# Free Translation

Note: Yowao starts out telling about a group of men whose canoe sank, and they all died. Then he shifts to the account of a man who was killed while out hunting. Apparently the man was a member of the first group, but he did not even make it back to the canoe. All of them were hunting and roasting the meat to take back to the village for a festa. Aba Fani was the older brother of the hunter who was killed, and he was not with the group, but had stayed back at the village.

Yes, it was a long time ago. It was later that the Apurinas shot them. They went after white-lipped peccaries, to get meat for a festa. They went after peccaries. Where did they go after the peccaries? Who knows? They went after the peccaries, and killed some animals. They weaved a large basket.

"The basket should lie in the bottom [of the canoe]."

"As we go, we will be all right. The basket should be upright," they said.

"I said it would be good if they basket should lie down, but you won't accept it," he said, their brother-in-law.

"The basket is going to be upright. We have too much stuff."

It must have been a canoe of *kanawa* bark. They were getting meat for the festa. Where did they sink? They were getting meat for the festa.

"Lets go slow. Lets go slow," they said. But they rowed hard, and their basket tipped over, my aunt used to say, and the dolphins ate them. They sunk.

The others missed them. They didn't come back. They decided they were lost, and they went after them.

Their basket was floating in the water, the roasted meat. The roasted meat that they had put in the basket was floating in the water. They had put the meat in the basket in order to bring it back, but the meat was lost. They were going to have a feast. They were bringing meat back to eat it in the festa, but they sunk. What happened to them was like the bad thing that the people brought on themselves recently. No one survived. All of them died.

The ones who didn't all die that you always talk about are the Sorowahas. They drank *kona* juice.

They sank. The man didn't go into a tree. There was no tree there. Where did they sink? They were in a big bark canoe.

They fought with him, what was his name? They went and got him, the one whose younger brother was speared by the Yimas. He was Aba Fani [i.e., the older brother]. That is the name of a spirit. It was a spirit, when they were going to get the meat for the festa. The spirit had something bad happen to him when a spirit of *boyi* palm said something to him. He was roasting meat.

"Who is calling?"

"Where?"

"I heard someone calling."

"Was there someone calling?"

"Is that your path?' the person said. 'Yes,' another one said," he said.

"I called. It was me calling," the spirit of boyi palm said.

He wasn't watching out. Because the spirit of *boyi* palm said that, he was unwary.

They brought back the game.

"I called out. You heard me calling."

They brought back the animals, and they burned the hair off the animals when they got back. They burned the hair off the white-lipped peccaries. He cut up the animals. They made a roasting rack.

"Lets go home quickly."

The others were in the canoe.

Yes, he cut up the peccaries, and put the meat on top of the rack, and he roasted the meat.

He lay in his hammock, and was drowsy. He was facing the fire. There wasn't anyone else watching. People should watch out for each other.

As he roasted the meat, he was drowsy, and he grabbed the rope of the hammock above his head as he lay in the hammock. He lay in the hammock next to the fire where the meat was.

A Yima speared him. The Yima speared him as he lay sleeping in the hammock. He was almost sleeping, closing his eyes a little, as he lay in the hammock, and he speared him in his side.

"Aha, someone has speared me," he said. "Someone speared me," he said.

He got up with him. He didn't like the Yima who speared him at all. He pulled out the spear from himself. He killed the Yima. The other Yimas speared him.

He was crushing them with his arms. He put the Yima who had speared him in the fire. He put him in the fire, and there was no one to take him out of the fire. He killed him. He was weakened, and a Yima speared him. "That way is good," he said.

His two brothers-in-law went running away. They told about him back home. They went after his older brother, and he fought against the Yimas.

"They are reporting that the Yima spirits killed someone," he said.

He didn't call the others to go with him.

"The Yimas killed my younger brother," he said.

He left them behind. They wanted to go with him, but he wouldn't let them.

"They will eat me, too, after having eaten my brother."

Then he came. He left them behind. He didn't call them to go along, but they came behind. He went on ahead, alone.

He came, and came upon signs of them. He looked around for their trail. Then he found their trail. So he went after them. He wasn't quiet.

He went in to where the Yimas were. They were sleeping. He looked around for a piece of wood. He barricaded the other door of the Yimas. He stuck two poles in, and barricaded their other door. He went and stood on the other side. He yanked on one of them as he lay in the hammock sleeping, they always said about him. He turned him over backwards, breaking his back.

The Yima women were all yelling. The Yimas couldn't hurt him, they always said about him. Aba Fani killed the Yimas. He went to their place at night and fought against them. He was alone. He fought against them. He went to the Yimas place at night. The others came behind. Yes. He had left them behind, and they came. They came after him.

"Lets go look at him. I hope he doesn't kill us. He was upset when he went." They were afraid of him.

He stuck two poles in the ground. He got sleepy, and went away, and slept. Some of the Yimas were waiting for him. He came back to them early in the morning. A Yima wanted to spear him and he was aiming at him.

"Over here, come here," he said, as the Yima was aiming at him. He attacked him. The Yima wanted to spear him, but he couldn't spear him.

Then the others came. He was alone. He was courageous. He went and fought against the Yimas. His brother-in-law came behind. His brother-in-law came, and starting talking right away. "What about them?" one of them said.

"They all died. I killed them all," he said.

They looked around, at the place of the Yimas. They looked for any Yimas that might be living there. He sat on a log in the plaza, waiting for them. They looked, but couldn't find anyone. They came back. They took him home, so he could wait for the Yimas, the other Yimas. They took him home, so he could wait for the other Yimas to come.

"Lets go home. That's all the Yimas. We looked," they said.

They took him home. He had been sitting there, grieving. His brother-in-law called him to come back. Was it Aba Fani's group? It was Aba Fani. It was Aba Fani's group.

# Interlinear Presentation

| 1 | Ee .   | hibatimetemone | ke    |        |       | faro  |        |
|---|--------|----------------|-------|--------|-------|-------|--------|
|   | ee     | hibati         | -mete | -mone  | -ke   | faaro |        |
|   | yes    | long time a    | go    | FP.N+F | REP+F | DECL  | that+F |
|   | interj | nf             |       |        |       |       | dem    |

'Yes, it was a long time ago.'

| 2 | Faya | yati    | me    | me    | tao   | ni      | hiyote | oemete |         | me    |
|---|------|---------|-------|-------|-------|---------|--------|--------|---------|-------|
|   | faya | yati    | me    | me    | tao   | na.NFIN | hi-    | yoto   | -hemete | me    |
|   | so   | Apurinã | 3PL.O | 3PL.S | shoot | AUX     | OC     | follow | FP.N+F  | 3PL.O |
|   | conj | npropm  | pron  | pron  | vt    | aux     | vi     |        |         | pron  |

#### amake

ama -ke SEC DECL+F

sec

'It was later that the Apurinas shot them.'

| 3   | <i>Hiyat</i> |         |          |     | <i>me</i><br>me | <i>me</i><br>me | <i>mowa</i><br>mowa | <i>na</i><br>na+F | , | <i>hiyama</i><br>hiyama |
|-----|--------------|---------|----------|-----|-----------------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------------|---|-------------------------|
|     | _            |         |          |     |                 |                 |                     |                   |   | -                       |
|     | whit         | te-Tibb | ed pecca | ry  | 3PL.O           | 3PL.S           | fight               | AUX               |   | white-lipped peccary    |
|     | nm           |         |          |     | pron            | pron            | vt                  | aux               |   | nm                      |
| me  |              | me      | mowa     | na  | me              | ,               | yowata              |                   | n | ne                      |
| me  |              | me      | mowa     | na+ | -F me           |                 | yowata              |                   | n | ne                      |
| 3PI | L.O          | 3PL.S   | fight    | AUX | 3PL             | . S             | food for            | festa             | 3 | SPL.S                   |
| pro | on           | pron    | vt       | aux | ron pro         | ח               | nf                  |                   | p | oron                    |
| tok | abone        |         |          | ma  | ıti .           |                 |                     |                   |   |                         |
| to- | - ka         | a       | -habone  | ma  | ti              |                 |                     |                   |   |                         |
| awa | ay go        | o/come  | INT+F    | 3P  | L.S             |                 |                     |                   |   |                         |
| vi  |              |         |          | pr  | on              |                 |                     |                   |   |                         |

'They went after white-lipped peccaries, to get meat for a festa.'

| 4 | 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  |

'They went after peccaries.'

5 Hibaka vama hiyama mowa va me me hibaka yama ya hiyama me me mowa white-lipped peccary where place ADJU 3PL.O 3PL.S fight interrog nf prt pron pron rimetemoneya na -ri -mete -mone -va AUX CO+F FP.N+F REP+F now aux 'Where did they go after the peccaries?' 6 **E** awimete awa.NOM+F -mete 99 FP.N+F 1IN.S see pron vt. 'Who knows?' 7 Hiyama mowa bani me me na me hiyama me me mowa na+F bani me me white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX animal 3PL.O 3PL.S aux pron pron pron nabia baro baro kowa Baro mata me me ahaba+F kowa.LIST me baro baro me baro mata CAUS die 3PL.S basket basket 3PL.S weave basket lie vi pron nf nf pron nare bofe ya -rI bofe na ya AUX raised surface low ADJU nf prt They went after the peccaries, and killed some animals. They weaved a large basket. "The basket should lie in the bottom [of the canoe]." 8 **E** towakama e taminaba ere t.o- kaka -ma ee tamina -haba ere away COMIT go/come back 1IN.S 1IN.S be good FUT+F 1IN.S pron vi pron vi pron "As we go, we will be all right." Baro yoro nareabanake me ati baro yoro na -rI -habana -ke me ati basket stand AUX raised surface FUT+F DECL+F 3PL.S say nf vi aux pron nemetemoneni na -hemete -mone -ni AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F "The basket should be upright," they said." 10 **Baro** fore siba rabone ona forI siba baro na -ra -habone ati ona+F say 1SG.S AUX basket lie on top be all right AUX NEG INT+F nf vi vi aux vt. ati hiyarineke ati nematamona ka me ati hiya -ra -ne -ke ati -himata -mona me ka na

2PL.POSS

pron

voice

pn

vi

be bad NEG CONT+F DECL+F

say

aux

vt

AUX FP.N+M REP+M

POSS

3PL

pron prt

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waho
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wabo

brother-in-law

"I said it would be good if they basket should lie down, but you won't accept it," he said, their brother-in-

11 **Baro** voro narebana

> baro yoro na -rI -habana basket stand AUX raised surface FUT+F vi aux

"The basket is going to be upright."

12 **E** ka yama tami

tama.NOM+F ee ka yama 1IN POSS thing be many pron prt nf vi

"We have too much stuff."

13 Kanawa itia ataromata awaka marina me mati ataro -mata awa -ka marina me iti+F mati kanawa bark+M FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M feast 3PL.S begin 3PL.S sec pron pron

'It must have been a canoe of kanawa bark. They were getting meat for the festa.'

14 Hibaka kabokimete me ka yama toariya hibaka ka- boka.NOM+F -mete yama to- ha -ri me ka where 3PL.S COMIT enter water FP.N+F which place CH be CQ+F now nf interrog pron vi VC prt

'Where did they sink?'

15 Marina  $\boldsymbol{E}$ me itia me totowakama kaiti+F to- toka marina me me ee DUP away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S begin 3PL.S 1IN.S feast nf pron vt pron pron vt

raba na -raba AUX a bit AUX

'They were getting meat for the festa. "Let's go slow."

16 **E** totowakama raba na me ati to- to- kaka -ma na -raba na me ati DUP away COMIT go/come back 1IN.S AUX a bit AUX 3PL.S say pron aux aux pron vt.

nimakoni ori kita na ka ya me me na -makoni kita ya me ori na+F me ka AUX for this reason+F strength ADJU 3PL.S paddle AUX 3PL POSS aux pron vi pron prt nf prt aux

baro koke nawahemetemone

-hemete -mone baro koke nawaha lose one's balance take a long time FP.N+F REP+F basket νi

nf vi

hiyari okomise aati toamaroni vama amise hiyara.NFIN a- ati ka to- ha -hamaro -ni yama 1SG.POSS POSS aunt DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F BKG+F speak thing vi vt aux nf

| me                    | hikaba                          | boto                      | me              | hikabarawabani                     |                   |             | mati                 |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| me                    | hi- kaba+F                      | boto                      | me              | hi- kaba -ra                       | awa -haba         | -ni         | mati .               |
| 3PL.O                 | OC eat                          | dolphin                   |                 | OC eat F.                          | PL FUT+F          | IP.N+F      | 3PL.O                |
| pron                  | vt<br>1" +1:                    | nf<br>J Doct the constant | pron            | vt                                 |                   | <b>-</b>    | pron                 |
|                       | s ate them.'                    | a. But they ro            | wea nara,       | and their basket                   | nppea over, n     | ny aunt us  | ed to say, and the   |
| 17 <i>Me</i> me       | <i>kabokemet</i><br>ka- bo      | emoneke<br>oka            | -homoto         | -mone -ke                          |                   |             |                      |
| 3PL.                  |                                 | nter water                |                 | REP+F DECL+                        | F                 |             |                      |
| pror                  |                                 |                           |                 |                                    |                   |             |                      |
| 'They su              | nk.'                            |                           |                 |                                    |                   |             |                      |
| 18 <i>Me</i>          | kaboka                          | oka+F                     | me              | , me                               | tabiyo            | me          | hiwa                 |
| me<br>3PL.            |                                 | nter water                | me<br>3PL.S     | me<br>3PL.POSS                     | tabiyo<br>absence | me<br>3PL.S | hi- awa+F<br>OC feel |
| pror                  |                                 | icci wacci                | pron            | pron                               | pn                | pron        | vt                   |
| me                    | , me                            | kamareme                  | -               | -                                  | -                 |             |                      |
| me                    | me                              | ka                        |                 | a -hemete -m                       |                   |             |                      |
| 3PL.PO                |                                 | -                         | back NE         | EG FP.N+F RE                       | P+F DECL+E        | 1           |                      |
| pron<br>'They su      | pron<br><b>nk. The others</b> r | Vi<br>nissed them         | They didn't     | t come back '                      |                   |             |                      |
| They su               | iik. The others i               | mssed them.               | They didn t     | t come back.                       |                   |             |                      |
| 19 <i>Me</i>          | kamaremet                       |                           | b               |                                    |                   |             |                      |
| me<br>3PL.            | ka<br>S go/come                 | -ma -ra<br>back NEG       |                 | -mone -ni<br>REP+F BKG+F           |                   |             |                      |
| pror                  | <del>-</del> .                  | DUCK NEC                  | 11.11.1         | RELIT DROTE                        |                   |             |                      |
| -                     | dn't come back.'                |                           |                 |                                    |                   |             |                      |
| 20 <i>Me</i>          | <i>fawa</i><br>fawa             | ni                        | me              | <i>hiwasiemeteme</i><br>hi- wasi - |                   | no leo      | , me                 |
| me<br>3PL.            |                                 | na.NFI<br>r AUX           | N me<br>3PL.S   |                                    |                   | P+F DECL    | me<br>+F 3PL.O       |
| pror                  |                                 | aux                       | pron            | vt                                 | 1 1111            |             | pron                 |
| me                    | hinakamakiwal                   | bani                      |                 |                                    |                   | mati        |                      |
| me                    |                                 | a- ka                     | -makI           |                                    | haba -ni          | mati        |                      |
| 3PL.S                 | OC away C                       | AUS go/com                | ne follow       | wing change F                      | 'UT+F IP.N-       |             |                      |
| pron<br>'They de      | cided they were                 | lost, and the             | y went after    | r them.'                           |                   | pron        | ı                    |
| 21 <i>Me</i>          | ka baro                         | hofeme                    | rtemoneni       |                                    | ba                | ni n        | ıe                   |
| me                    | ka bard                         |                           |                 | -hemete -mone                      |                   |             | ie                   |
| 3PL                   | POSS bas                        |                           | water F         | FP.N+F REP+F                       |                   |             | PL.S                 |
|                       | n prt nf                        | vi                        |                 |                                    | nr                | u p         | ron                  |
| <i>kai</i><br>kaha.Ni | FIN ·                           |                           |                 |                                    |                   |             |                      |
| be toa                |                                 |                           |                 |                                    |                   |             |                      |
| vi                    |                                 |                           |                 |                                    |                   |             |                      |
| 'Their ba             | isket was floatin               | g in the wate             | r, the roast    | ed meat.'                          |                   |             |                      |
| 22 <b>Bani</b>        | _                               | kai                       | me              | te                                 | hinani            |             | me                   |
| bani                  |                                 | kaha.NFIN                 |                 | tee                                | hi- na            | -hani       | me                   |
| anir<br>nm            | mal 3PL.S<br>pron               | be toaste vi              | d 3PL.S<br>pron | S put inside<br>vt                 | OC AUX            | IP.N+F      | 3PL.S<br>pron        |
| kai                   | pron <i>me</i>                  | ∨ ⊥<br>kai                | <del>-</del>    | awitemetemoneke                    | uun               |             | Pron.                |
| kaha.Ni               | ,                               | kaha.                     |                 |                                    | mete -mone        | -ke         | •                    |
| be toa                | sted 3PI                        |                           |                 | COMIT sit FP.                      | N+F REP+E         | DECL+F      |                      |
| vi                    | pro                             | on vi                     | V               | 7i                                 |                   |             |                      |

'The roasted meat that they had put in the basket was floating in the water.'

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23 Bani
                            kakamabone
                                                             bani
            me
                    me
                                                                      me
                                                                              me
   bani
            me
                    me
                             ka-
                                   ka
                                             -ma
                                                  -habone
                                                             bani
                                                                      me
                                                                              me
   animal
            3PL.O
                    3PL.S
                            COMIT go/come back INT+F
                                                             animal
                                                                      3PL.O
                                                                              3PL.S
                             vt
            pron
                    pron
                                                             nm
                                                                      pron
                                                                              pron
                              ka
                                     bani
                                                      abemetemoneke
te
             na
                    mρ
                                              me
                                                      ahaba -hemete -mone -ke
tee
             na+F
                    me
                              ka
                                     bani
                                              me
                                                             FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
put inside
             AUX
                     3PL
                              POSS
                                     animal
                                              3PL.S
                                                      end
                    pron
                             prt
                                              pron
                                                      vi
v/t
              aux
                                     nm
hine
                                      nabone
                                                     mati
         me
                 mari
                 mari
                                                     mati
hine
         me
                                      na
                                          -habone
                 offer a feast to
                                      AUX INT+F
                                                     3PL.S
3.REFL
         3PL.S
                                                     pron
         pron
                 vt
                                      aux
```

'They had put the meat in the basket in order to bring it back, but the meat was lost. They were going to have a feast.'

24 *Bani* me mari nabone bani me me me bani me me mari na -habone bani me me 3PL.O 3PL.S feast on AUX INT+F animal 3PL.O 3PL.S aux pron pron pron pron kakamabone kabokemetemone -habone -hemete -mone -ma kaboka COMIT go/come back INT+F COMIT enter water FP.N+F

'They were bringing meat back to eat it in the festa, but they sunk.'

| 25  | Afa         | hii | ne    | me     | irabo  | kanete |     |        | me    | , | afa    | me    |
|-----|-------------|-----|-------|--------|--------|--------|-----|--------|-------|---|--------|-------|
|     | afa         | hi  | ne    | me     | irabo  | ka-    | na  | -hete  | me    |   | afa    | me    |
|     | this+F      | 3.  | REFL  | 3PL.S  | be bad | COMIT  | AUX | RP.N+F | 3PL.S |   | this+F | 3PL.S |
|     | dem         | pr  | ron   | pron   | vi     | aux    |     |        | pron  |   | dem    | pron  |
| na  | na nenemete |     |       | me     |        |        |     |        |       |   |        |       |
| na  | .LIST       | na  | -hene | -mete  | me     |        |     |        |       |   |        |       |
| AU. | X           | AUX | IRR+F | FP.N+F | 3PL.S  |        |     |        |       |   |        |       |
| au  | v           | aux |       |        | pron   |        |     |        |       |   |        |       |

'What happened to them was like the bad thing that the people brought on themselves recently.'

```
26 Me
        ka
             owa
                   hasi
                            rematamonaka
   me
        ka
             owa
                   hasi
                            na -ra -himata -mona -ka
   3PL
        of
             man
                   escape
                            AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
   pron prt nm
                   vi
                            aux
'No one survived.'
```

27 Me nafi abemetemoneni

me nafi ahaba -hemete -mone -ni

3PL.POSS all die FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F

pron pn vi

'All of them died.'

| 28 <i>Afa</i> | me       | nafi  | ahabare | mete   |         | me    | tikamin | i      |
|---------------|----------|-------|---------|--------|---------|-------|---------|--------|
| afa           | me       | nafi  | ahaba   | -re    | -hemete | me    | ti-     | kamina |
| this+F        | 3PL.POSS | all   | die     | NEG+F  | FP.N+F  | 3PL.O | 2SG.S   | tell   |
| dem           | pron     | pn    | vi      |        |         | pron  | vt      |        |
| tinofa        | ama      | ti    | sorow   | a mati |         |       |         |        |
| ti- nofa      | +F ama   | ti-   |         | mati   |         |       |         |        |
| 2SG.S rece    | ntly SEC | 2SG.S |         | 3PL    |         |       |         |        |
| prt           | sec      | prt   |         | pron   |         |       |         |        |

'The ones who didn't all die that you always talk about are the Sorowahas.'

| 29    | Kona me                     |       | fawemete  | me        | awine  | faro   |  |  |  |  |  |
|-------|-----------------------------|-------|-----------|-----------|--------|--------|--|--|--|--|--|
|       | kona                        | me    | fawa -he  | mete me   | awine  | faaro  |  |  |  |  |  |
|       | plant sp                    | 3PL.S | drink FP. | N+F 3PL.S | seem+F | that+F |  |  |  |  |  |
|       | nm                          | pron  | vt        | pron      | sec    | dem    |  |  |  |  |  |
| trol. | ITTL June Indiana indiana i |       |           |           |        |        |  |  |  |  |  |

They drank kona juice.'

| 30 | Me    | kabokemetemoneke |       |       |         |       |        |        |  |
|----|-------|------------------|-------|-------|---------|-------|--------|--------|--|
|    | me    | ka-              | boka  |       | -hemete | -mone | -ke    | faaro  |  |
|    | 3PL.S | COMIT            | enter | water | FP.N+F  | REP+F | DECL+F | that+F |  |
|    | pron  | vi               |       |       |         |       |        | dem    |  |

'They sank.'

| 31 | Me   | ka  | owa | totow | aka  |       |         | rematamona |     |         |       |  |
|----|------|-----|-----|-------|------|-------|---------|------------|-----|---------|-------|--|
|    | me   | ka  | owa | to-   | to-  | ka-   | ka      | na         | -ra | -himata | -mona |  |
|    | 3PL  | of  | man | DUP   | away | COMIT | go/come | AUX        | NEG | FP.N+M  | REP+M |  |
|    | pron | prt | nm  | vi    |      |       |         | aux        |     |         |       |  |

'The man didn't go into a tree.'

| 32 | Awa  | kiaren | iete |     | awineke |        |        |
|----|------|--------|------|-----|---------|--------|--------|
|    | awa  | yama   | kiha | -ra | -hemete | awine  | -ke    |
|    | tree | place  | have | NEG | FP.N+F  | seem+F | DECL+F |
|    | nf   | nf     | vt   |     |         | sec    |        |

'There was no tree there.'

| 33 | Hibaka   | ya   | me    | kaboken | nete  |       |         | ? |
|----|----------|------|-------|---------|-------|-------|---------|---|
|    | hibaka   | ya   | me    | ka-     | boka  |       | -hemete |   |
|    | where    | ADJU | 3PL.S | COMIT   | enter | water | FP.N+F  |   |
|    | interrog | prt  | pron  | vi      |       |       |         |   |

'Where did they sink?'

| 34 | Kanawa  | ataro  | nafihi | ya   | me    | ihemetemoneni |        |       |       |
|----|---------|--------|--------|------|-------|---------------|--------|-------|-------|
|    | kanawa  | ataro  | nafi+M | ya   | me    | iha -h        | nemete | -mone | -ni   |
|    | tree sp | bark+M | be big | ADJU | 3PL.S | be located FP | P.N+F  | REP+F | BKG+F |
|    | nm      | pn     | vi     | prt  | pron  | vi            |        |       |       |
|    |         |        |        |      |       |               |        |       |       |

'They were in a big bark canoe.'

| 35 | Faya | iteni           | me    | mowa  | hinematan | nona    |       | amaka     |    |  |
|----|------|-----------------|-------|-------|-----------|---------|-------|-----------|----|--|
|    | faya | itehani         | me    | mowa  | hi- na    | -himata | -mona | ama -ka   |    |  |
|    | so   | whatchamacallit | 3PL.S | fight | OC AUX    | FP.N+M  | REP+M | SEC DECL- | ŀΜ |  |
|    | conj | nm              | pron  | vt    | aux       |         |       | sec       |    |  |

haari

that one+M

'They fought with him, what was his name?'

| 36  | Aya    | me      | hitim | ematan | ronal | ıa   |      |        |      |         |         | ,   | ee    |      |        |
|-----|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|------|------|--------|------|---------|---------|-----|-------|------|--------|
|     | aya    | me      | hi-   | to-    | iti   |      | -ma  | -hir   | nata | -mona   | -ha     |     | ee    |      |        |
|     | this   | 3PL.S   | OC    | away   | pic   | k up | bac  | k FP.1 | 1+M  | REP+M   | DUP     |     | (paus | e)   |        |
|     | dem    | pron    | vt    |        |       |      |      |        |      |         |         |     | inter | j    |        |
| nis | ori    |         |       |        |       | yima | n    | ne     | saka | ı       |         |     | hinal | hari |        |
| ni  | sori   |         |       |        |       | yima | n    | ne     | sak  | a       |         |     | hi-   | na   | -haari |
| 3S  | G.POSS | .younge | r bro | other  |       | Yima | 3    | BPL.S  | pie  | erce re | epeated | lly | OC    | AUX  | IP.E+M |
| nm  |        |         |       |        |       | npro | pm p | oron   | vt   |         |         |     | aux   |      |        |

'They went and got him, the one whose younger brother was speared by the Yimas.'

```
fari
37 Aba Fanimatamonaka
                                                          bisa
   Aba Fani
                 -mata
                         -mona -ka
                                         faari
                                                         bisa
   (man's name) FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                         that one+M
                                                          also
   npropm
                                         dem
                                                         prt
```

'He was Aba Fani.'

fari 38 Inamatimatamona ino amaka inamati -mata ama -ka faari -mona ino name+M spirit FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+M be nm pn dem VC.

'That is the name of a spirit.'

| 39 | Inamatima | tamonaka |       |        | yowata         | me    | toka |         | mati  |  |
|----|-----------|----------|-------|--------|----------------|-------|------|---------|-------|--|
|    | inamati   | -mata    | -mona | -ka    | yowata         | me    | to-  | ka+F    | mati  |  |
|    | spirit    | FP.N+M   | REP+M | DECL+M | food for festa | 3PL.S | away | go/come | 3PL.S |  |
|    | nm        |          |       |        | nf             | pron  | vi   |         | pron  |  |

boyi hiyare ati abono ati boyi abono ati hiya -ra+M ati palm sp spirit voice be bad NEG voice vi pn pn pn

hiyokobanoho

hi- voko -hiba -no -ho OC bring misfortune on FUT+M IP.N+M DUP

'It was a spirit, when they were going to get the meat for the festa. The spirit had something bad happen to him when a spirit of boyi palm said something to him.'

| 40 | Bani   | mera  | tabasi         | nematamona       |  |  |  |  |  |
|----|--------|-------|----------------|------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
|    | bani   | mera  | tabasi         | na -himata -mona |  |  |  |  |  |
|    | animal | 3PL.O | roast on grill | AUX FP.N+M REP+M |  |  |  |  |  |
|    | nm     | pron  | vt             | aux              |  |  |  |  |  |

'He was roasting meat.'

41 Hibake hibake ha naranoho hibake hibake haa na.CONT+M -ra -no who+M who+M call AUX CQ+M IP.N+M DUP interrog interrog vi aux

"Who is calling?"

42 Hibaka ya ? hibaka ya ADJU where interrog prt "Where?"

omitara 43 Inamati ha ni inamati na.NFIN haa o- mita -hara 0call someone AUX 1SG.S hear IP.E+F 1SG.S vi nm aux vt prt

"I heard someone calling."

| 44 | $\boldsymbol{E}$ | ha   | niranohoya |      |        |     |     |  |  |
|----|------------------|------|------------|------|--------|-----|-----|--|--|
|    | ee               | haa  | na.NFIN    | -ra  | -no    | -ho | -ya |  |  |
|    | 1IN.S            | call | AUX        | CQ+M | IP.N+M | DUP | now |  |  |
|    | pron             | vi   | aux        |      |        |     |     |  |  |

"Was there someone calling?"

```
45 Afa
                      hawine
                                          ? inamati
                                                             nahare
           te
                              amani
                                                       ati
           tee
                      hawine
                              ama -ni
                                             inamati
                                                       ati
                                                            na -hare
   afa
  this+F
           2PL.POSS
                     trail
                              be BKG+F
                                             someone
                                                            AUX IP.E+M
                                                       say
           pron
                      pn
                               VC
```

""Is that your path?' the person said.""

nahare ati nematamona 46 *Ee* owa ati ati na -hare ati na -himata -mona ee owa other+M say AUX IP.E+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M yes interj adj vt aux vt aux

""Yes,' another one said," he said.'

48 *Oko* boyi ha ni ama nini ati ka na.NFIN ama.LIST na -ni boyi haa 1SG.POSS POSS AUX be AUX BKG+F call palm sp spirit say aux VC aux nm pn hiwa kakatoma kanenaha nematamona ama na -himata -mona ama hiwa ka- katoma ka- na -hina -ha

na -himata -mona ama hiwa ka- katoma ka- na -hina -ha AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC 3SG.REFL.M COMIT look at COMIT AUX IRR+M DUP aux sec pron vt aux

"It was me calling," the spirit of boyi palm said. He wasn't watching out."

49 *Bovi* abono ati hiyare ene watore abono hiya -ra+M ehene boyi ati watore voice be bad NEG spirit because of+M forget palm sp pn 77 i 77 i pn pn

nematamonahane

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

'Because the spirit of boyi palm said that, he was unwary.'

50 Ati katamowamematamonaka

ati ka- tamo -waha -ma -himata -mona -ka voice COMIT forget change back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M pn vi

'He was unwary.'

51 *Faya* kakama Ha bani me me me ka- ka haa faya bani me me -ma+F me animal 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S call pron pron conj nm vt pron

onara
o- na -hara o1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S
aux prt

"They brought back the game. "I called out.""

| 52 | Oko      |      | ha   | ni      | timitine |      |        | tini  |       | ati |
|----|----------|------|------|---------|----------|------|--------|-------|-------|-----|
|    | 0-       | ka   | haa  | na.NFIN | ti-      | mita | -ne    | ti-   | ni    | ati |
|    | 1SG.POSS | POSS | call | AUX     | 2SG.S    | hear | CONT+F | 2SG.S | BKG+F | say |
|    | prt      |      | vi   | aux     | vt       |      |        | prt   |       | vt  |

nematamonaka

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

"You heard me calling."

| 53 | Faya | bani   | me    | me    | kakama |         |       | bani   | me    | me    |
|----|------|--------|-------|-------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|-------|
|    | faya | bani   | me    | me    | ka-    | ka      | -ma+F | bani   | me    | me    |
|    | so   | animal | 3PL.0 | 3PL.S | COMIT  | go/come | back  | animal | 3PL.0 | 3PL.S |
|    | coni | nm     | pron  | pron  | vi     |         |       | nm     | pron  | pron  |

tokamemetemonehe

toka -ma -hemete -mone -he partially burn back FP.N+F REP+F DUP

'They brought back the animals, and they burned the hair off the animals when they got back.'

| 54 <i>Ba</i> | ni   | me       | me     | tokama  |          |       | me    | , hiy | ama |         |         |
|--------------|------|----------|--------|---------|----------|-------|-------|-------|-----|---------|---------|
| ba           | ni   | me       | me     | toka    |          | -ma+F | me    | hi    | yam | a       |         |
| an           | imal | 3PL.O    | 3PL.S  | partial | .ly burn | back  | 3PL.S | wh    | ite | -lipped | peccary |
| nm           |      | pron     | pron   | vt      |          |       | pron  | nm    |     |         |         |
| me           | me   | toka     | ı      | ,       | bani     | mera  | bobi  | ne    | ,   | bani    | mera    |
| me           | me   | tok      | a+F    | ,       | bani     | mera  | bobi  | na+M  | ,   | bani    | mera    |
| 3PL.0        | 3PL  | .S par   | tially | burn    | animal   | 3PL.O | slit  | AUX   |     | animal  | 3PL.O   |
| pron         | pro  | n vt     |        |         | nm       | pron  | vt    | aux   |     | nm      | pron    |
| bobi         | nema | tamonaka |        |         |          |       |       |       |     |         |         |
| bobi         | na   | -himata  | -mona  | -ka     |          |       |       |       |     |         |         |
| slit         | AUX  | FP.N+M   | REP+M  | DECL+M  |          |       |       |       |     |         |         |
| vt.          | aux  |          |        |         |          |       |       |       |     |         |         |

'They burned the hair off the animals when they got back. They burned the hair off the white-lipped peccaries. He cut up the animals.'

| 55 | Bani   | me    | bobi | ne   | tana  | me    | yama    | nemetemonehe         |
|----|--------|-------|------|------|-------|-------|---------|----------------------|
|    | bani   | me    | bobi | na+M | tana  | me    | yama    | na -hemete -mone -he |
|    | animal | 3PL.O | slit | AUX  | grill | 3PL.S | work on | AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP |
|    | nm     | pron  | vt   | aux  | nf    | pron  | vt      | aux                  |

'He cut up the animals. They made a roasting rack.'

| 56 | $\boldsymbol{E}$ | kekerewe    | tonamaribe                |
|----|------------------|-------------|---------------------------|
|    | ee               | ke- kerewe  | to- na -ma -ra -be        |
|    | 1IN.S            | DUP be slow | away AUX back NEG IMMED+F |
|    | pron             | vi          | aux                       |
|    |                  |             |                           |

"Let's go home quickly."

| 57 | Kanawa | ya   | me    | ihemetemoneke | ?       |       |        | fa   | mati |
|----|--------|------|-------|---------------|---------|-------|--------|------|------|
|    | kanawa | ya   | me    | iha           | -hemete | -mone | -ke    | faa  | mati |
|    | canoe  | ADJU | 3PL.S | be located    | FP.N+F  | REP+F | DECL+F | that | 3PL  |
|    | nf     | prt  | pron  | vi            |         |       |        | dem  | pron |
|    |        |      |       |               |         |       |        |      |      |

'The others were in the canoe.'

| 58 | Ee ,   | hiyama               | mera  | bobi | ne   | bani   | me    | so  |
|----|--------|----------------------|-------|------|------|--------|-------|-----|
|    | ee     | hiyama               | mera  | bobi | na+M | bani   | me    | S00 |
|    | yes    | white-lipped peccary | 3PL.O | slit | AUX  | animal | 3PL.O | lie |
|    | interj | nm                   | pron  | vt   | aux  | nm     | pron  | vi  |

niri bani mera tabasi niha- na -rI+Mbani mera tabasi AUX raised surface CAUS animal 3PL.O roast on grill aux pron

nematamonaka

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

'Yes, he cut up the peccaries, and put the meat on top [of the grill], and he roasted the meat.'

59 Hiyama mera tabasi wine ne wina+M hiyama mera tabasi na+Mwhite-lipped peccary roast on grill lie in hammock 3PL.O XIIA pron vt. aux 77 i

noko aamo kana nematamonaka noko aamo kana na -himata -mona -ka eye+M DUP sleep COMIT AUX AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vi aux aux

'He roasted the meat. He lay in his hammock, and was drowsy.'

60 Nokomematamonaka

noko -ma -himata -mona -ka point back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vi

'He was facing [the fire].'

61 *Me* noki toabisemete ibaka one ibaka noki to- ha -bisa -hemete me one other+F where eye+F СН be also FP.N+F pron adj interrog pn 77.0

'There wasn't anyone else watching.'

62 **E** ebe kakakatoma raba tera ee ebe ka- kakatoma na -raba na -tee -ra+F DUP COMIT look at RECIP AUX a bit AUX HAB NEG 1IN.POSS pron pn vt aux pron

'People should watch out for each other.'

63 Bani me bani me tabasi noko aamo ne bani me bani me tabasi na+M noko aanimal 3PL animal 3PL.O roast on grill AUX eye+M DUP sleep pron nm pron aux pn vi

kana tomise ne yama kana+M yama to- na -misa+M na COMIT AUX AUX hold something up away AUX up aux aux vi aux

winematamona

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

'As he roasted the meat, he was drowsy, and he grabbed the rope of the hammock above his head as he lay in the hammock.'

yifi 64 *Bani* ya me kawiti yifi ita.NOM+F bani me kaya animal 3PL.POSS firewood+F COMIT sit ADJU nm pron pn vi prt

| winematamonaka      |             |          |           |     |            |       | anoho      |       |        |     |  |
|---------------------|-------------|----------|-----------|-----|------------|-------|------------|-------|--------|-----|--|
| wina                | -himata     | -mona    | -ka       | ,   | yima       | hi-   | ita        | -hiba | -no    | -ho |  |
| lie in hammock      | FP.N+M      | REP+M    | DECL+M    |     | Yima       | OC    | pierce     | FUT+M | IP.N+M | DUP |  |
| vi                  |             |          |           |     | npropm     | vt    |            |       |        |     |  |
| 'He lay in the hamm | ock next to | the fire | where the | mea | t was. A Y | ima s | peared his | m.'   |        |     |  |

| 65 | Yima   | hitehimatamona |        |         |       | amo   | ne   | winahari       |        |
|----|--------|----------------|--------|---------|-------|-------|------|----------------|--------|
|    | yima   | hi-            | ita    | -himata | -mona | amo   | na+M | wina           | -haari |
|    | Yima   | OC             | pierce | FP.N+M  | REP+M | sleep | AUX  | lie in hammock | IP.E+M |
|    | npropm | vt             |        |         |       | vi    | aux  | vi             |        |

'The Yima speared him as he lay sleeping in the hammock.'

| 66 A | 1am        | o       | ne      | noko   | kaka | bowa  |       | ne   | wine           | , | fariboti |
|------|------------|---------|---------|--------|------|-------|-------|------|----------------|---|----------|
| a    | <u>a</u> – | amo     | na+M    | noko   | ka-  | ka-   | aboha | na+M | wina+M         |   | fariboti |
| Γ    | OUP        | sleep   | AUX     | eye+M  | DUP  | COMIT | die   | AUX  | lie in hammock |   | armpit   |
| V    | 7i         |         | aux     | pn     | vt   |       |       | aux  | vi             |   | pn       |
| yoko |            | hikane  |         | rama   |      | ahi   |       |      |                |   |          |
| yoko | )          | hi- ka- | na+     | M rama |      | ahi   |       |      |                |   |          |
| push | n          | OC COM  | IIT AUX | unus   | ual  | then  |       |      |                |   |          |
| vt   |            | aux     |         | prt    |      | dem   |       |      |                |   |          |

'He was almost sleeping, closing his eyes a little, as he lay in the hammock, and he speared him in his side.'

| 67 <i>Aha</i>         | owa   | me    | itibana     | ati | nematamona       |
|-----------------------|-------|-------|-------------|-----|------------------|
| aha                   | owa   | me    | ita+F -bana | ati | na -himata -mona |
| (unpleasant surprise) | 1SG.0 | 3PL.S | pierce FUT  | say | AUX FP.N+M REP+M |
| interj                | pron  | pron  | vt          | vt  | aux              |

ahi

ahi then

dem

<sup>&</sup>quot;Aha, someone has speared me," he said.'

| 68 <i>Owa</i>      | me               | itibana |       | ati  | ne     | yana                       | kane  |       |   | yima   |
|--------------------|------------------|---------|-------|------|--------|----------------------------|-------|-------|---|--------|
| owa                | me               | ita+F   | -bana | ati  | na+M   | yana                       | ka-   | na+M  |   | yima   |
| 1SG.0              | 3PL.S            | pierce  | FUT   | say  | AUX    | get up                     | COMIT | ' AUX |   | Yima   |
| pron               | pron             | vt      |       | vt   | aux    | vi                         | aux   |       |   | npropm |
|                    |                  |         |       |      |        |                            |       |       |   |        |
| fana ,             | he               | yoko    | kana  |      | nofema | tamonane                   |       |       |   |        |
| <i>fana</i> , fana | <i>he</i><br>hee |         |       | na+F |        | <i>tamonane</i><br>-himata | -mona | -ne   |   |        |
| ,                  |                  | yoko    | ka-   |      | nofa   |                            |       |       | • |        |

"Someone speared me," he said. He got up with him. He didn't like the Yima who speared him at all."

| 69 | Tai            | bete | towitin | ıata |       |         | awaka  |        |
|----|----------------|------|---------|------|-------|---------|--------|--------|
|    | tahi           | bete | to-     | na   | -witI | -himata | awa    | -ka    |
|    | weapon against | pull | away    | AUX  | out   | FP.N+M  | seem+M | DECL+M |
|    | pn             | vt   | aux     |      |       |         | sec    |        |

'He pulled out the spear from himself.'

| 70  | Makoni          | ene         | iti      | namata         |
|-----|-----------------|-------------|----------|----------------|
|     | makoni          | ehene       | iti.LIST | na.NOM+M -mata |
|     | for this reason | victim of+M | exist    | AUX FP.N+M     |
|     | conj            | pn          | vi       | aux            |
| 'Не | e killed him.'  |             |          |                |

| 71 Me<br>me<br>3PL.S<br>pron                    | <pre>saka saka pierce repeatedly vt</pre>              | <pre>kanikima na -kanikima AUX scattered aux</pre> | <pre>hinematamona hi- na -himata OC AUX FP.N+M aux</pre> | yima -mona yima REP+M Yima npropm |
|---|--|--|--|-----------------------------------|
| mati ahi mati ahi 3PL the pron dem 'The [other] |  |  |  |                                   |
| 72 <b>Baka</b><br>baka<br>break                 | <pre>nakosakani na -kosa -kani AUX middle one at</pre> |  | mata -mona ahi<br>N+M REP+M then                         |                                   |

aux

dem

| antip         | aux                      |
|---------------|--------------------------|
| 'He was crush | ing them with his arms.' |

| 73 | Yima   | fana   | fe    | ite    | fe    | yoko | kana  |      |
|----|--------|--------|-------|--------|-------|------|-------|------|
|    | yima   | fana   | fee   | ita+M  | fee   | yoko | ka-   | na+F |
|    | Yima   | female | 3SG.0 | pierce | 3SG.0 | push | COMIT | AUX  |
|    | npropm | nf     | pron  | vt     | pron  | vt   | aux   |      |

## ibanibematamonaka

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

'He put the Yima who had speared him in the fire.'

| 74 | Hiba | faro  |         |       |        |        |
|----|------|-------|---------|-------|--------|--------|
|    | hi-  | ibana | -hemete | -mone | -ke    | faaro  |
|    | OC   | roast | FP.N+F  | REP+F | DECL+F | that+I |
|    | vt   |       |         |       |        | dem    |

'He put him in the fire.'

| 75 | 5 Hibaniba |       |         | yama   |      |      | me    | yama   |      |      |
|----|------------|-------|---------|--------|------|------|-------|--------|------|------|
|    | hi-        | ibana | -baha+F | yama   |      |      | me    | yama   |      |      |
|    | OC         | roast | before  | remove | from | fire | 3PL.S | remove | from | fire |
|    | vt         |       |         | vt     |      |      | pron  | vt     |      |      |

#### hinihemetemonehe

hi- niha- na -hemete -mone -he OC CAUS AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP aux

'He put him in the fire, and there was no one to take him out of the fire.'

| 76 | Ene         | itimatamona  | ahi     |      |
|----|-------------|--------------|---------|------|
|    | ehene       | iti -himat   | a -mona | ahi  |
|    | victim of+M | exist FP.N+M | REP+M   | then |
|    | pn          | vi           |         | dem  |

'He killed someone.'

| 77 | Hanorise . |           |     | hitawematamonaka |        |         |       |        |      |  |
|----|------------|-----------|-----|------------------|--------|---------|-------|--------|------|--|
|    | hano       | -risa+M ´ | hi- | ita              | -waha  | -himata | -mona | -ka    | ahi  |  |
|    | be drunk   | down      | OC  | pierce           | change | FP.N+M  | REP+M | DECL+M | then |  |
|    | vi         |           | v/t |                  |        |         |       |        | dem  |  |

'He was weakened, and [a Yima] speared him.'

| 78 <i>I</i>         | E   | ter                | are                    |              |                                  | ahi                | <i>ya</i>         | ati                | nematamona            | ı                     | ahi                |
|---------------------|---|--------------------|------------------------|--------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| k                   | ee<br>oe simil<br>vi                      | na<br>.ar AU<br>au | IX HAB                 | -ra<br>NEG   | -hare<br>IP.E+M                  | ahi<br>this<br>dem | ya<br>ADJU<br>prt | ati<br>say<br>vt   | na -hima<br>AUX FP.N+ | ata -mona<br>-M REP+M | ahi<br>then<br>dem |
|                     | at way is g                               |                    |                        |              |                                  |                    | F-0               |                    |                       |                       |                    |
|                     |   | ,004, 110          | ouru.                  |              |                                  |                    |                   |                    |                       |                       |                    |
| V                   | <i>Wabori</i><br>wabori<br>3SG.POSS<br>nm | broth              | er-in-l                | r<br>Law 3   | <i>me</i><br>me<br>BPL.S<br>oron |                    |                   |                    |                       |                       |                    |
|                     | kamemetei                                 | moneke             |                        | 1            | 21011                            |                    |                   | me                 | kana                  | ni                    |                    |
|                     | ka-<br>y COMIT                            | ka<br>go/com       | -ma<br>ne back         |              | ete -mo<br>+F REP                |                    |                   | me<br>3PL.<br>pron | kana<br>S run         | na.NFIN<br>AUX<br>aux |                    |
| towa                | kama                                      |                    |                        | ma           | ıti                              |                    |                   |                    |                       |                       |                    |
|                     | ka-                                       | ka ,               | -ma+                   |              |                                  |                    |                   |                    |                       |                       |                    |
| awa;<br>vi          | y COMIT                                   | go/cor             | ne back                |              | L.POSS                           |                    |                   |                    |                       |                       |                    |
|                     | two broth                                 | ers-in-la          | w went r               | -            |                                  |                    |                   |                    |                       |                       |                    |
|                     |   |                    |                        | _            | -                                |                    |                   |                    |                       |                       |                    |
|                     | <i>Namoni</i><br>namoni                   | me<br>me           | <i>hikame</i><br>hi- t |              | onahane<br>a                     | -ma -              | himata            | -mona              | -ha -ne               | •                     |                    |
|                     | report                                    | 3PL.S              |                        |              | -                                |                    |                   |                    | DUP BKG+              | М                     |                    |
|                     | on  | pron               | vi                     | - 1 5        |                                  |                    |                   |                    |                       |                       |                    |
| 'The                | y told abo                                |                    | ack home               | e.'          |                                  |                    |                   |                    |                       |                       |                    |
| <b>Q</b> 1          | Anoti                                     |                    |                        | m            | a                                |                    |                   |                    |                       |                       |                    |
| -                   | anoti                                     |                    |                        | me           |                                  |                    |                   |                    |                       |                       |                    |
|                     | 3SG.POSS                                  | older              | brothe                 |              | PL.S                             |                    |                   |                    |                       |                       |                    |
| r                   | nm  |                    |                        | pı           | ron                              |                    |                   |                    |                       |                       |                    |
| hina                | kamemata                                  |                    |                        |              |                                  |                    |                   | , <i>n</i>         | nera mow              | va —                  |                    |
|                     |   | a- ka              |                        |              | himata                           |                    |                   | n                  | era mow               |                       |                    |
| OC                  | away C                                    | AUS go,            | come b                 | ack F        | 'P.N+M                           | REP+M              | DECL+M            |                    | PL.O fig              | ht                    |                    |
| vt<br>neha          | noho                                      |                    |                        |              |                                  |                    |                   | F                  | ron vt                |                       |                    |
| ne <i>o</i> u<br>na | -hiba                                     | -no                | -ho                    |              |                                  |                    |                   |                    |                       |                       |                    |
| AUX                 | FUT+M                                     |                    |                        |              |                                  |                    |                   |                    |                       |                       |                    |
| aux                 |   |                    |                        |              |                                  |                    |                   |                    |                       |                       |                    |
| 'The                | y went aft                                | er his old         | ler broth              | er, and      | he fought                        | against            | them.'            |                    |                       |                       |                    |
| 82 1                | E owa                                     |                    | e                      | owa          |                                  | ota o              | wa                |                    |                       | , yima                | me                 |
|                     | e owa                                     |                    | ,                      | owa          |                                  |                    | owa               |                    |                       | , <i>yimu</i><br>yima | me                 |
| k                   | orother-                                  | in-law             | bı                     | cother       | -in-law                          | ı 1SG              | .POSS.a           | ffinal             | relative              | _                     | 3PL                |
|                     | JOC                                       |                    | V                      | )C           |                                  | nm                 |                   |                    |                       |                       | m pron             |
| , .                 |   | ne iti             |                        | yamar        | -                                |                    | ne                | ihi                |                       | me inamati            |                    |
| _                   | _   |                    | i.NOM<br>xist          | yama<br>tell | -                                |                    | ne<br>BPL.POSS    | ihi                | tim of+F              | me inamat spirits     | 1                  |
|                     | npropm p                                  |                    |                        | cerr         | =                                | ropm p             |                   | , vic              | CIM OIT               | nf                    |                    |
| ihi                 | ipropii i                                 | iti                |                        | amani        | ati                              |                    | amonane           | PII                |                       | 111                   |                    |
| ihi                 |   |                    |                        | amani        |                                  |                    | -himata           | -mona              | a -ne                 |                       |                    |
| vic                 | tim of+I                                  | exis               | _                      | ellin        |                                  |                    | FP.N+M            |                    | M BKG+M               |                       |                    |
| pn                  |   | vi                 | _                      |              | vt                               | aux                |                   |                    |                       |                       |                    |
| "Th                 | ey are rep                                | orting th          | at the Yir             | na spir      | its killed s                     | someone            | e," he said       | .'                 |                       |                       |                    |

na -waha -ra -himata -mona -ne mera haa AUX change NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3PL.O call vt aux 'He didn't call the others [to go with him].' yima 84 Okaniso okaniso me niso  $\circ$ ka yima me 0ka niso 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother Yima 3PL 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother nm npropm pron toniha awine yima me no me ati yima me noho to- niha- na+F me awine ati be hurt CH CAUS AUX say Yima 3PL.S 3PL.S seem+F npropm pron vi aux pron sec nematamonaka mera kakosebanoho na -himata -mona -ka mera ka- kana -kosa -hiba -no -ho AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.0 COMIT leave middle FUT+M IP.N+M DUP aux pron vt.

"The Yimas killed my younger brother," he said. He left them behind."

85 Mera kakosematamona

mera ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona 3PL.O COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M pron vt

nawarematamonane

'He left them behind.'

ati 86 Me hikayawa hikana hi- kahi- ka -na yawa ati me OC COMIT be upset OC DECL+M IRR+M 3PL.S say pron 77 T prt 77

rematamonaka

83 Mera

ha

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

'They wanted to go with him, but he wouldn't let them.'

87 *Oko* kabi me votobe ka kaba.NFIN me yoto 1SG.POSS POSS eat 3PL.S follow IMMED+F prt result pron vi okaniso me kabani mati ka niso me kaba -hani mati 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother 3PL.S eat IP.N+F 3PL.S pron vt pron "They will eat me, too, after having eaten my brother."

88 Faya kamematamona fahi
faya ka -ma -himata -mona fahi
so go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then
conj vi dem

'Then he came back.'

89 Mera kakosematamonane

mera ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ne 3PL.O COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M pron vt

'He left them behind.'

90 Mera hima rematamonane me
mera hima na -ra -himata -mona -ne me
3PL.O call to go AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3PL.S
pron vt aux pron

yotomakebani mati

yoto -makI -haba -ni mati follow following FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S vi pron

'He didn't call them to go along, but they came behind.'

91 Oari tai toamematamonane

ohari+M tai to- ha -ma -himata -mona -ne be alone be ahead CH AUX back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M vi vi aux

'He came on ahead, alone.'

92 *Tai* toame kame ihi me me tai to- ha -ma+M me ka -ma+M me ihi be ahead CH AUX back 3PL go/come back 3PL.POSS result of+F pron vi pron

wasimematamonahane

wasi -ma -himata -mona -ha -ne find back FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M

'He came on ahead. He came, and came upon signs of them.'

93 *Me* ihi wasime hawi tabiyo me yama wasi -ma+M ihi hawi me tabiyo yama 3PL.POSS result of+F find back 3PL.POSS trail absence thing nf pn vt pron pn pron

sibanematamonaahisibana -himata -mona ahilook forAUX FP.N+M REP+M thenvtauxdem

'He came upon signs of them. He looked around for their trail.'

94 Mera me i towasiwamakimata
mera me ihi to- wasi -waha -makI -himata
3PL.O 3PL.POSS result of+F away find change following FP.N+M

pron pron pn vt

awane

awa -ne seem+M BKG+M

'Then he found their trail.'

95 Makoni me
makoni me
for this reason 3PL.0

conj pron

hinakamakiemetemoneke

hi- to- na- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke
OC away CAUS go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F

'So he went after them.'

96 Me hinakamakia me hi- to- na- ka -makI+F me basa
3PL.O OC away CAUS go/come following 3PL.O whisper pron vt

nematamonaha

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

'He went after them. He wasn't quiet.'

97 **Yima** ni tokiyomamakehi me me amo yima -yoma -makI+M me пi to- ka me amo 3PL away go/come through following 3PL.S Yima t.o sleep npropm pron prt vi pron vi

nemetemoneke

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

'He went in to where the Yimas were. They were sleeping.'

98 *Me* amo na me ni awa siba nematamona ya siba na -himata -mona amo na+F me ni ya awa sleep AUX 3PL to ADJU look for AUX FP.N+M REP+M wood pron prt prt aux aux

'They were sleeping. He looked around for a piece of wood.'

99 Awa siba yima nokobiri tofa ne me one na+M nokobi -ri tofa awa siba yima me one wood look for AUX Yima 3PL.POSS ΡN pluq door other+F 77 T aux npropm pron vt ng adj

kanematamonane

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

'He looked for a piece of wood. He barricaded the other door of the Yimas.'

100 Awa yoro nikime me nokobiri bari yoro na -kima+M me nokobi -ri bari stand AUX two 3PL.POSS door impede nf aux pron pn

hikanemetemone
hi- ka- na -hemete -mone one

OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F other+F aux adj

'He stuck two poles in, and barricaded their other door.'

101 Ha ya towawamematamonaka

haa ya to- waa -waha -ma -himata -mona -ka DEM ADJU away stand change back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M dem prt vi

'He went and stood on the other side.'

102 Yima amo ni wineno horo
yima amo na.NFIN wina -hino horo
Yima sleep AUX lie in hammock IP.N+M drag
npropm vi aux vi vt

| <pre>nakematamona na -kI -himata -mona AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M aux</pre>  | tamine<br>tamine<br>news about<br>pn                 | na toemana to-<br>AUX CH<br>aux aux                         |   | amakaahiama -kaahiSEC DECL+Mthensecdem   |
|---|--|---|---|--|
| me hiyarahari me hiyara -haari 3PL.S speak to IP.E+M pron vt 'He yanked on him as he lay in the   | hammock sleep  | ing, they alway   | ys said about him.'                                       |  |
| turn over OC AUX cha<br>vt aux<br>hisibehimatamona  | mata -mona<br>N+M REP+M                              | baka baka break vt ahi ahi then dem                         |   |  |
| 104 Yima fana yima yima fana yima yima fana yima Yima female Yima npropm nf npropm me no hinihematam me noho hi- to- n 3PL.S be hurt OC CH C pron vi aux toemari to- ha -himari | ona  | a to-<br>laim CH<br>aux<br>imata -mona                      | na -kima+F<br>AUX spread out<br><i>tamine</i><br>a tamine | yima yima Yima npropm na na AUX aux      |
| CH AUX FP.E+M aux 'The Yima women were all yelling.'  |  |   |   |  |
| Aba Fani toha Aba Fani to- ha.I (man's name) CH be npropm vc  nabematamona na nahaba -himata -mon AUX at night FP.N+M REP+H aux 'Aba Fani killed the Yimas. He wen              | Yim<br>npr<br><b>ahi</b> ,<br>a ahi<br>M then<br>dem | a mera a 3PL.O opm pron mera mov mera mov 3PL.O fig pron vt | vt vi<br>va nari<br>va na -haar<br>yht AUX IP.E+<br>aux   | oi<br>back and forth<br>i<br>M           |
| 106 Tamare mera tama -ra+M mera be many NEG 3PL.O vi pron  nabematamona   | fight AUX vt aux yima m                              | vi<br>era yobi  | and forth   | kanahari                                 |
| na nahaba -himata -mon AUX at night FP.N+M REP+ aux . 'He was alone. He fought against the  | M Yima 31<br>npropm pa                               | ron vi  | ack and forth   | ka- na -haari<br>COMIT AUX IP.E+M<br>aux |

```
one     kamakibisemetemone
one     ka -makI -bisa -hemete -mone
107 Me
                                                          me
   me
                                                          me
                                                                ama -ni
                                                          3PL SEC BKG+F
   3PL other+F
                go/come following also FP.N+F REP+F
   pron adj
                 vi
                                                          pron sec
'The others came behind.'
108 Ee
   ee
   yes
   interj
'Yes.'
109 Me hekanakosa ne hi- ka-
                                     me
         hi- ka- kana -kosa+F me
   3PL.O OC COMIT leave middle 3PL.S
   pron
         vt
                                   pron
kamakiemetemoneke
ka -makI
                  -hemete -mone -ke
go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
'He had left them behind, and they came.'
110 Me
           hinakamakimatamonaka
          hi- na- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
   3PL.S OC CAUS go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
   pron
          vt
'They came after him.'
111 Me
                                          \boldsymbol{E}
          hinakamaki
          hi- na- ka -makI+M
                                           66
   3PL.S OC CAUS go/come following
                                          1IN.S
   pron
          vt
                                           pron
towamakemata
to- awa -makI -mata
away see following short time
"They came after him. "Let's go look at him.""
   Erawakanabaerawakana-ba1IN.OkillAUXIMMED+M
112 Era
   pron vt
                 aux
"I hope he doesn't kill us."
   yawa+M to-
113 Yawe
            to- ka -ma -ka
   be upset away go/come back DECL+M
             vi
"He was upset when he went."
114 Me
          hinakomematamonaka
                             -himata -mona -ka
          hi- na- komeha
   3PL.S OC CAUS be fearsome FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
   pron
          vt
```

'They were afraid of him.'

```
115 Fava
           fava
                  awa
                         wasa
                                             nisikime
                                                                       nokobisa
    faya
           faya
                  awa
                         wasa
                                             na -risa -kima+M
                                                                       nokobisa
    so
           so
                  wood
                         stick in ground
                                             AUX down two
                                                                       sleepiness
                  nf
                                                                       nf
    conj
           conj
                                        fawa
                 tokome
hiwasi
                                                      nρ
                                                             amo
hi- wasi+M
                 to- ka
                                -ma+M
                                         fawa
                                                     na+M
                                                             amo
    find
                 away go/come back
                                         disappear
                                                     AUX
                                                             sleep
vt
                 vi
                                         vi
                                                      aux
                                                             vi
towitino
                                  yima
                                                   noki
                                                               hinematamona
                                           me
                                                   noki
to- na
          -witI.NOM -no
                                                               hi- na
                                                                        -himata -mona
                                  yima
                                           me
                                           3PL.S
                      IP.N+M
                                                                   AUX FP.N+M REP+M
away AUX out
                                  Yima
                                                   wait for
                                                               OC
                                  npropm pron
aux
                                                   vt
                                                               aux
ahi
       vima
               me
                     one
ahi
       yima
               me
                     one
then
       Yima
               3PL
                     other+F
       npropm pron adj
'He stuck two poles in the ground. He got sleepy, and went away, and slept. Some of the Yimas were waiting
for him.'
116 Me
            noki
                        hine
                                       mera
                                               bosa
            noki
                        hi- na+M
                                       mera
                                               bosa
            wait for
                        OC
                            AUX
                                       3PL.O
                                               get up early
    pron
                        aux
                                       pron
                                               vi
kanamematamonaka
                                           fahi
           -ma
                 -himata -mona -ka
                                           fahi
     na
COMIT AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
'They were waiting for him. He came back to them early in the morning.'
117 Mera
                                                                    hitebona
            bosa
                            kaname
                                                    yima
                                                            vima
                                                                    hi- ita
                            ka-
                                        -ma+M
                                                    yima
                                                            yima
                                                                                 -hibona
    mera
            bosa
                                   na
                                                                    OC
    3PL.O
                            COMIT AUX back
            get up early
                                                    Yima
                                                            Yima
                                                                        pierce INT+M
    pron
            vi
                            aux
                                                    npropm npropm vt
vima
        ma
               hikane
                                  Hari
                                                   ya
                                                           kake
                                                                             tina
               hi- ka-
                           na+M
                                  haari
                                                   ya
                                                           ka
                                                                    -kI
                                                                              ti-
Yima
               OC
                    COMIT AUX
                                  in the middle
                                                   ADJU
                                                           go/come coming
                                                                              2SG.S AUX
npropm vi
               aux
                                  dem
                                                   prt
                                                           vi
'He came back to them early in the morning. A Yima wanted to spear him and he was aiming at him. "Over
here, come here."
118 Hari
                                             tina
                     ya
                            kama
                             ka
                                      -ma
                                             ti-
                     ya
                                                    na
                            go/come back
    in the middle
                     ADJU
                                             2SG.S AUX
                     prt
                            vi
                                             aux
"Over here, come here."
119 Hari
                            kama
                                         tina
                                                       ati
                                                                                   vima
                     ya
                                                             nematamona
                                  -ma
    haari
                            kaa
                                          ti-
                                                                                   yima
                     ya
                                                na
                                                       ati
                                                            na
                                                                -himata -mona
    in the middle
                     ADJU
                            chop back
                                         2SG.S AUX
                                                            AUX FP.N+M
                                                                           REP+M
                                                                                   Yima
                                                       say
    dem
                            vi
                                          aux
                     prt
                                                       vt
                                                             aux
                                                                                   npropm
                                    fe
       hikanari
                                            fito
                                                   kanebanoho
ma
       hi- ka-
                   na
                       -haari
                                    fee
                                            fito
                                                   ka-
                                                          na
                                                               -hiba -no
                                                                               -ho
       OC
                                                   COMIT AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
           COMIT AUX IP.E+M
                                    3SG.0
                                            rush
       aux
                                    pron
                                            vi
                                                   aux
```

"Over here, come here," he said, as the Yima was aiming at him. He attacked him.'

| yima ' hi- ita -hibona<br>Yima OC pierce INT+M   | yima hitematamonaha yima hi- ita -himata -mona -ha Yima OC pierce FP.N+M REP+M DUP npropm vt 't spear him.' |  |  |  |  |  |
|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| - 2  | moneke fahi . makI -hemete -mone -ke fahi ollowing FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then dem                             |  |  |  |  |  |
| 122 Tatama re habo<br>ta- tama na -ra+M habo   | away AUX back IP.E+M<br>aux   |  |  |  |  |  |
| 123 Faya wabori faya wabori so 3SG.POSS brother-in-law conj nm  fahi then dem 'His brother-in-law came behind.'  | <pre>kamakimatamonaka ka -makI -himata -mona -ka go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vi</pre>             |  |  |  |  |  |
| 124 Faya wabori faya wabori so 3SG.POSS brother-in-law conj nm wanamakematamona wana -makI -himata start right away following FP.N+M vi 'His brother-in-law came, and starting talking | vi pn<br>·<br>a -mona<br>REP+M  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 125 Fa mera ; ati nematamona . faa me -ra ati na -himata -mona that 3PL NPQ say AUX FP.N+M REP+M dem pron vt aux ""What about them?" he said.'   |   |  |  |  |  |  |
| 126 Me tofiyohara  me to- fiyo -hara  3PL.S CH be all gone IP.E+F  pron vi "They all died."  |   |  |  |  |  |  |

ati

127 *Me* 

me

onafiyoharani

```
to- na- fiyo
    me
             me
                    0-
                                                   -hara -ni
                                                                   ati
                    1SG.S CH CAUS be all gone IP.E+F BKG+F
    3PL
             3PL.O
                                                                   sav
             pron
    pron
nematamonane
na -himata -mona -ne
AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
aux
"I killed them all," he said.'
128 Yama
                    ki
                              nemetemone
                                                    ahi
                                                           yima
                                                                         ka
                                                                               yima
            me
                                                                   me
    yama
                    kii
                              na -hemete -mone
            me
                                                    ahi
                                                           yima
                                                                   me
                                                                         ka
                                                                                yima
                                                                        POSS
            3PL.S
                    look at
                              AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                                                    then
    thing
                                                           Yima
                                                                   3PL
                                                                                Yima
                                                           npropm pron prt
    nf
            pron
                    vt
                              aux
                                                    dem
                                                                                npropm
           tabori
me
me
           tabori
3PL.POSS
           place+F
pron
           pn
'They looked around, at the place of the Yimas.'
                    ki
                                                yima
129 Yama
            me
                                                              one
                                                                        wini
                              na
                                     me
                                                        me
                    kii
                                                yima
                                                                        wina.NFIN
    yama
            me
                              na+F
                                     me
                                                        me
                                                              one
    thing
            3PL.S
                    look at
                              AUX
                                     3PL.S
                                                Yima
                                                        3PL
                                                              other+F
                                                                        live
                                                                        vi
            pron
                    vt
                              aux
                                     pron
                                                npropm pron adj
          yama
                          siba
tabivo
                                     nemetemone
                                                           ahi
                  me
tabiyo
                          siba
                                     na -hemete -mone
                                                           ahi
          yama
                  me
          thing
                  3PL.S
                          look for
                                     AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                                                           t.hen
absence
          nf
                  pron
                          vt
                                      aux
                                                           dem
'They looked around. They looked for any Yimas that might be living there.'
130 Yama
                    siba
            me
                               na
                                      me
                    siba
    yama
            me
                               na+F
                                      me
            3PL.S
                    look for
                               AUX
    thing
                                      3PL.S
            pron
                    vt
                               aux
                                      pron
towitarekosematamonaka
                                                           fari
                                                                        mera
to- ita -rI
                          -kosa -himata -mona -ka
                                                           faari
                                                                        mera
   sit raised surface middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                                           that one+M
                                                                         3PL.O
                                                           dem
                                                                        pron
noki
           nari
noki
           na
               -haari
wait for
           AUX IP.E+M
           aux
'They looked around. He sat on a log in the plaza, waiting for them.'
131 Yama
                    siba
            me
                               na
                                      me
                                                 yama
                                                         me
    yama
                    siba
                               na+F
                                                 yama
            me
                                      me
                                                         me
    thing
            3PL.S
                    look for
                               AUX
                                      3PL.S
                                                 thing
                                                          3PL.S
    nf
            pron
                    vt
                                                 nf
                                                         pron
                               aux
                                      pron
hikanahonara
                                                  kamemetemone
                                          me
hi- ka- na- hona
                                 -ra+F
                                          me
                                                  ka
                                                           -ma
                                                                -hemete -mone
                                                  go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
OC COMIT CAUS have something NEG
                                          3PL.S
                                                  vi
                                          pron
'They looked, but couldn't find anyone. They came back.'
```

```
132 Me
          hekamematamonaka
                                                            vima
                                                                         vima
                                                                   me
                              -ma -himata -mona -ka
   me
           hi- ka- ka
                                                            yima
                                                                   me
                                                                         vima
          OC COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                                                   3PL Yima
   3PL.S
                                                            Yima
                                                            npropm pron npropm
   pron
                                    yima
       noki
                  nebonaha
                                            me
mρ
                                                  one
                  na -hibona -ha
me
       noki
                                     vima
                                            me
                                                  one
                 AUX INT+M
                             DUP
                                            3PL
3PL.O
       wait for
                                     Yima
       vt
                  aux
                                     npropm pron adj
pron
'They took him home, so he could wait for the Yimas, the other Yimas.'
133 Yima
                          kaki
                                              tabiyo
                                                               noki
           me
                one
                                                       yama
   yima
                                                        yama
                                   -kI.NFIN
           me
                one
                          ka
                                              tabiyo
                                                               noki
           3PL other+F
                                                       thing
   Yima
                          go/come coming
                                              absence
                                                               wait for
                                              pn
   npropm pron adj
                          vi
                                                        nf
             me
                     hekamematamonane
na -hibona
             me
                     hi- ka- ka
                                         -ma -himata -mona -ne
AUX INT+M
              3PL.S
                     OC COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
             pron
                     vt
'They took him home, so he could wait for the other Yimas to come.'
134 E
           tokoma
           to- ka
   ee
                         -ma
   1IN.S
           away go/come back
   pron
"Let's go home."
135 Yima
                fara
           me
                         me
                                 toa
                                            me
                                                    awine
                fara
                                 to- ha+F
   vima
           me
                         me
                                            me
                                                    awine
                         3PL.S
           3PL same+F
                                 CH be
                                            3PL.S
   Yima
                                                    seem+F
   npropm pron dem
                                            pron
                         pron
                                 VC
                                                    sec
"That's all the Yimas."
136 Yama
           ota
                   siba
                             narake
                             na -hara -ke
   yama
           otaa
                   siba
                             AUX IP.E+F DECL+F
                   look for
   thing
          1EX.S
   nf
           pron
                   vt
                              aux
"We looked."
137 Yama
           ota
                   siba
                             narani
                                                 me
                                                         ati
   yama
           otaa
                   siba
                             na -hara -ni
                                                 me
                                                         ati
   thing
          1EX.S
                   look for
                             AUX IP.E+F BKG+F
                                                 3PL.S
                                                         say
           pron
                   vt
                              aux
                                                 pron
nemetemoneke
na -hemete -mone -ke
AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
"We looked," they said."
138 Me
           hekamematamonaka
           hi- ka- ka
                              -ma -himata -mona -ka
   me
                                                            yawa
           OC COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
   3PL.S
                                                            grief
   pron
kawitarehari
ka- ita -rI
                           -haari
COMIT sit raised surface IP.E+M
'They took him home. He had been sitting there, grieving.'
```

139 Wabori hinamematamonaha

*hima* hima wabori hi- na -ma -himata -mona -ha 3SG.POSS brother-in-law call to go OC AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DUP aux

'His brother-in-law called him to come back.'

Aba Fani me amani Aba Fani me ama -ni 140 Aba Fani (man's name) 3PL.S be BKG+F npropm pron vc

'Was it Aba Fani's group?'

141 Aba Fanimatamonaka

Aba Fani -mata -mona -ka (man's name) FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M npropm

'It was Aba Fani.'

142 *Aba Fani* memetemoneke

Aba Fani me -mete -mone -ke (man's name) 3PL FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F npropm pron

'It was Aba Fani's group.'