taori bote bote
 CH AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+M (man's name) old old
 aux sec npropm adj adj

'Taori, my uncle's name was Taori. Taori was really old.'

MANY BATTLES

159 *Faya me* , *wiwinawa* *toimetemone* *amake*
 faya me , wi- wina -waha to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke
 so 3PL.S DUP live change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F
 conj pron vi aux vc

ahi me tabori ya , *aba me me kaba mati*
 ahi me tabori ya , aba me me kaba+F mati
 there 3PL.POSS place+F ADJU fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S
 dem pron pn prt nm pron pron vt pron

'So they lived there in their village, eating aba fish.'

160 *Faya aba me me kakawina hiemetemone*
 faya aba me me ka- ka- wina hi- to- ha -hemete -mone
 so fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP COMIT live OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 conj nm pron pron vt aux

'They lived with the aba fish.'

161 *Faya okobi me okobi meteba*
 faya o- ka abi me o- ka abi me -tee -ba ,
 so 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL HAB FUT
 conj nm pron nm pron

me yayana toimete amake ahi
 me ya- yana to- ha.NOM+F -mete ama -ke ahi
 3PL.S DUP grow CH AUX FP.N+F be DECL+F then
 pron vi aux vc dem

'Then my father and the others grew up.'

162 *Okobise okobise ee Kawi Yife*
 o- ka abise , o- ka abise , ee , Kawi Yife
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle 1SG.POSS POSS uncle (pause) (man's name)
 nm nm interj npropm

, *okobise Kawi Yife toha me ka*
 o- ka abise Kawi Yife to- ha.LIST , me ka
 1SG.POSS POSS uncle (man's name) CH be 3PL POSS
 nm npropm vc pron prt

niso me Kabiri toha okobi
 niso me , Kabiri to- ha.LIST , okobi
 younger brother 3PL (man's name) CH be 1SG.POSS POSS father
 nm pron npropm vc nm

Botehefo toha
 Botehefo to- ha.LIST
 (man's name) CH be
 npropm vc

'Also my uncle Kawi Yife, and their younger brother Kabiri, and my father Botehefo.'

163 *Hima faya amake*
 hima , faya ama -ke
 let's go enough be DECL+F
 interj adj vc

'Let's go, that's all.'