

ABA TOSI (1)

Free Translation

Note: While the possible connection of Aba Tosi and Mano Boni to currently living Jarawaras is not known, I have classified this story as a personal experience narrative because one of the minor characters, Bonikana, was an ancestor of living Jarawaras.

Mano Boni put a spell on a woman, Mano Boni who was a shaman. Mano Boni wanted to marry her, but she didn't want Mano Boni, because he mistreated women. She didn't want him because he mistreated women, and he cast a spell on her.

They went back to the village a different way because of him. He appeared at a different place. They went back. She went ahead of them, leading them to Mano Boni's shaman's stone without knowing it. She got sick because of the shaman's stone. She fell down when she hit against the line.²³

"What happened to her?" they said about her. It was her older sister. Her older sister grabbed her arm and picked her up and sat her up.

"Mano Boni did this," they said. They knew about him. They knew that he had attacked her by putting a spell on her.

They came back. They held onto her arms. She was always almost falling, but she came back, keeping walking. As she came back, she fell and they stood her up. They picked her up, and took her on some more. They took her back. They appeared with her. She almost died.

Aba Tosi was there.

"What happened to my daughter?" her father said.

"I guess someone put a spell on your daughter. Who knows? She fell. We have brought her back," they said, the other women.

"Someone must be angry with her. Someone is angry with her," he said.

He called Aba Tosi. "Aba Tosi," he said. "Aba Tosi."

"Huh?"

"Aba Tosi, look at my daughter. Someone is angry with my daughter," he said.

Aba Tosi took snuff. They put her in a hammock. She was in the hammock.

"Don't leave my daughter. Suck on my daughter to cure her, and don't leave her. Sit by my daughter," he said.

So he sucked on her. He cured her. She took a long time to walk again. She was never the same as before, my grandmother used to say. He sucked on her. He waited for her. He rested, sitting. He sucked on her again.

Mano Boni didn't come back right away. When it was getting dark he appeared, after casting a spell on her. He came and lay in his hammock.

She didn't have an older brother. It would have been good if she had an older brother [to take revenge on Mano Boni].

The one who had cast a spell on her came and lay in his hammock. Aba Tosi had sucked on his victim. He sucked on her, and waited for her. He sucked on her some more, and then went to

²³ This was a string that Mano Boni had put a spell on with his shaman's stone, and had extended across the trail so that the woman would walk into it.

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bathe.

The voices of his familiar spirits could be heard. The voice of a spirit could be heard. He came back. He came right on into the house. He started working again right away, sucking on her again.

"Marry my daughter. Someone is angry with my daughter." So she married him.

Then he sent a spirit against him, too, because he had messed with his older brother.²⁴

His older brother was cutting fish. He was cutting *siraba* fish. Two spirits that Mano Boni had sent against him went to him as he stood there. If a spirit had not hit him with its elbow, he would not have gotten sick. He was killing the *siraba* fish. As he stood there, he threw the *siraba* fish as the spirits were coming. They came. He was ready to go, and he was cutting the stingers of the *siraba* fish off.

They came to him as he stood there. "Are they fish?"

"They are fish. I am standing here killing *siraba* fish."

"He says he is killing *siraba* fish. Hoo, he says he is killing *siraba* fish, so he can eat."

"I am killing fatty *siraba* fish," he said.

"All right. Are you leaving?"

"Yes, I'm going home."

"Go ahead."

He caught him. The spirit caught Komane. The spirit caught him. The other spirit pulled down some vines to tie him up with. They tied him up. They tied him to a tree that was in the middle of a clear place in the area that floods in the high water season. He was there on the tree. Mano Boni had sent spirits against him.

His younger brother grieved. People take revenge. Mano Boni was always casting spells on people, and he got revenge on him.

They untied him. "Go home. Go and eat."

So he brought the *siraba* fish back. He carried the *siraba* fish on his back. He came back. He brought the *siraba* fish back.

His wife gutted the *siraba* fish, but he didn't eat the *siraba* fish. "Gut the *siraba* fish. You eat."

She gutted the *siraba* fish. She wrapped the fish. Her husband didn't work. The spirits had tied him up, because Mano Boni had sent them against him. She served the food. He slept. He fell asleep in his hammock. He fell asleep, and his wife shook him. He got sick. Aba Tosi got revenge against Mano Boni.

It was a scary thing when the spirits killed people. He was talking. She shook him so he would eat, but he said no. "You eat. I'm not feeling good. Someone sent spirits against me. The spirits messed with me, and I am feeling the effects of it. You eat."

Then Komane died, because the spirits had messed with him.

"He is strong, my older brother died because of him. I will get revenge." Then he sent spirits against him, too. "Go out in the forest, go out in the forest," he said about him.

Mano Boni went out in the forest with his wife. He went into the forest ahead of Aba Tosi. He went.

Aba Tosi got to work right away. He took snuff. He went after him. "He is strong, he sent spirits against my brother." He went there. He ordered spirits against him, in revenge.

The spirits scared Mano Boni. "Eee, leave me alone. Spirits, leave me alone," he said.

He went after *hawa* palm leaves, to make a basket for carrying food. He went after something to carry food in. He was fine when he came back to his wife.

²⁴ Yowao actually says younger brother, but later in the story it is clear that this was Aba Tosi's older brother.

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"Why did you speak?" she said.

"I didn't speak," he said. "I didn't speak. Come on, you carry the bananas."

They went to get the bananas. They put the bananas in the basket. His wife carried the bananas. He didn't carry anything.

They came back, and they arrived. He was ready to bathe. "Let's go bathe. I want to bathe. I'm hot," he said.

He fell down at the port. His wife lifted him up, and he got back up laughing. "I fell down," he said. He had been fine before.

His wife brought him back, and he got sick. His wife boiled the food. She toasted manioc mash to eat with the bananas. Mano Boni lay in his hammock back at the house, after bathing. His wife was toasting manioc mash. She called him. "Aren't you going to eat bananas?" she said.

"I'm not going to eat bananas. I don't want to eat," he said. "You eat bananas," he said. "I will eat later," he said.

He lay back down, and slept. His wife didn't wake him up, because he didn't want to be bothered. His wife ate manioc mash with bananas.

"Mano Boni," she said. "Mano Boni, why are you sleeping, and not eating?" she said.

"I don't want to sleep, but I'm so sleepy I can't keep my eyes open," he said.

"The bananas are all gone," she said.

"Give the bananas to someone else. I don't want to eat bananas," he said. He lay back down again.

The others brought back monkeys. His wife brought back half of one of them. She put the meat on the fire. She went and shook him, so he would eat meat. "Mano Boni, wake up," she said.

"Hoo, I'm so sleepy, why doesn't she leave me alone?" he said.

"You can go back to sleep after you eat," she said. She went and shook him again. He started being crazy. It attacked him. The other shamans didn't want to come to him. They didn't want to suck on him, either. They didn't suck on him, because every time people told him to not kill people, he didn't listen.

"I don't know why Mano Boni went crazy. His wife is complaining," Aba Tosi said. "I'm going fishing. You listen to them talking about how Mano Boni went crazy."

He went into the forest. He went, and he speared fish. Mano Boni went crazy, and the others held onto him. He tried to step on his wife, but he missed his wife. After he missed her, she wouldn't help him anymore. So he lay back down, and went to sleep. She thought he was sleeping. They didn't take him into the forest to bury him, Mano Boni. We live at Kore, the place where Mano Boni's grave is.²⁵

When Mano Boni died they buried him, and then they moved away. They moved away, running away from his smell. They came back this way, moving away. The one who had sent spirits against Mano Boni also came, and ate fish. He came and ate.

His father-in-law called him to go. "Father-in-law, go on ahead. We will go on behind."

"We are ready," he said.

"Father-in-law, go on ahead. We will go behind."

"Take the hammock down."

She took down the hammock, and put the hammock in the basket, their hammock.

"You carry the hammock," he said.

She carried the hammock. He carried the blowgun and the other things. They came. He had his father-in-law go ahead.

They arrived. They came upon the others building a house. He went on by and built a house.

²⁵ Kore seems to be the name of an old village, but Jarawaras today do not recognize the name.

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He and his father-in-law put on the thatch together, *baye* leaves. They made the house. It was getting late in the day. When it was late in the day, he covered the top of the roof.

"What should I do?" he said. "I would go hunting, but the day is already ending. We will sleep hungry. We will eat manioc mash for now."

Aba Tosi liked his father-in-law, he never let him be far away. His father-in-law said he was hungry, and because of him he got up early. He went fishing, and he speared fish. He brought the fish back.

"Cook the fish. Your father is hungry."

His wife cooked the fish, because he told her to. Two of the fish were on sticks. "Two of the fish will be on sticks, to be for you, so we can eat them tomorrow."

His father-in-law was not well. So he worked alone.

He lived with his older brother, his other older brother. Ataro stayed with his younger brother. He worked with Ataro. He was his younger brother. He always found good meat. They were always eating.

He got wounded. A snake bit him. A snake bit him, and he lay in his hammock, sick. His older brother sucked on him to cure him. He got better.

As he lay in his hammock, Bonikana burned the hair off a titi monkey near him, and he smelled the titi. He smelled the smell of the titi, and it jolted him. You shouldn't smell a bad smell when a snake has bitten you. Then his older brother was upset. The snake jolted his younger brother.

His older brother sucked on him, and he held him. He was upset. His older brother sucked on him, but he died.

Then they grieved. Ataro grieved. He went into the forest grieving. He disappeared.

His voice could be heard before dawn as he approached the village again. "I burned the familiar spirits. I burned your familiar spirits, and they are there on the ground, burned up," he said, crying. He was carrying manioc stalks. He brought back manioc stalks, Boniwa.²⁶

He grieved because his younger brother was gone. He brought back a giant anteater. He came grieving. "My younger brother, who I was always with, was killed. It was not familiar spirits that killed him. It was a snake that killed him. When you hunt, you should burn the hair off the animals far away," he said.

He was mad at them. "You hate my brother," he said. "I was curing my brother, but then my brother smelled an animal."

He grieved for a long time. He moved away, and came this way. He came this way, and lived over here. Then he went and lived over there. After living there for a long time, he forgot.

They wanted to have a festa. Then he discovered the *aba* fish. He came back. They wanted to have a festa, and they went into the forest. He went with them. He went into the forest. They stayed out in the forest. They stayed out there. They went into the forest to get game for the festa. They stayed out there.

"I'm going this way. You go the other way," he said.

He discovered the *aba* fish, the ones who live in the Curiá River. He went, and disappeared. He saw the *aba* fish. He shot animals with his blowgun. He came back carrying the animals, woolly monkeys. He arrived back.

"Burn the hair off the animals," he said. He went to the water to bathe. They burned the hair off the animals, and cut the animals up. They made a rack, and roasted the animals on the rack.

They talked back at the village. They were talking at night, and he spoke. "Uncle, uncle."

"Yes?"

26 Boniwa was the name of the manioc spirit.

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"Uncle, there are people living there." He was deceiving them about the *aba* fish.

"Where?"

"There are people living there. You will see the people."

"Are they fierce?"

"They aren't fierce. They are not angry. They are living there."

He listened to them. He told them the news, telling them about the *aba* fish. He remembered the *aba* fish. "The creatures in the water scared me when I found them, and I have come back," he said. "There are many fish in the water there." "We should live in a place where there is a good stream," he said. "You will see the stream that has a lot of fish."

"We will go there and see it."

They slept, and got up early to see the *aba* fish. Noki Maiyi, who would not be left behind, used to tell about it. They went with the women to see the fish. The fish of the Curiá were all along the edge, my aunt used to say. It was an untouched stream. They came back. They went after them. They went after them, and speared them. They washed the points of their arrows off, because the points of their arrows had *iha* poison. They washed the *iha* off of the arrow points and they speared the *aba* fish. They also shot animals with their blowguns. They discovered the Curiá, our ancestors.

Then they left them behind. "Come on, let's go home. Let the *aba* fish be in the water. We will come and see them again," they said. "We will come and live here."

Then they came back, and prepared the animals. They shot woolly monkeys with their blowguns, Noki Maiyi used to say. It was Noki Maiyi who used to say it. They shot woolly monkeys with their blowguns, and they came back. They got firewood, and the sound of them could be heard during the night. They roasted the animals on racks. They also wrapped the *aba* fish, and their voices could be heard during the night. They had discovered the fish of the Curiá. The *aba* fish of the Curiá didn't swim deep, because they had just been discovered, my aunt used to say.

They didn't go back to see them for a long time. Then they did see them when they were hunting. They had seen them, and had come back. They came back, and arrived back. They had a festa back at the village, my aunt used to say, telling about them.

Interlinear Presentation

1	Me me 3PL.POSS pron	ebe ebe RECIP pn	ka ka POSS prt	me me 3PL.POSS pron	ibe ibe RECIP pn	fanawiri fanawiri -ri woman PN pn	,	me fanawi me fanawiri women nf	,
Mano Boni									
Mano Boni (man's name) npropm	hikanawasi hi- ka- OC COMIT vt	na- wasi CAUS get caught aux	na na AUX aux	hiemetemone hi- to- ha -hemete -mone OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F aux					
amani									
ama -ni SEC BKG+F sec	Mano Boni (man's name) npropm	inawa inawa shaman nm							
'Mano Boni put a spell on a woman, Mano Boni who was a shaman.'									

2	Mano Boni Mano Boni (man's name) npropm	hitiabone hi- iti -habone OC marry INT+F vt	Mano Boni Mano Boni (man's name) npropm	nonofa no- nofa DUP like vt
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toharemetemone , **me fanawi** **kako** **kasiromonaha**
 to- ha -ra -hemete -mone , me fanawi kaako.NFIN kasiro -himona -ha
 CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F women be angry with persist REP+M DUP
 aux nf vt vi

'Mano Boni wanted to marry her, but she didn't want Mano Boni, because he mistreated women.'

3 **Me fanawi** **kako** **kasiromona** **nonofa**
 me fanawi kaako.NFIN kasiro -himona no- nofa
 women be angry with be perverse REP+M DUP like
 nf vt vi vt

hiarematamona **fe**
 hi- to- ha -ra -himata -mona fee
 OC CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M 3SG.O
 aux pron

kanawasiwematamonaka
 ka- na- wasi -waha -himata -mona -ka
 COMIT CAUS find change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'She didn't want him because he mistreated women, and he cast a spell on her.'

4 **Ha ya ha ya hiwa tonamowawiti ehene**
 haa ya haa ya hiwa to- namo -waha -witI+M ehene
 DEM ADJU DEM ADJU 3SG.REFL.M away show change out because of+M
 dem prt dem prt pron vt post

ha ya me tokometemone ehene
 haa ya me to- ka -ma -hemete -mone ehene
 DEM ADJU 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F because of+M
 dem prt pron vi post

'They went back to the village a different way because of him. He appeared at a different place.'

5 **Tokoma** **me** , **tai** **toamemetemone** **mera**
 to- ka -ma+F me , tai to- ha -ma -hemete -mone mera
 away go/come back 3PL.S be ahead CH AUX back FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.O
 vi pron vi aux pron

towakamaro , **Mano Boni** **ka** , **arabani**
 to- ka- ka -ma -haaro , Mano Boni ka , arabani
 away COMIT go/come back IP.E+F (man's name) POSS nf
 vt npropm prt

kahoni **ya**
 kaho -hani ya
 tie IP.N+F ADJU
 result prt

'They went back. She went ahead of them, leading them to Mano Boni's shaman's stone without knowing it.'

6 **Arabani i siwa nemetemone amani**
 arabani ihi siwa na -hemete -mone ama -ni
 nf because of+F die AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
 post vi aux sec

'She got sick because of the shaman's stone.'

7 **Bao nisemetemoneke yama**
 bao na -risa -hemete -mone -ke yama
 come down AUX down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F thing
 vi aux nf

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- 14 **Me kamemetemone**
 me ka -ma -hemete -mone
 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vi
 'They came back.'
- 15 **Mani me tama hikanemetemone ahi**
 mani me tama hi- ka- na -hemete -mone ahi
 arm+F 3PL.S hold onto OC COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F then
 pn pron vt aux dem
 'They held onto her arms.'
- 16 **Soninima biti ra kamemetemoneni**
 sona -nima na -biti na -ra+F ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni
 fall about to AUX a little AUX NEG go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi aux aux vi
hine yaka kanaharo
 hine yaka ka- na -haaro
 3.REFL walk COMIT AUX IP.E+F
 pron vi aux
 'She was always almost falling, but she came back, keeping walking.'
- 17 **Kama sonarisa me hikawa me**
 ka -ma+F , sona -risa+F me , hi- ka- waa+F me
 go/come back fall down 3PL.S OC COMIT stand 3PL.S
 vi vi pron vt pron
hitimisamatasa me
 hi- iti -misa -ma -tasa+F me
 OC pick up up back again 3PL.S
 vt pron
hekatasesemetemone
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma -tasa -hemete -mone
 OC away COMIT go/come back again FP.N+F REP+F
 vt
 'As she came back, she fell and they stood her up. They picked her up, and took her on some more.'
- 18 **Hekamawemetemone tabora ya**
 hi- to- ka- ka -ma -waha -hemete -mone tabora ya
 OC away COMIT go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F village ADJU
 vt nf prt
 'They took her back.'
- 19 **Me hikafotometemoneni**
 me hi- ka- foto -ma -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL.S OC COMIT appear back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron vt
 'They appeared with her.'
- 20 **Siwa nemetemoneheni , Aba Tosi itenari**
 siwa na -hemete -mone -he -ni , Aba Tosi ita+M -naari
 die AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F (man's name) stay ?
 vi aux npropm vi
 'She almost died. Aba Tosi was there.'

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21 **Bati** , **Himata okoto ebe nani**
 bati , himata okoto ebe na -hani
 3SG.POSS.father what? my daughter happen to AUX IP.N+F
 nm interrog nf vt aux

amariya ? **ati nematamona**
 ama -ri -ya ati na -himata -mona
 SEC CQ+F now say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 sec vt aux

"What happened to my daughter?" he said.'

22 **Tikoto me hikanawasia awineni**
 tikoto me hi- ka- na- wasi+F awine -ni
 2SG.POSS.daughter 3PL.S OC COMMIT CAUS get caught seem+F BKG+F
 nf pron vt sec

"I guess someone put a spell on your daughter."

23 **Tikoto awara**
 tikoto awa -ra+F
 2SG.POSS.daughter see NEG
 nf result

"Who knows?"

24 **Sona amani**
 sona+F ama -ni
 fall SEC BKG+F
 vi sec

"She fell."

25 **Ota kakamineni me ati nemetemone**
 otaa ka- ka -ma -ne -ni me ati na -hemete -mone
 1EX.S COMMIT go/come back CONT+F BKG+F 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vt pron vt aux

me fanawi one
 me fanawi one
 women other+F
 nf adj

"We have brought her back," they said, the other women.'

26 **Me hikakono awane**
 me hi- kaako -hino awa -ne
 3PL.S OC be angry with IP.N+M seem+M BKG+M
 pron vt sec

"Someone must be angry with her."

27 **Me hikako hinofe amane ati nematamona**
 me hi- kaako hi- nofa+M amane ati na -himata -mona
 3PL.S OC be angry with OC recently SEC BKG+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 pron vt nm sec vt aux

, **bati** , **Aba Tosi haha nebanoho**
 bati , Aba Tosi ha- haa na -hiba -no -ho
 3SG.POSS.father (man's name) DUP call AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 nm npropm vt aux

"Someone is angry with her," he said. He called Aba Tosi.'

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42 *Yama yomarisi ya fotomakematamonane*
 yama yoma -risa.NOM+F ya foto -makI -himata -mona -ne
 thing be dark down ADJU appear following FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 nf vi prt vi

fe kanawasihari
 fee ka- na- wasi -haari
 3SG.O COMIT CAUS get caught IP.E+M
 pron vt

'When it was getting dark he appeared, after casting a spell on her.'

43 *Faya winamakematamonaka fahi*
 faya wina -makI -himata -mona -ka fahi
 so lie in hammock following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj vi dem

'He came and lay in his hammock.'

44 *Ayo remete awineke*
 ayo na -ra -hemete awine -ke
 call someone older brother AUX NEG FP.N+F seem+F DECL+F
 vi aux sec

ayo nemenehe
 ayo na -hemenehe
 call someone older brother AUX HYPOTH+F
 vi aux

'She didn't have an older brother. It would have been good if she had an older brother.'

45 *Fe kanawasi winamakematamona*
 fee ka- na- wasi+M wina -makI -himata -mona
 3SG.O COMIT CAUS get caught lie in hammock following FP.N+M REP+M
 pron vt vi

ehene Aba Tosi toma hinahari
 ehene Aba Tosi toma hi- na -haari
 victim of+M (man's name) suck OC AUX IP.E+M
 pn npropm vt aux

'The one who had cast a spell on her came and lay in his hammock. Aba Tosi had sucked on his victim.'

46 *Toma hina noki hikana toma hinamatasa*
 toma hi- na+F noki hi- ka- na+F toma hi- na -ma -tasa+F
 suck OC AUX wait for OC COMIT AUX suck OC AUX back again
 vt aux vt aux vt aux

faya afi nebona tokomematamonaka fahi
 faya afi na -hibona to- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka fahi
 so bathe AUX INT+M away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj vi aux vi dem

'He sucked on her, and waited for her. He sucked on her some more, and then went to bathe.'

47 *Afi nebona tokome hinaka me inamati ati*
 afi na -hibona to- ka -ma+M hinaka me inamati ati
 bathe AUX INT+M away go/come back 3SG.POSS spirits voice
 vi aux vi pron nf pn

saimetemone
 sai.NOM -mete -mone
 be heard FP.N+F REP+F
 vi

'He went to bathe. The voices of his familiar spirits could be heard.'

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48 *Inamati* *ati* *sai* , *kamematamonaha*
 inamati ati sai+M , ka -ma -himata -mona -ha
 spirit voice be heard go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 nm pn vi vi

'The voice of a spirit could be heard. He came back.'

49 *Kame* *fiya* *nakosamematamonaka*
 ka -ma+M fiya na -kosa -ma -himata -mona -ka
 go/come back pass AUX middle back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi aux

'He came back. He came right on into the house.'

50 *Fiya* *nakosame* , *fiya* *nakosame* , *ye*
 fiya na -kosa -ma+M , fiya na -kosa -ma+M , yehe
 pass AUX middle back pass AUX middle back hand
 vi aux vi aux pn

wanamatase *toma* *hitasemetemoneni*
 wana -ma -tasa+M toma hi- na -tasa -hemete -mone -ni
 be attached back again suck OC AUX again FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi vt aux

'He came right on in. He started working again right away, sucking on her again.'

51 *Ito* *ama* ?
 ito ama
 cold be
 nf vc

'Is it a cold?'

52 *Owa* *okoto* *te* *famahi*
 owa okoto tee fama -hi
 1SG.O my daughter 2PL.S be two IMP+F
 pron nf pron vi

'''Marry my daughter.'''

53 *Okoto* *te* *okoto* *me* *hikako* *hinofa*
 okoto tee okoto me hi- kaako hi- nofa+F
 my daughter 2PL.S my daughter 3PL.S OC be angry with OC recently
 nf pron nf pron vt prt

amani *ati* *nematamona*
 ama -ni ati na -himata -mona
 SEC BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 sec vt aux

'''Someone is angry with my daughter.'''

54 *Okoto* *te* *famahi*
 okoto tee fama -hi
 my daughter 2PL.S be two IMP+F
 nf pron vi

'''Marry my daughter.'''

55 *Me* *hikakoani* *amani*
 me hi- kaako -hani ama -ni
 3PL.S OC be angry with IP.N+F SEC BKG+F
 pron vt sec

'''Someone is angry with my daughter.'''

ABA TOSI

56 *Faya fe ya fafamawa toemetemoneke fahi*
 faya fee ya fa- fama -waha to- ha -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 so 3SG ADJU DUP be two change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 conj pron prt vi aux dem
 'So she married him.'

57 *Faya hikabanawematamonaka*
 faya hi- ka- habana -waha -himata -mona -ka
 so OC COMIT order someone against change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vt

nisori , *nisori* *awaraba*
 nisori nisori awaraba
 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3SG.POSS.younger brother leave alone
 nm nm vt

hiramako
 hi- na -ra -mako
 OC AUX NEG for this reason+M
 aux

'Then he sent a spirit against him, too, because he had messed with his younger brother.'

58 *Aba me ti ne ee sirabarawaha sirabarawa*
 aba me tii na+M ee siraba -rawa -ha siraba -rawa
 fish 3PL.S cut through AUX (pause) fish sp F.PL DUP fish sp F.PL
 nm pron vt aux interj nf nf

ti karawe we ni ya me inamati
 tii ka- na -rawa+M waa+M ni ya me inamati
 cut through COMIT AUX F.PL stand to ADJU spirits
 vt aux vi prt prt nf

kahabaneno , *ka me inamati tokomake*
 ka- habana -hino ka me inamati to- ka -makI
 COMIT order IP.N+M which spirits away go/come following
 vt prt nf vi

towakamakihani , *inamati*
 to- ka- ka -makI -hani inamati
 away COMIT go/come following IP.N+F spirit
 vi nm

hikahowiribisaramata *ko*
 hi- ka- howiri -bisa -ra.NOM+M -mata koo
 OC COMIT hit with elbow also NEG FP.N+M become sick
 vt vi

tobisena
 to- na -bisa -hina
 CH AUX also IRR+M
 aux

'He was cutting fish. He was cutting *siraba* fish. Two spirits that he had sent against him went to him as he stood there. If a spirit had not hit him with its elbow, he would not have gotten sick.'

59 *Siraba waka narawe wahi siraba were narawematamona*
 siraba waka na -rawa+M waa+M siraba were na -rawa -himata -mona
 fish sp kill AUX F.PL stand fish sp throw AUX F.PL FP.N+M REP+M
 nf vt aux vi nf vt aux

, *me inamati kakamakibeni ya*
 me inamati ka- ka -makI -be -ni ya
 spirits COMIT go/come following FUT+F IP.N+F ADJU
 nf vi prt

'He was killing the *siraba* fish. As he stood there, he threw the *siraba* fish as the spirits were coming.'

ABA TOSI

60 *Me kakamakemetemoneni*

me ka- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL.S COMIT go/come following FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron vi

'They came.'

61 *Yana tonebona , siraba yokohori , ti narawe*
 yana to- na -hibona , siraba yokohori , tii na -rawa+M
 start CH AUX INT+M fish sp stinger cut through AUX F.PL
 vi aux nf pn vt aux

wahi ni ya me kakamakemetemoneni

waa+M ni ya me ka- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ni
 stand to ADJU 3PL.S COMIT go/come following FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vi prt prt pron vi

'He was ready to go, and he was cutting the stingers of the *siraba* fish off. They came to him as he stood there.'

62 *Aba me ama ?*

aba me ama ?
 fish 3PL.S be
 nm pron vc

""Are they fish?""

63 *Aba me amani*

aba me ama -ni
 fish 3PL.S be BKG+F
 nm pron vc

""They are fish.""

64 *Siraba waka orawa owine o*
 siraba waka o- na -rawa+F o- waa -ne o-
 fish sp kill 1SG.S AUX F.PL 1SG.S stand CONT+F 1SG.S
 nf vt aux vi prt

""I am standing here killing *siraba* fish.""

65 *Siraba waka naraweno ati amane*
 siraba waka na -rawa -hino ati ama -ne
 fish sp kill AUX F.PL IP.N+M voice be BKG+M
 nf vt aux pn vc

""He says he is killing *siraba* fish.""

66 *Oof tafehiba siraba waka naraweno ati amane*
 oof tafa -hiba siraba waka na -rawa -hino ati ama -ne
 hoo eat FUT+M fish sp kill AUX F.PL IP.N+M voice be BKG+M
 interj vi nf vt aux pn vc

""Hoo, he says he is killing *siraba* fish, so he can eat.""

67 *Siraba wataki nofarawa waka orawine*
 siraba wataka nofa -rawa+F waka o- na -rawa -ne
 fish sp be fatty recently F.PL kill 1SG.S AUX F.PL CONT+F
 nf vi prt vt aux

oni ati nematamona
 o- ni ati na -himata -mona
 1SG.S BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 prt vt aux

""I am killing fatty *siraba* fish," he said.'

ABA TOSI

68 *Ee*
 ee
 yes
 interj
 "All right."

69 *Tikamibana* ?
 ti- to- ka -ma+F -bana
 2SG.S away go/come back FUT
 vi
 "Are you leaving?"

70 *Ee okomabana oke*
 ee o- to- ka -ma -habana o- ke
 yes 1SG.S away go/come back FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F
 interj vi prt
 "Yes, I'm going home."

71 *Tikamiya fe me fe*
 ti- to- ka -ma -yahi fee me fee
 2SG.S away go/come back DIST.IMP+F 3SG.O 3PL 3SG.O
 vi pron pron pron

watebanoho
 wata -hiba -no -ho
 catch FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vt
 "Go ahead." He caught him.'

72 *Komane ra watehimatamonane inamati*
 Komane ra wata -himata -mona -ne inamati
 (man's name) O catch FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M spirit
 npropm prt vt nm
 'The spirit caught Komane.'

73 *Inamati hiwatematamonane*
 inamati hi- wata -himata -mona -ne
 spirit OC catch FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 nm vt
 'The spirit caught him.'

74 *Inamati hiwate matonebona inamati owa tore*
 inamati hi- wata+M matone -bona inamati owa tore
 spirit OC catch line+M INT+M spirit other+M pull
 nm vt pn nm adj vt

hinisematamona
 hi- na -risa -himata -mona
 OC AUX down FP.N+M REP+M
 aux
 'The spirit caught him. The other spirit pulled down some vines to tie him up with.'

75 *Faya fe me wete nemetemoneke fahi*
 faya fee me wete na -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 so 3SG.O 3PL.S tie AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 conj pron pron vt aux dem
 'They tied him up.'

ABA TOSI

76 *Fe me wete na me awa wa awa wakosa ya*
 fee me wete na+F me awa waa+F awa waa -kosa+F ya
 3SG.O 3PL.S tie AUX 3PL.S tree stand tree stand middle ADJU
 pron pron vt aux pron nf vi nf vi prt

sara taminakosa ya me wete
 sara tamina -kosa+F ya , me wete
 seasonally flooded area be good middle ADJU 3PL.S tie
 nf vi prt pron vt

hinematamonane

hi- na -himata -mona -ne
 OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 aux

'They tied him up. They tied him to a tree that was in the middle of a clear place in the area that floods in the high water season.'

77 *Faya wanematamona fahi , Mano Boni*
 faya wana -himata -mona fahi Mano Boni
 so be attached FP.N+M REP+M then (man's name)
 conj vi dem npropm

hikahabanari nisori
 hi- ka- habana -haari , nisori
 OC COMIT order someone against IP.E+M 3SG.POSS.younger brother
 vt nm

yawehibanoho

yawa -hiba -no -ho
 be upset FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vi

'He was there on the tree. Mano Boni had sent spirits against him. His younger brother grieved.'

78 *Manako e ibe tohaterimakoni*
 manako ee ibe to- ha -tee -ra -makoni
 revenge 1IN.POSS RECIP CH pay back HAB NEG for this reason+F
 nf pron pn vt

'People take revenge.'

79 *Fare totoa na toe manako*
 fare to- to- ha na toe ha+M manako
 same+M DUP CH pay back AUX CH AUX revenge
 dem vt aux aux nf

hiawematamonaka

hi- to- ha -waha -himata -mona -ka
 OC CH pay back change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt

'He was always casting spells on people, and he got revenge on him.'

80 *Faya fe me tisa me , faya fe me*
 faya fee me tisa+F me , faya fee me
 so 3SG.O 3PL.S undo 3PL.S so 3SG.O 3PL.S
 conj pron pron vt pron conj pron pron

tisemetemoneke

tisa -hemete -mone -ke
 undo FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'They untied him.'

ABA TOSI

81 *Tikamiya*

ti- to- ka -ma -yahi
 2SG.S away go/come back DIST.IMP+F
 vi

"Go home."

82 *Tikamiyahi*

ti- to- ka -ma -yahi
 2SG.S away go/come back DIST.IMP+F
 vi

"Go home."

83 *Titafamibe*

ti- to- tafa -ma -be
 2SG.S away eat back IMMED+F
 vi

"Go and eat."

84 *Faya* , *faya* *siraba* *kakamarawe* *ya* *siraba*
 faya , faya siraba ka- ka -ma -rawa.NOM+M ya siraba
 so so fish sp COMMIT go/come back F.PL ADJU fish sp
 conj conj nf vt prt nf

weye *narawe* *kame*
 weye na -rawa+M ka -ma+M
 carry AUX F.PL go/come back
 vt aux vi

'So he brought the *siraba* fish back. He carried the *siraba* fish on his back. He came back.'

85 *Faya* *me* *kakame* *siraba* *kakamarawe*
 faya me ka- ka -ma+M siraba ka- ka -ma -rawa+M
 so 3PL.O COMMIT go/come back fish sp COMMIT go/come back F.PL
 conj pron vt nf vt

kame *fati* , *fati* *fati* *siraba*
 ka -ma+M fati , fati fati fati siraba
 go/come back 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife fish sp
 vi nf nf nf nf nf

tori *itirawa* *siraba* *kabarawarematamonahane*
 tori iti -rawa+F siraba kaba -rawa -ra -himata -mona -ha -ne
 guts+F take out F.PL fish sp eat F.PL NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M
 pn vt nf vt

'He brought them back. He brought the *siraba* fish back. He came back. His wife gutted the *siraba* fish, but he didn't eat the *siraba* fish.'

86 *Siraba* , *aba* *me* *tori* *titi*
 siraba , aba me tori ti- iti
 fish sp fish 3PL.POSS guts+F 2SG.S take out
 nf nm pron pn vt

"Gut the *siraba* fish."

87 *Titafibe*

ti- tafa -be
 2SG.S eat IMMED+F
 vi

"You eat."

ABA TOSI

88 *Titafibe*

ti- tafa -be
2SG.S eat IMMED+F
vi

"You eat."

89 *Aba me tori titi*

aba me tori ti- iti
fish 3PL.POSS guts+F 2SG.S take out
nm pron pn vt

"Gut the fish."

90 *Faya siraba tori itirawa aba me aba me*
faya siraba tori iti -rawa+F aba me aba me
so fish sp guts+F take out F.PL fish 3PL fish 3PL.S
conj nf pn vt nm pron nm pron

rafa nemetemoneni
rafa.LIST na -hemete -mone -ni
wrap AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
vt aux

'She gutted the *siraba* fish. She wrapped the fish.'

91 *Maki yama ai rematamonaka fari*
maki yama ahi na -ra -himata -mona -ka faari
3SG.POSS.husband thing work on AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+M
nm nf vt aux dem

'Her husband didn't work.'

92 *Maki yama ahi rematamonane me inamati*
maki yama ahi na -ra -himata -mona -ne me inamati
3SG.POSS.husband thing work on AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M spirits
nm nf vt aux nf

wete hinahari Mano Boni hikahabanari
wete hi- na -haari Mano Boni hi- ka- habana -haari
tie OC AUX IP.E+M (man's name) OC COMMIT order someone against IP.E+M
vt aux npropm vt

'Her husband didn't work. The spirits had tied him up, because Mano Boni had sent them against him.'

93 *Faya me ebe na faya yama sawa na amo ne*
faya me ebe na+F faya yama sawa na+F amo na+M
so 3PL.O divide up AUX so thing serve AUX sleep AUX
conj pron vt aux conj nf vt aux vi aux

amo nisehino wine amo nisehino
amo na -risa -hino wina+M amo na -risa -hino
sleep AUX down IP.N+M lie in hammock sleep AUX down IP.N+M
vi aux vi aux

fati mowa hine hiwa yana
fati mowa hi- na+M hiwa yana
3SG.POSS.wife shake OC AUX 3SG.REFL.M start
nf vt aux pron vi

kanematamonaka fahi manako Aba Tosi
ka- na -himata -mona -ka fahi manako Aba Tosi
COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then revenge (man's name)
aux dem nf npropm

ABA TOSI

hihawebanoho

hi- to- ha -waha -hiba -no -ho
 OC CH pay back change FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vt

'She served the food. He slept. He fell asleep in his hammock. He fell asleep, and his wife shook him. He got sick. Aba Tosi got revenge against him.'

94 *Yama yoyofina toemetemone amake , me inamati*
 yama yo- yofina to- ha -hemete -mone ama -ke me inamati
 thing DUP cause fear CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F spirits
 nf vi aux sec nf

ihi wati karo
 ihi wata.NOM+F karo
 victim of+F exist which
 pn nm prt

'It was a scary thing when the spirits killed people.'

95 *Faya me ati sai , me , mowa hine tafehibona*
 faya me ati sai+M , me , mowa hi- na+M tafa -hibona
 so 3PL voice be heard 3PL shake OC AUX eat INT+M
 conj pron pn vi pron vt aux vi

mowa hine ati hiyarematamona
 mowa hi- na+M ati hiya -ra -himata -mona
 shake OC AUX voice be bad NEG FP.N+M REP+M
 vt aux pn vi

'He was talking. She shook him so he would eat, but he said no.'

96 *Titafa*
 ti- tafa
 2SG.S eat
 vi

""You eat.""

97 *Siwa orini*
 siwa o- na -ra -ni
 die 1SG.S AUX NEG BKG+F
 vi aux

""I'm not feeling good.""

98 *Siwa okere*
 siwa o- na -ke -re
 die 1SG.S AUX DECL+F NEG+F
 vi aux

""I'm not feeling good.""

99 *Owa me kahabanani oni*
 owa me ka- habana -hani o- ni
 1SG.O 3PL.S COMIT order someone against IP.N+F 1SG.O BKG+F
 pron pron vt prt

""Someone sent spirits against me.""

100 *Owa me kahabanahani , me inamati owa*
 owa me ka- habana -hani me inamati owa
 1SG.O 3PL.S COMIT order someone against IP.N+F spirits 1SG.O
 pron pron vt nf pron

ABA TOSI

"Go out in the forest, go out in the forest," he said about him. He went out in the forest with his wife.¹²⁷

107 *Fe* *nokosi* *yokana* *tokematamonaka*
 fee nokosi yokana to- ka -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS before true away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron pn adj vi

'He went into the forest ahead of him.'

108 *Fe* *nokosi* *yokana* *tokematamonane*
 fee nokosi yokana to- ka -himata -mona -ne
 3SG.POSS before true away go/come FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 pron pn adj vi

'He went into the forest ahead of him.'

109 *Toke* , *yana* *kabote* *nematamonaka*
 to- ka+M yana na -kabote na -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come start AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi vi aux aux

'He went. He got to work right away.'

110 *Sina* *hisi* *ne* , *sina* *hisi* *ne*
 sina hisi na+M sina hisi na+M
 snuff sniff AUX snuff sniff AUX
 nf vt aux nf vt aux

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

'He took snuff. He went after him.'

111 *Hiwa* *kakaiyara* *raba* *nofare*
 hiwa ka- ka- hiyara na -raba na nofa -ra+M
 3SG.REFL.M DUP COMIT speak AUX a bit AUX recently NEG
 pron vt aux aux

okoyo *kahabaneno* *amane*
 o- ka ayo ka- habana -hino ama -ne
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother COMIT order IP.N+M SEC BKG+M
 nm vt sec

"He is strong, he sent spirits against my brother."

112 *Tokomakematamona* *ahi* , *manako*
 to- ka -makI -himata -mona ahi manako
 away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M then revenge
 vi dem nf

hikahabanabise *me inamati* *e*
 hi- ka- habana -bisa+M me inamati ee
 OC COMIT order someone against also spirits yell
 vt nf vi

hikanibanoho
 hi- ka- niha- na -hiba -no -ho
 OC COMIT CAUS AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 aux

'He went there. He ordered spirits against him, in revenge. The spirits scared him.'

27 The word *tokakaba* is a magical word used in a spell.

ABA TOSI

113 *Me inamati e hikanimatamonaka fahi*
 me inamati ee hi- ka- niha- na -himata -mona -ka fahi
 spirits yell OC DUP CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nf vi aux dem

'The spirits scared him.'

114 *Eee owa te awaraba nahi*
 eee owa tee awaraba na -hi
 (scream when attacked) 1SG.O 2PL.S leave alone AUX IMP+F
 interj pron pron vt aux

""Eee, leave me alone.""

115 *Yama me inamati owa te awaraba nahi ati*
 yama me inamati owa tee awaraba na -hi ati
 thing spirits 1SG.O 2PL.S leave alone AUX IMP+F say
 nf nf pron pron vt aux vt

nematamonane

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

""Spirits, leave me alone," he said.'

116 *Hawa afe tonakematamonaka yamata*
 hawa afe to- na- ka -himata -mona -ka yamata
 palm sp leaf+F away CAUS go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M food
 nf pn vt nf

wiyebonehe

wiye -bone -he
 container+F INT+F DUP
 pn

'He went after *hawa* palm leaves, to make a basket for carrying food.'

117 *Yamata wiyebone tonakematamonaha*
 yamata wiye -bone to- na- ka -himata -mona -ha
 food container+F INT+F away CAUS go/come FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 nf pn vt

'He went after something to carry food in.'

118 *Tatamina nematamonaka kamahari*
 ta- tamina na -himata -mona -ka ka -ma -haari
 DUP be good AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M go/come back IP.E+M
 vi aux vi

fati ni ya
 fati ni ya
 3SG.POSS.wife to ADJU
 nf prt prt

'He was fine when he came back to his wife.'

119 *Himata ebe tina tiwati amariya ; ati*
 himata ebe ti- na ti- ati ama -ri -ya ati
 what? purpose 2SG.S AUX 2SG.POSS voice be CQ+F now say
 interrog vt aux pn vc vt

nemetemonehe

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

""Why did you speak?" she said.'

ABA TOSI

120 *Owati* *watakerene*
 o- ati wata -ke -re -ne
 1SG.POSS voice exist DECL+F NEG+F IRR+F
 pn vi

"I didn't speak."

121 *Owati* *watarini* *ati* *nematamona*
 o- ati wata -ra -ni ati na -himata -mona
 1SG.POSS voice exist NEG BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 pn vi vt aux

"I didn't speak," he said.'

122 *Owati* *watarini*
 o- ati wata -ra -ni
 1SG.POSS voice exist NEG BKG+F
 pn vi

"I didn't speak."

123 *Hima* *yifari* *weye* *tibeya*
 hima yifari weye ti- na -be -ya
 let's go banana carry 2SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 interj nf vt aux

"Come on, you carry the bananas."

124 *Yifari* *me* *tonakamakiemetemoneke* *waha*
 yifari me to- na- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke waha
 banana 3PL.S away CAUS go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F now
 nf pron vt prt

'They went to get the bananas.'

125 *Yifari* *me* *tonakamakiwa* *me* *yifari*
 yifari me to- na- ka -makI -waha+F me yifari
 banana 3PL.S away CAUS go/come following change 3PL.S banana
 nf pron vt pron nf
me te na fati yifari weye nemetemone
 me tee na+F fati yifari weye na -hemete -mone
 3PL.S put inside AUX 3SG.POSS.wife banana carry AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vt aux nf vt aux

'They went to get the bananas. They put the bananas in the basket. His wife carried the bananas.'

126 *Yama* *weye* *rematamonahane*
 yama weye na -ra -himata -mona -ha -ne
 thing carry AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M
 nf vt aux

'He didn't carry anything.'

127 *Me* *kakama* *me* *kobo*
 me ka- ka -ma+F me kobo
 3PL.S COMIT go/come back 3PL.S arrive
 pron vi pron vi

kanamemetemoneke *fahi*
 ka- na -ma -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 COMIT AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux dem

'They came back, and they arrived.'

ABA TOSI

128 *Me kobo kanama me , afi nebonaha yana*
 me kobo ka- na -ma+F me , afi na -hibona -ha yana
 3PL.S arrive COMMIT AUX back 3PL.S bathe AUX INT+M DUP start
 pron vi aux pron vi aux vi

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

'They arrived back. He was ready to bathe.'

129 *E afi tokanamamatahi ati*
 ee afi to- ka- na -ma -mata -hi ati
 1IN.S bathe away COMMIT AUX back short time IMP+F say
 pron vi aux vt

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

'''Let's go bathe.'''

130 *E afi tokanamamatahi*
 ee afi to- ka- na -ma -mata -hi
 1IN.S bathe away COMMIT AUX back short time IMP+F
 pron vi aux

'''Let's go bathe.'''

131 *Afi obeya*
 afi o- na -be -ya
 bathe 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F now
 vi aux

'''I want to bathe.'''

132 *Yama owa kaiwini ati nematamona , faya*
 yama owa ka- hiwa -ni ati na -himata -mona faya
 thing 1SG.O COMMIT be hot BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M so
 nf pron vt aux vt aux conj

sonebano fahi fa kabine ya
 sona -hiba -no fahi faha kabine ya
 fall FUT+M IP.N+M then port ADJU
 vi dem nf prt

'''I'm hot,' he said. He fell down at the port.'

133 *Fa kabine ya bao nisematamonaka fahi*
 faha kabine ya bao na -risa -himata -mona -ka fahi
 port ADJU come down AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 nf prt vi aux dem

'He fell at the port.'

134 *Bao nise fahi hoka hine haha ni*
 bao na -risa+M fahi hoka hi- na+M haahaa na.NFIN
 come down AUX down 3SG.POSS.wife yank OC AUX laugh AUX
 vi aux nf vt aux vi aux

yana kamsamematamona
 yana ka- na -misa -ma -himata -mona
 get up COMMIT AUX up back FP.N+M REP+M
 vi aux

ABA TOSI

'He fell down. His wife lifted him up, and he got back up laughing.'

135 *Osawahini* *ati* *nematamona*
 o- sona -waha -ni ati na -himata -mona
 1SG.S fall change BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi vt aux

'"I fell down," he said.'

136 *Kikita* *raba* *re* *fati*
 ki- kita na -raba na -ra+M fati
 DUP be strong AUX a bit AUX NEG 3SG.POSS.wife
 vi aux aux nf

hekame *sisiwa* *rebanoho*
 hi- ka- ka -ma+M si- siwa na -ra -hiba -no -ho
 OC COMIT go/come back DUP die AUX NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vt vi aux

'He had been fine before. His wife brought him back, and he got sick.'

137 *Faya* *fati* *hekamematamona* *fahi*
 faya fati hi- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona fahi
 so 3SG.POSS.wife OC COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj nf vt dem

'His wife brought him back.'

138 *Fati* *yamata* *kawaria* , *yifari* ,
 fati yamata ka- waa -rI+F yifari
 3SG.POSS.wife food COMIT cook raised surface banana
 nf nf vt nf

kakawi *nabone* *iyawa* *siremetemone*
 ka- kawi na -habone iyawa sira -hemete -mone
 DUP eat with something AUX INT+F manioc mash toast FP.N+F REP+F
 vt aux nf vt

'His wife boiled the food. She toasted manioc mash to eat with the bananas.'

139 *Mano Boni* *winamematamonaha* , *afi* *nari*
 Mano Boni wina -ma -himata -mona -ha , afi na -haari
 (man's name) lie in hammock back FP.N+M REP+M DUP bathe AUX IP.E+M
 npropm vi vi aux

'Mano Boni lay in his hammock back at the house, after bathing.'

140 *Afi* *ne* *winamematamonaha*
 afi na+M wina -ma -himata -mona -ha
 bathe AUX lie in hammock back FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 vi aux vi

'After bathing he lay in his hammock.'

141 *Fati* *iyawa* *sira* , *ha* *hinematamonane*
 fati iyawa sira+F , haa hi- na -himata -mona -ne
 3SG.POSS.wife manioc mash toast call OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 nf nf vt vt aux

'His wife was toasting manioc mash. She called him.'

ABA TOSI

142 *Yifari yome tiribana* ; *ati nemetemone*
 yifari yome ti- na -ra+F -bana ; ati na -hemete -mone
 banana swallow 2SG.S AUX NEG FUT say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nf vt aux vt aux

"Aren't you going to eat bananas?" she said.'

143 *Yifari yome onaba tafi owati*
 yifari yome o- na -haba tafa.NFIN o- ati
 banana swallow 1SG.S AUX FUT+F eat 1SG.POSS voice
 nf vt aux vi pn

nofarini ati nematamona
 nofa -ra -ni ati na -himata -mona
 want NEG BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vt vt aux

"I'm not going to eat bananas. I don't want to eat," he said.'

144 *Tafi owati nofarini*
 tafa.NFIN o- ati nofa -ra -ni
 eat 1SG.POSS voice want NEG BKG+F
 vi pn vt

"I don't want to eat."

145 *Yifari yome tinahi ati nematamonaha*
 yifari yome ti- na -hi ati na -himata -mona -ha
 banana swallow 2SG.S AUX IMP+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 nf vt aux vt aux

"You eat bananas," he said.'

146 *Tafi owati nofarini*
 tafa.NFIN o- ati nofa -ra -ni
 eat 1SG.POSS voice want NEG BKG+F
 vi pn vt

"I don't want to eat."

147 *Yifari yome tinahi*
 yifari yome ti- na -hi
 banana swallow 2SG.S AUX IMP+F
 nf vt aux

"You eat bananas."

148 *Otafaba owa awine oni ati nematamona*
 o- tafa -haba owa awine o- ni ati na -himata -mona
 1SG.S eat FUT+F 1SG.S seem+F 1SG.S BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi pron sec prt vt aux

"I will eat later," he said.'

149 *Faya wete toname amo nematamonaka fahi*
 faya wete to- na -ma+M amo na -himata -mona -ka fahi
 so return away AUX back sleep AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 conj vi aux vi aux dem

'He lay back down, and slept.'

150 *Fati mowa hirematamonane ati*
 fati mowa hi- na -ra -himata -mona -ne ati
 3SG.POSS.wife shake OC AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M voice
 nf vt aux pn

ABA TOSI

kasiromako

kasiro -mako
persist for this reason+M
vi

'His wife didn't wake him up, because he didn't want to be bothered.'

151 **Fati** **mowa** **hire** , **fati** **iyawa**
fati mowa hi- na -ra+M , fati iyawa
3SG.POSS.wife shake OC AUX NEG 3SG.POSS.wife manioc mash
nf vt aux nf nf

kaba , **yifari** **kakawi** **na** , **Mano Boni** **ati**
kaba+F yifari ka- kawi na+F Mano Boni ati
eat banana DUP eat with something AUX (man's name) say
vt nf vt aux npropm vt

nemetemone

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

'His wife didn't wake him up. His wife ate manioc mash with bananas. "Mano Boni," she said.'

152 **Mano Boni** , **tatafa** **tiraha** **amo** **tibana**
Mano Boni ta- tafa ti- na -ra+F amo ti- na -bana
(man's name) DUP eat 2SG.S AUX NEG sleep 2SG.S AUX FUT
npropm vi aux vi aux

tini **amo** **tibana** **tini** ; **ati** **nemetemone**
ti- ni amo ti- na -bana ti- ni ; ati na -hemete -mone
2SG.S BKG+F sleep 2SG.S AUX FUT 2SG.S BKG+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
prt vi aux prt vt aux

'"Mano Boni, why are you sleeping, and not eating?" she said.'

153 **Amo** **oraba** **nokobisa** **onoko**
amo o- na -ra -haba nokobisa o- noko
sleep 1SG.S AUX NEG FUT+F sleepiness 1SG.POSS eye
vi aux nf pn

katomimakone

katoma -mako -ne o- ni
attack for this reason CONT+F 1SG.POSS BKG+F
vt prt

'"I don't want to sleep, but I'm so sleepy I can't keep my eyes open."²⁸

154 **Nokobisa** **onoko** **katomimakoni** **ama** **oni**
nokobisa o- noko katoma -makoni ama o- ni
sleepiness 1SG.POSS eye look at for this reason+F SEC 1SG.POSS BKG+F
nf pn vt sec prt

ati nematamona

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

'"I'm so sleepy, I can't keep my eyes open," he said.'

28 It is very difficult to hear this sentence, and Jarawara speakers disagree on what they hear. I have retained the content that Bibiri hears, but if this is correct, it is the only case I have seen of the continuous suffix *-ne* co-occurring with possessor agreement (i.e. in *oni*). It is also the only case I have seen of possessor agreement occurring without Tense.

ABA TOSI

155 *Yifari abakene ati nemetemone*
 yifari ahaba -ke -ne ati na -hemete -mone
 banana end DECL+F IRR+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nf vi vt aux

'"The bananas are all gone," she said.'

156 *Me tinatafahi*
 me ti- na- tafa -hi
 3PL.O 2SG.S CAUS eat IMP+F
 pron vt

'"Give the bananas to someone else."

157 *Yifari yome ni owati nofarini ati*
 yifari yome na.NFIN o- ati nofa -ra -ni ati
 banana swallow AUX 1SG.POSS voice want NEG BKG+F say
 nf vt aux pn vt vt

nematamona

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

'"I don't want to eat bananas," he said.'

158 *Faya wete toname , bani me me*
 faya wete to- na -ma+M , bani me me
 so return away AUX back animal 3PL.O 3PL.S
 conj vi aux nm pron pron

hekama me , bani me me
 hi- ka- ka -ma+F me , bani me me
 OC COMIT go/come back 3PL.O animal 3PL.O 3PL.S
 vt pron nm pron pron

hekama beheri ra fati kakama
 hi- ka- ka -ma+F beheri ra fati ka- ka -ma+F
 OC COMIT go/come back side O 3SG.POSS.wife COMIT go/come back
 vt pn prt nf vi

bani kakibanaha , bani fati
 bani ka- ibana+F , bani fati
 animal COMIT roast animal 3SG.POSS.wife
 nm vt nm nf

kakibanemetemoneke

ka- ibana -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT roast FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'He lay back down again. The others brought back monkeys. His wife brought back half of one of them. She put the meat on the fire.'

159 *Faya momowa hinamematamonane bani*
 faya mo- mowa hi- to- na -ma -himata -mona -ne bani
 so DUP shake OC away AUX back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M animal
 conj vt aux nm

kabebonaha

kaba -hibona -ha
 eat INT+M DUP
 vt

'She went and shook him, so he would eat meat.'

ABA TOSI

160 *Mano Boni titafahi*
 Mano Boni ti- tafa -hi
 (man's name) 2SG.S eat IMP+F
 npropm vi

"Mano Boni, wake up."

161 *Titafibeya*
 ti- tafi -be -ya
 2SG.S wake up IMMED+F now
 vi

"Wake up."

162 *Titafahi ati nemetemonehe*
 ti- tafi -hi ati na -hemete -mone -he
 2SG.S wake up IMP+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP
 vi vt aux

"Wake up," she said.'

163 *Hoo owa ni nokobisa hahata ra aawa*
 hoo owa ni nokobisa ha- hata na -ra+F a- awa
 whew 1SG to sleepiness DUP be fast AUX NEG DUP not cooperate
 interj pron prt nf vi aux vi

re ati amane ati nematamona
 na -ra+M ati ama -ne ati na -himata -mona
 AUX NEG voice be BKG+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 aux pn vc vt aux

"Hoo, I'm so sleepy, why doesn't she leave me alone?" he said.'

164 *Amo tiwahibeya ati nemetemoneheni*
 amo ti- na -waha -be -ya ati na -hemete -mone -he -ni
 sleep 2SG.S AUX change IMMED+F now say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F
 vi aux vt aux

"You can go back to sleep after you eat," she said.'

165 *Faya mowa hinamatase hiwa yana*
 faya mowa hi- to- na -ma -tasa+M hiwa yana
 so fight OC away AUX back again 3SG.REFL.M start
 conj vt aux pron vi

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

'She went and shook him again. He started being crazy.'

166 *Fito hikanematamonaha*
 fito hi- ka- na -himata -mona -ha
 rush OC COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 vi aux

'It attacked him.'

167 *Me fito hikarematamonaka*
 me fito hi- ka- na -ra -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.S rush OC COMIT AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vi aux

'They didn't want to come to him.'

ABA TOSI

168 *Me toma hirihi hinematamonane*
 me toma hi- na -rihi hi- na -himata -mona -ne
 3PL.S suck OC AUX NEG.LIST OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 pron vt aux aux

'They didn't want to suck on him, either.'

169 *Me toma hirematamonaka fare warabo*
 me toma hi- na -ra -himata -mona -ka fare warabo
 3PL.S suck OC AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M same+M ear+M
 pron vt aux dem pn

nofima

na nofa.NOM+F -ma
 AUX recently like
 aux

'They didn't suck on him, because every time people told him [to not kill people, he didn't listen].'

170 *Mano Boni e aware rabike fati ati*
 Mano Boni ee awa -ra+M rabika+M fati , ati
 (man's name) 1IN.S see NEG be crazy 3SG.POSS.wife voice
 npropm pron vt vi nf pn

saineni ati nematamona
 sai -ne -ni ati na -himata -mona
 be heard CONT+F BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vi vt aux

'I don't know why Mano Boni went crazy. His wife is complaining,' he said.'

171 *Fa ki omatibeya*
 faha kii o- na -mata -be -ya
 water look at 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F now
 nf vt aux

'I'm going fishing.'

172 *Fa ki omatibe*
 faha kii o- na -mata -be
 water look at 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F
 nf vt aux

'I'm going fishing.'

173 *Me ati te kamita , Mano Boni*
 me ati tee ka- mita , Mano Boni
 3PL.POSS voice 2PL.S COMIT hear (man's name)
 pron pn pron vt npropm

rabikamonaha

rabika.NOM+M -mona -ha
 be crazy REP+M DUP
 vi

'You listen to them talking about how Mano Boni went crazy.'

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

'He went into the forest.'

ABA TOSI

175	<i>Toke</i>	<i>aba</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>sa</i>		<i>nematamonaha</i>	
	to- ka+M	aba	me	saa		na -himata -mona -ha	
	away go/come	fish	3PL.O	shoot with arrow		AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP	
	vi	nm	pron	vt		aux	

'He went, and he speared fish.'

176	<i>Mano Boni</i>	<i>rabike</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>hikane</i>	<i>fati</i>	
	Mano Boni	rabika+M	me	tama	hi- ka- na+M	fati	
	(man's name)	be crazy	3PL.S	hold onto	OC COMIT AUX	3SG.POSS.wife	
	npropm	vi	pron	vt	aux	nf	
	<i>tai</i>	<i>towitina</i>		<i>fati</i>	<i>hani</i>		
	tai	to- na -witI	-hina	fati	hani		
	step on	away AUX out	IRR+M	3SG.POSS.wife	miss		
	vt	aux		nf	vt		

tonihematamona

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

'Mano Boni went crazy, and the others held onto him. He tried to step on his wife, but he missed his wife.'

177	<i>Faya</i>	<i>hinarifamarematamonaka</i>		<i>fe</i>	<i>hani</i>
	faya	hi- narifa -ma -ra -himata -mona -ka		fee	hani
	so	OC help back NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M		3SG.O	miss
	conj	vt		pron	vt

tonihari

to- niha- na -haari
CH CAUS AUX IP.E+M
aux

'After he missed her, she wouldn't help him anymore.'

178	<i>Faya</i>	<i>wete</i>	<i>toname</i>	<i>amo</i>	<i>nise</i>	<i>amo</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>ama</i>
	faya	wete	to- na -ma+M	amo	na -risa+M	amo	na+M	ama
	so	return	away AUX back	sleep	AUX down	sleep	AUX	be
	conj	vi	aux	vi	aux	vi	aux	vc

nakani

na+M -kani
AUX CNTRFACT say OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux vt

'So he lay back down, and went to sleep. She thought he was sleeping.'²⁹

179	<i>Me</i>	<i>hekarematamonaka</i>		<i>abari</i>	
	me	hi- to- ka- ka	-ra -himata -mona -ka	ahaba -haari	
	3PL.S	OC away COMIT go/come	NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	die	IP.E+M
	pron	vt		vi	

Mano Boni

Mano Boni
(man's name)
npropm

'They didn't take him into the forest, Mano Boni.'

180	<i>Mano Boni</i>	<i>temene</i>	<i>itematamona</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>nanao</i>
	Mano Boni	temene	ita -himata -mona	ee	na- naho
	(man's name)	grave+M	sit FP.N+M REP+M	1IN.S	CAUS stay
	npropm	pn	vi	pron	vi

29 At this point Yowao pointed out that there was a mosquito on my stomach.

ABA TOSI

187 *Ota towakamakiaba ota*
 otaa to- ka- ka -makI -haba otaa
 1EX.S away COMIT go/come following FUT+F 1EX.S
 pron vi pron

"We will go on behind."

188 *Ota yana tokobonehe ati nematamona*
 otaa yana to- ka- na.NOM -bone -he ati na -himata -mona
 1EX.S start CH COMIT AUX INT+F DUP say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 pron vi aux vt aux

"We are ready," he said.'

189 *Iti tai tiwamake*
 iti tai ti- to- ha -makI
 father-in-law be ahead 2SG.S CH AUX following
 nm vi aux

"Father-in-law, go on ahead."

190 *Ota towakamakiaba otani*
 otaa to- ka- ka -makI -haba otaa -ni
 1EX.S away COMIT go/come following FUT+F 1EX.S BKG+F
 pron vi pron

"We will go behind."

191 *Yifo tikatisa*
 yifo ti- ka- tisa
 hammock 2SG.S COMIT undo
 nm vt

"Take the hammock down."

192 *Faya yifo katisa faya yifo*
 faya yifo ka- tisa+F faya yifo
 so hammock COMIT undo so hammock
 conj nm vt conj nm

katisemetemoneke

ka- tisa -hemete -mone -ke
 COMIT undo FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 vt

'She took down the hammock.'

193 *Yifo katisa yifo te nemetemonehe me*
 yifo ka- tisa+F yifo tee na -hemete -mone -he me
 hammock COMIT undo hammock put inside AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP 3PL
 nm vt nm vt aux

ka yifo
 ka yifo
 POSS hammock
 prt nm

'She took down the hammock, and put the hammock in the basket, their hammock.'

194 *Yifo weye tikanahi ati nematamonaha*
 yifo weye ti- ka- na -hi ati na -himata -mona -ha
 hammock carry 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMP+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 nm vt aux vt aux

"You carry the hammock," he said.'

ABA TOSI

195 *Yifo weye kanemetemone fero*
 yifo weye ka- na -hemete -mone -ke faaro
 hammock carry COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F that+F
 nm vt aux dem

'She carried the hammock.'

196 *Karaboa ya yama taba ra tiwa kanematamona*
 karaboha ya yama taba+F ra tiwa ka- na -himata -mona
 blowgun ADJU thing be together O carry COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nf prt nf vi prt vt aux

fari

faari
 that one+M
 dem

'He carried the blowgun and the other things.'

197 *Me kakamakemetemone fahi*
 me ka- ka -makI -hemete -mone fahi
 3PL.S COMIT go/come following FP.N+F REP+F then
 pron vi dem

'They came.'

198 *Hinakiti tai toniamaki me*
 hinaka iti tai to- niha- ha -makI+M me
 3SG.POSS father-in-law be ahead CH CAUS AUX following 3PL.S
 nm vi aux pron

kobo nani me me wasimakemetemone yobe me
 kobo na -hani me me wasi -makI -hemete -mone yobe me
 arrive AUX IP.N+F 3PL.O 3PL.S find following FP.N+F REP+F house 3PL.S
 vi aux pron pron vt nm pron

ai nani mati
 ahi na -hani mati
 work on AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S
 vt aux pron

'He had his father-in-law go ahead. They arrived. They came upon the others building a house.'

199 *Faya fiya tonakosawite yobe ai*
 faya fiya to- na -kosa -witI yobe ahi
 so pass away AUX middle out house work on
 conj vi aux nm vt

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

'He went on by and built a house.'

200 *Hinakiti ya fafamawa*
 hinaka iti ya fa- fama -waha.LIST
 3SG.POSS father-in-law ADJU DUP be two change
 nm prt vi

nematamonaha yobe me boto na mati baye
 na -himata -mona -ha yobe me boto na+F mati baye
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP thatch 3PL.S bend over AUX 3PL.S palm sp
 aux nm pron vt aux pron nm

ABA TOSI

efe

efe

leaf+M

pn

'He and his father-in-law put on the thatch together, baye leaves.'

201 *Yobe me yama na me , yobe me yama nemetemone*
 yobe me yama na+F me , yobe me yama na -hemete -mone
 house 3PL.S make AUX 3PL.S house 3PL.S make AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nm pron vt aux pron nm pron vt aux

ahi

ahi

then

dem

'They made the house.'

202 *Yobe me yama na me , bai tokematamona*
 yobe me yama na+F me , bai to- ka -himata -mona
 house 3PL.S make AUX 3PL.S sun away go/come FP.N+M REP+M
 nm pron vt aux pron nm vi

amane

ama -ne

SEC BKG+M

sec

'They made the house. It was getting late in the day.'

203 *Bai toke ya yobe tati yoto kanematamona*
 bahi to- ka.NOM+M ya yobe tati yoto ka- na -himata -mona
 sun away go/come ADJU house top cover COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm vi prt nm pn vt aux

'When it was late in the day, he covered the top of the roof.'

204 *E oribeya ; ati nematamonaha*
 ee o- na -ri -be -ya ; ati na -himata -mona -ha
 be similar 1SG.S AUX CQ+F IMMED+F now say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 vi aux vt aux

""What should I do?" he said.'

205 *Yama okahaba , yama yama bata*
 yama o- to- ka -haba , yama yama bata
 forest 1SG.S away go/come FUT+F thing thing surprise
 nf vi nf nf vt

kanake

ka- na -ke

COMIT AUX DECL+F

aux

""I would go hunting, but the day is already ending.""

206 *Fimi e amo kamata*
 fimi ee amo ka- na -mata
 hunger 1IN.S sleep COMMIT AUX short time
 nf pron vi aux

""We will sleep hungry.""

ABA TOSI

ati ehene
 ati ehene
 voice because of+M
 pn post

'His wife cooked the fish, because he told her to.'

214 **Aba me one yoro kana**
 aba me one yoro ka- na.LIST
 fish 3PL some+F stand COMIT AUX
 nm pron adj vi aux

'Two of the fish were on sticks.'

215 **Aba me one yoro kanabanake tika aba**
 aba me one yoro ka- na -habana -ke ti- ka aba
 fish 3PL some+F stand COMIT AUX FUT+F DECL+F 2SG.POSS POSS fish
 nm pron adj vi aux prt nm

meba mati , me e kababa mati bati , me
 me -ba mati , me ee kaba -haba mati bati , me
 3PL FUT 3PL 3PL.O 1IN.S eat FUT+F 3PL.O 3SG.POSS.father 3PL.O
 pron pron pron pron vt pron nm pron

e kabaminaba mati
 ee kaba -mina -haba mati
 1IN.S eat morning FUT+F 3PL.O
 pron vt pron

""Two of the fish will be on sticks, to be for you, so we can eat them tomorrow.""

216 **Faya hinakiti komene watabisemata awaka**
 faya hinaka iti komene wata -bisa -himata awa -ka
 so 3SG.POSS father-in-law pain+M exist also FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M
 conj nm pn vi sec

fahi
 fahi
 then
 dem

'His father-in-law was not well.'

217 **Makoni oohariwa toa namata**
 makoni o- ohari -waha to- ha.CONT+M namata
 for this reason DUP be alone change CH AUX AUX FP.N+M
 conj vi aux aux

'So he worked alone.'

218 **Anoti ya fafamawa toematamona**
 anoti ya fa- fama -waha to- ha -himata -mona
 3SG.POSS older brother ADJU DUP be with change CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm prt vi aux
 , **anoti owa**
 anoti owa
 3SG.POSS older brother other+M
 nm adj

'He lived with his older brother, his other older brother.'

219 **Nisori , nisori ,**
 nisori nisori
 3SG.POSS.younger brother 3SG.POSS.younger brother
 nm nm

ABA TOSI

226 *Me tamake*
 me tama -ke
 3PL.S be many DECL+F
 pron vi

'There are many of them.'

227 *Maka wai hine kakawina*
 maka wai hi- na+M ka- ka- wina
 snake bite OC AUX DUP COMMIT lie in hammock
 nf vt aux vi

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

'A snake bit him, and he lay in his hammock, sick.'

228 *Anoti totoma hihematamonane*
 anoti to- toma hi- to- ha -himata -mona -ne
 3SG.POSS older brother DUP suck OC CH be FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 nm vt aux

'His older brother sucked on him to cure him.'

229 *Anoti toma hine saohi sao*
 anoti toma hi- na+M , saohi sao
 3SG.POSS older brother suck OC AUX feel better feel better
 nm vt aux vi vi

saohi wine ni ya , Bonikana mayawari
 saohi wine ni ya , Bonikana mayawari
 feel better lie in hammock to ADJU (man's name) titi
 vi vi prt prt npropm nm

tokematamona amaka , mayawari mao hisi
 toka -himata -mona ama -ka , mayawari mao hisi
 partially burn FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M titi smell+M smell
 vt sec nm pn vt

tosebanoho
 to- na -kosa -hiba -no -ho
 CH AUX middle FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 aux

'His older brother sucked on him. He got better. As he lay in his hammock, Bonikana burned the hair off a titi monkey near him, and he smelled the titi.'

230 *Mayawari mao hisi ne kerewe , yama hose*
 mayawari mao hisi na+M kerewe , yama hose
 titi smell+M smell AUX be slow thing give a shock to
 nm pn vt aux vi nf vt

hinakimatamona amaka
 hi- na -kI -himata -mona ama -ka
 OC AUX coming FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M
 aux sec

'He smelled the smell of the titi, and it jolted him.'

231 *Yama mai hiyara mai hisi tinahi maka ni*
 yama mahi hiya -ra+F mahi hisi ti- na -hi maka ni
 thing smell+F be bad NEG smell+F smell 2SG.S AUX IMP+F snake to
 nf pn vi pn vt aux nf prt

ABA TOSI

ya .
 ya
 ADJU
 prt
 'You shouldn't smell a bad smell when a snake has bitten you.'

232 *Faya anoti yawematamona fahi* .
 faya anoti yawa -himata -mona fahi
 so 3SG.POSS older brother be upset FP.N+M REP+M then
 conj nm vi dem
 'Then his older brother was upset.'

233 *Nisori maka , hose hinaki toma*
 nisori maka hose hi- na -kI+M toma
 3SG.POSS.younger brother snake give a shock to OC AUX coming suck
 nm nf vt aux vt

hine anoti tama hikana , faya
 hi- na+M anoti tama hi- ka- na.LIST , faya
 OC AUX 3SG.POSS older brother hold onto OC COMIT AUX so
 aux nm vt aux conj

yawematamonaka fahi .
 yawa -himata -mona -ka fahi
 be upset FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem

'The snake jolted his younger brother. His older brother sucked on him, and he held him. He was upset.'

234 *Anoti anoti toma hine ,*
 anoti anoti toma hi- na+M ,
 3SG.POSS older brother 3SG.POSS older brother suck OC AUX
 nm nm vt aux

fawa nisematamonaka fahi .
 fawa na -risa -himata -mona -ka fahi
 disappear AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi aux dem

'His older brother sucked on him, but he died.'

235 *Faya me yawa faya , me yawehemetemoneke*
 faya me yawa+F faya , me yawa -hemete -mone -ke
 so 3PL.S be upset so 3PL.S be upset FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj pron vi conj pron vi

fahi .
 fahi
 then
 dem

'Then they grieved.'

236 *Me yawa me , yawematamona Ataro* .
 me yawa+F me , yawa -himata -mona Ataro
 3PL.S be upset 3PL.S be upset FP.N+M REP+M (man's name)
 pron vi pron vi npropm

'They grieved. Ataro grieved.'

237 *Yawe yawa towake , fawa ne yama soki*
 yawa+M yawa to- ka- ka+M , fawa ne yama soki.NFIN
 be upset grief away COMIT go/come disappear AUX thing be dark
 vi nf vt vi aux nf vi

ABA TOSI

yama sirimaki ya ati wamematamonaka ahi
yama siri -makI.NOM ya ati waa -ma -himata -mona -ka ahi
thing be cold following ADJU voice stand back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
nf vi prt pn vi dem

'He grieved. He went into the forest grieving. He disappeared. His voice could be heard before dawn as he approached the village again.'

238 *Yama sirimaki ya ati wame , toni*
yama siri -makI.NOM ya ati waa -ma+M toni
thing be cold following ADJU voice stand back familiar spirit
nf vi prt pn vi nm

me sari okana me toni me sari
me sari o- ka- na+F me toni me sari
3PL.O burn 1SG.S COMIT AUX 3PL.O familiar spirit 3PL.O burn
pron vt aux pron nm pron vt

okana me kai iti yamani te ka
o- ka- na+F me kaha.NFIN ita.NOM+F yamani tee ka
1SG.S COMIT AUX 3PL.S be toasted be located telling 2PL POSS
aux pron vi vi pron prt

toni mati ati nematamona ohi ni ati
toni mati ati na -himata -mona ohi na.NFIN ati
familiar spirit 3PL say AUX FP.N+M REP+M cry AUX say
nm pron vt aux vi aux vt

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

'His voice could be heard before dawn as he approached the village again. "I burned the familiar spirits. I burned your familiar spirits, and they are there on the ground, burned up," he said, crying.'

239 *Te ka toni me sari okana me*
tee ka toni me sari o- ka- na+F me
2PL POSS familiar spirit 3PL.O burn 1SG.S COMIT AUX 3PL.S
pron prt nm pron vt aux pron

kai iti yamani ohi ni ati nematamonaha
kaha.NFIN ita.NOM+F yamani ohi na.NFIN ati na -himata -mona -ha
be toasted be located telling cry AUX say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
vi vi vi aux vt aux

fowa iso tiwa nenoho , fowa iso
fowa iso tiwa na -hino -ho fowa iso
manioc stalk+M carry AUX IP.N+M DUP manioc stalk+M
nm pn vt aux nm pn

kakamenoho , Boniwa Boniwatebana
ka- ka -ma -hino -ho , Boniwa Boniwa -tee -bana
COMIT go/come back IP.N+M DUP (man's name) (man's name) HAB FUT
vt npropm npropm

'"I burned your familiar spirits, and they are there on the ground, burned up," he said, crying. He was carrying manioc stalks. He brought back manioc stalks, Boniwa.'

240 *Boniwa , Boniwateba , nisori*
Boniwa Boniwa -tee -ba , nisori
(man's name) (man's name) HAB FUT 3SG.POSS.younger brother
npropm npropm nm

ABA TOSI

tabiyo yawe , bane kakimatamona
 tabiyo yawa+M , banehe ka- ka -kI.NOM -mata -mona ,
 absence be upset giant anteater COMMIT go/come coming FP.N+M REP+M
 pn vi nf vt

amake ahi
 ama -ke ahi
 be DECL+F then
 vc dem

'Boniwa grieved because his younger brother was gone. He brought back a giant anteater.'

241 **Yawe kake , Okaniso ota**
 yawa+M ka -kI , o- ka niso otaa
 be upset go/come coming 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother 1EX.S
 vi vi nm pron

famate okaniso , yama i
 fama -tee o- ka niso , yama ihi
 be two HAB 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother thing victim of+F
 vi nm nf pn

toane
 to- ha.CONT+M -ne
 CH be BKG+M
 vc

'He came grieving. "My younger brother, who I was always with, was killed."'

242 **Toni me ihi amari**
 toni me ihi ama -ra.NOM+F
 familiar spirit 3PL.POSS victim of+F be NEG
 nm pron pn vc

""It was not familiar spirits that killed him.""

243 **Toni me ihi amakare**
 toni me ihi ama -ka -re
 familiar spirit 3PL.POSS victim of+F be DECL NEG+F
 nm pron pn vc

""It was not familiar spirits that killed him.""

244 **Maka ihi amake**
 maka ihi ama -ke
 snake victim of+F be DECL+F
 nf pn vc

""It was a snake that killed him.""

245 **Bani me te totokawiti ra bani me**
 bani me tee to- toka -witI na -ra+F bani me
 animal 3PL.O 2PL.S DUP partially burn out AUX NEG animal 3PL.O
 nm pron pron vt aux nm pron

te wawasi toineni ati nematamona
 tee wa- wasi to- ha -ne -ni ati na -himata -mona
 2PL.S DUP find CH AUX CONT+F BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 pron vt aux vt aux

""When you hunt, you should burn the hair off the animals far away," he said.'

246 **Mera kakomatamonane**
 mera kaako -himata -mona -ne
 3PL.O be angry with FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 pron vt

'He was mad at them.'

ABA TOSI

258 *Me towinawitia* , *yawata* *me tokahabone*
 me to- wina -witI+F , yawata me to- ka -habone
 3PL.S away live out game for feast 3PL.S away go/come INT+F
 pron vi adv pron vi

me toka *me towinawitia* *me* ,
 me to- ka+F me to- wina -witI+F me ,
 3PL.S away go/come 3PL.S away live out 3PL.S
 pron vi pron vi pron

Okabisiba *ahi* .
 o- to- ka -bisa.NOM+F -ba ahi
 1SG.S away go/come also FUT there
 vi dem

'They stayed out there. They went into the forest to get game for the festa. They stayed out there. "I'm going this way."'

259 *Te tokabisa* *fahi ati nematamona* , *aba*
 tee to- ka -bisa fahi ati na -himata -mona , aba
 2PL.S away go/come also there say AUX FP.N+M REP+M fish sp
 pron vi dem vt aux nm

me wasibanoho *Koriwa abe* .
 me wasi -hiba -no -ho Koriwa abe
 3PL.O find FUT+M IP.N+M DUP Curiá creature+F
 pron vt npropf pn

'"You go the other way," he said. He discovered the *aba* fish, the ones who live in the Curiá River.'

260 *Tokehimatamonaka* *fahi* .
 to- ka -himata -mona -ka fahi
 away go/come FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 vi dem

'He went.'

261 *Toke* *fawa* *ne* , *fawa* *ne* *aba* *me* ,
 to- ka+M fawa na+M , fawa na+M aba me ,
 away go/come disappear AUX disappear AUX fish sp 3PL.O
 vi vi aux vi aux nm pron

awenoho .
 awa -hino -ho
 see IP.N+M DUP
 vt

'He went, and disappeared. He saw the *aba* fish.'

262 *Bani* *me* *fora* *nenono* *bani* *me* *weye*
 bani me fora na -hino bani me weye
 animal 3PL.O shoot with blowgun AUX IP.N+M animal 3PL.O carry
 nm pron vt aux nm pron vt

ni kamematamona , *wafa* *mati* .
 na.NFIN ka -ma -himata -mona , wafa mati
 AUX go/come back FP.N+M REP+M woolly monkey 3PL
 aux vi nm pron

'He shot animals with his blowgun. He came back carrying the animals, woolly monkeys.'

263 *Kame* , *kame* *kobo* *namematamonaha* .
 ka -ma+M , ka -ma+M kobo na -ma -himata -mona -ha
 go/come back go/come back arrive AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 vi vi vi aux

'He came back. He arrived back.'

ABA TOSI

264 *Bani me titokahi ati nematamona*
 bani me ti- toka -hi ati na -himata -mona
 animal 3PL.O 2SG.S partially burn IMP+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm pron vt vt aux

'Burn the hair off the animals,' he said.'

265 *Bani me te tokahi*
 bani me tee toka -hi
 animal 3PL.O 2PL.S partially burn IMP+F
 nm pron pron vt

'Burn the hair off the animals.'

266 *Bani me te tokahi ati nematamona*
 bani me tee toka -hi ati na -himata -mona
 animal 3PL.O 2PL.S partially burn IMP+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 nm pron pron vt vt aux

'Burn the hair off the animals,' he said.'

267 *Faya afi nebona tokifiwahame hinaka*
 faya afi na -hibona to- ka -fi -waha -ma+M hinaka
 so bathe AUX INT+M away go/come water change back 3SG.POSS
 conj vi aux vi pron

bani me me hitoka bani me me bobi
 bani me me hi- toka+F bani me me bobi
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S OC partially burn animal 3PL.O 3PL.S slit
 nm pron pron vt nm pron pron vt

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

'He went to the water to bathe. They burned the hair off the animals, and cut the animals up.'

268 *Bani me me bobi na me tana me yama na*
 bani me me bobi na+F me tana me yama na+F
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S slit AUX 3PL.S grill 3PL.S make AUX
 nm pron pron vt aux pron nf pron vt aux

bani me me tabasi nawemetemone
 bani me me tabasi na -waha -hemete -mone
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S roast on grill AUX change FP.N+F REP+F
 nm pron pron vt aux

'They cut the animals up. They made a rack, and roasted the animals on the rack.'

269 *Me hiyarama me me hiyarama me hiyara*
 me hiyara -ma+F me me hiyara -ma+F me hiyara
 3PL.S speak back 3PL.S 3PL.S speak back 3PL.S speak
 pron vi pron pron vi pron vi

naba me ni ya ati yana nematamonaka
 nahaba+F me ni ya ati yana na -himata -mona -ka
 at night 3PL to ADJU voice start AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 prt pron prt prt pn vi aux

'They talked back at the village. They were talking at night, and he spoke.'

270 *Abise abise*
 abise abise
 uncle uncle
 nm nm

'Uncle, uncle.'

ABA TOSI

271 *Haa* ?
 haa
 huh?
 interj
 ""Yes?""

272 *Abise me inamati wini yama , aba mera*
 abise me inamati wina.NOM+F yama , aba mera
 uncle people live (reporting) fish sp 3PL.O
 nm nf vi prt nm pron

keyehenoho

keyeha -hino -ho
 deceive IP.N+M DUP
 vt

""Uncle, there are people living there." He was deceiving them about the *aba* fish.'"

273 *Ibaka ya* ?
 ibaka ya
 where ADJU
 interrog prt

""Where?""

274 *Me inamati winahara ahi*
 me inamati wina -hara ahi
 people live IP.E+F there
 nf vi dem

""There are people living there.""

275 *Me inamati te me te awaba me awineni*
 me inamati tee me tee awa -haba me awine -ni
 people 2PL 3PL.O 2PL.S see FUT+F 3PL.O seem+F BKG+F
 nf pron pron pron vt pron sec

""You will see the people.""

276 *Me me hamarini* ?
 me me hama -ra -ni
 3PL 3PL.S be mean NEG BKG+F
 pron pron vi

""Are they fierce?""

277 *Me hamarahara*
 me hama -ra -hara
 3PL.S be mean NEG IP.E+F
 pron vi

""They aren't fierce.""

278 *Me ati somarani*
 me ati soma -hara -ni
 3PL.POSS voice be restored IP.E+F BKG+F
 pron pn vi

""They are not angry.""

279 *Me ati somahara*
 me ati soma -hara
 3PL.POSS voice be restored IP.E+F
 pron pn vi

ABA TOSI

"They are not angry."

280 *Me winahara*
 me wina -hara
 3PL.S live IP.E+F
 pron vi

"They are living there."

281 *Faya me , me ati kamite , hiyara*
 faya me , me ati ka- mita+M , hiyara
 so 3PL 3PL.POSS voice COMMIT hear story
 conj pron pron pn vt nf

kaminematamonaka aba mera kaminari aba mera
 kamina -himata -mona -ka aba mera kamina -haari aba mera
 tell FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M fish sp 3PL.O tell IP.E+M fish sp 3PL.O
 vt nm pron vt nm pron

wati nawebanoho
 wati na -waha -hiba -no -ho
 remember AUX change FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
 vt aux

'He listened to them. He told them the news, telling them about the *aba* fish. He remembered the *aba* fish.'

282 *Fa abe owa kanakomeba*
 faha abe owa ka- na- komeha -haba
 water creature+F 1SG.O COMMIT CAUS be fearsome FUT+F
 nf pn pron vt

owasiwitihani okomine oni ati
 o- to- wasi -witI -hani o- ka -ma -ne o- ni ati
 1SG.S away find out IP.N+F 1SG.S go/come back CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F say
 vt vi prt vt

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

"The creatures in the water scared me when I found them, and I have come back," he said.'

283 *Fa ababote kaya ke ahi*
 faha aba -bote kaya ke ahi
 water be inhabited very stand AUX DECL+F there
 nf adj vi prt dem

"There are many fish in the water there."

284 *Fa yokana ya e winene e amani ati*
 faha yokana ya ee wina -hene ee ama -ni ati
 water true ADJU 1IN.S live IRR+F 1IN.S SEC BKG+F say
 nf adj prt pron vi pron sec vt

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

"We should live in a place where there is a good stream," he said.'

285 *Fa fa abe te , fa ababote kaya na*
 faha faha abe tee , faha aba -bote kaya na+F
 water water creature+F 2PL water be inhabited very stand AUX
 nf nf pn pron nf adj vi aux

ABA TOSI

ra **abe** **te** **awibe**
 ra abe tee awa -be
 O creature+F 2PL.S see IMMED+F
 prt pn pron vt
 "You will see the stream that has a lot of fish."

286 **E** **towawitibe**
 ee to- awa -witI -be
 1IN.S away see out IMMED+F
 pron vt
 "We will go there and see it."

287 **Faya** **me** **amo** **ni** **ya** **me** **bosa**
 faya me amo na.NOM+F ya me bosa
 so 3PL.S sleep AUX ADJU 3PL.S get up early
 conj pron vi aux prt pron vi

nemetemoneke **fahi** **aba** **me** **me** **awabone** **mati**
 na -hemete -mone -ke fahi aba me me awa -habone mati
 AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S see INT+F 3PL.S
 aux dem nm pron pron vt pron

'They slept, and got up early to see the *aba* fish.'

288 **Noki Maiyimetemone** **aati** **toamarokene**
 Noki Maiyi -mete -mone a- ati to- ha -hamaro -ke -ne
 (woman's name) FP.N+F REP+F DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F IRR+F
 npropf vt aux

Noki Maiyi **korokoro** **tosa** **na** **toaramaro** **ati**
 Noki Maiyi koro- koro to- na -kosa na to- ha -ra -hamaro ati
 (woman's name) DUP throw CH AUX middle AUX CH AUX NEG FP.E+F voice
 npropf result aux aux aux pn

'Noki Maiyi, who would not be left behind, used to tell about it.'

289 **Me fanawi** **ya** **me** **taba** **me** **tokemetemone**
 me fanawi ya me taba+F me to- ka -hemete -mone
 women ADJU 3PL.S be together 3PL.S away go/come FP.N+F REP+F
 nf prt pron vi pron vi

ahi **fa** **abe** **me** **awabone** **mati**
 ahi faha abe me awa -habone mati
 then water creature+F 3PL.S see INT+F 3PL.S
 dem nf pn pron vt pron

'They went with the women to see the fish.'

290 **Koriwa** **Koriwa** **abe** **homabasemetemone**
 Koriwa Koriwa abe homa -basa -hemete -mone
 Curiá Curiá creature+F be horizontal edge FP.N+F REP+F
 npropf npropf pn vi

okomise **hiyari** **aati** **toimaro** **amani**
 o- ka amise hiyara.NFIN a- ati to- ha.NOM+F -maro ama -ni
 1SG.POSS POSS aunt speak DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F be BKG+F
 nf vi vt aux vc

fa **baratenihi**
 faha bara -tee -hani -hi
 water be tranquil HAB IP.N+F DUP
 nf vi

'The fish of the Curiá were all along the edge, my aunt used to say. It was an untouched stream.'

ABA TOSI

291 *Me kamawemetemoneke*
 me ka -ma -waha -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi
 'They came back.'

292 *Me hinaka me , me me*
 me hi- to- na- ka+F me , me me
 3PL.O OC away CAUS go/come 3PL.O 3PL.O 3PL.S
 pron vt pron pron pron

hinaka me me tisa
 hi- to- na- ka+F me me tisa
 OC away CAUS go/come 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with arrow
 vt pron pron vt

hinemetemoneke wati ino me soko na mati
 hi- na -hemete -mone -ke wati ino me soko na+F mati
 OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F arrow point+M 3PL.S wash AUX 3PL.S
 aux nm pn pron vt aux pron

wati ino iha kihari
 wati ino iha kihari -haari
 arrow point+M plant sp have IP.E+M
 nm pn nm vt

'They went after them. They went after them, and speared them. They washed the points of their arrows off, because the points of their arrows had *iha* poison.'

293 *Wati ino iha kihe me soko nia aba me*
 wati ino iha kiha+M me soko niha- na+F aba me
 arrow point+M plant sp have 3PL.S wash CAUS AUX fish sp 3PL.O
 nm pn nm vt pron vt aux nm sp pron

me tisa nemetemoneni
 me tisa.LIST na -hemete -mone -ni
 3PL.S shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 pron vt aux

'They washed the *iha* off of the arrow points and they speared the *aba* fish.'

294 *Bani me me fora*
 bani me me fora.LIST
 animal 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun
 nm pron pron vt

'They also shot animals with their blowguns.'

295 *Koriwa me hiwasiemetemone amake e iti*
 Koriwa me hi- wasi -hemete -mone ama -ke ee iti
 Curiá 3PL.S OC find FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F 1IN.POSS grandfather
 npropf pron vt sec pron nm

boteri mati
 bote -ri mati
 old PN 3SG.POSS.mother
 pn nf

'They discovered the Curiá, our ancestors.'

296 *Faya me me , me hekanakosemetemoneke*
 faya me me me hi- ka- kana -kosa -hemete -mone -ke
 so 3PL.O 3PL.S 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj pron pron pron vt

ABA TOSI

fahi

fahi
then
dem

'Then they left them behind.'

297 *Hima e tokoma*
hima ee to- ka -ma
let's go 1IN.S away go/come back
interj pron vi

'''Come on, let's go home.'''

298 *Aba hine me kaya ni na me e*
aba hine me kaya na.NOM+F na me ee
fish sp only 3PL.S stand AUX AUX 3PL.O 1IN.S
nm pron pron vi aux aux pron pron

awamatebana me me hinemetemone
awa -ma -tee -habana me me ati hi- na -hemete -mone
see back HAB FUT+F 3PL.O 3PL.S say OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F
vt pron pron vt

'''Let the *aba* fish be in the water. We will come and see them again,''' they said.'

299 *E winamateba ere*
ee wina -mata+F -haba ere
1IN.S live short time FUT+F 1IN.S
pron vi pron

'''We will come and live here.'''

300 *Me kamawemetemoneke fahi bani me*
me ka -ma -waha -hemete -mone -ke fahi bani me
3PL.S go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then animal 3PL.O
pron vi dem nm pron

me ai namabani mati
me ahi na -ma -haba -ni mati
3PL.S work on AUX back FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S
pron vt aux pron

'Then they came back, and prepared the animals.'

301 *Wafa me me fora nemetemone*
wafa me me fora na -hemete -mone
woolly monkey 3PL.O 3PL.S shoot with blowgun AUX FP.N+F REP+F
nm pron pron vt aux

Noki Maiyi hiyari aati toamaroke
Noki Maiyi hiyara.NFIN a- ati to- ha -hamaro -ke
(woman's name) speak DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F
npropf vi vt aux

'They shot woolly monkeys with their blowguns, Noki Maiyi used to say.'

302 *Noki Maiyi afametemone aati tohamaroke*
Noki Maiyi afa -mete -mone a- ati to- ha -hamaro -ke
(woman's name) this+F FP.N+F REP+F DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F
npropf dem vt aux

'It was Noki Maiyi who used to say it.'

ABA TOSI

303	Wafa	me	me	fora		na	me	
	wafa	me	me	fora		na+F	me	
	woolly monkey	3PL.O	3PL.S	shoot with blowgun		AUX	3PL.S	
	nm	pron	pron	vt		aux	pron	
	kama	me	yifo	me	awa	me	moni	sai
	ka -ma+F	me	yifo	me	awa+F	me	moni	sai
	go/come back	3PL.S	firewood	3PL.S	see	3PL.POSS	sound	be heard
	vi	pron	nf	pron	vt	pron	pn	vi

nabimetemone **ama** .
 nahaba.NOM+F -mete -mone ama
 at night FP.N+F REP+F be
 prt vc
 'They shot woolly monkeys with their blowguns, and they came back. They got firewood, and the sound of them could be heard during the night.'

304	Bani	me	me	tabasi	nemetemone	fahi
	bani	me	me	tabasi	na -hemete -mone	fahi
	animal	3PL.O	3PL.S	roast on grill	AUX FP.N+F REP+F	then
	nm	pron	pron	vt	aux	dem

'They roasted the animals on racks.'

305	Aba	me	me	rafa	me	ati	sai
	aba	me	me	rafa+F	me	ati	sai
	fish sp	3PL.O	3PL.S	wrap	3PL.POSS	voice	be heard
	nm	pron	pron	vt	pron	pn	vi

nabemetemone	ama	Koriwa	abe	me	wasia	mati
nahaba -hemete -mone	ama	Koriwa	abe	me	wasi+F	mati
at night FP.N+F REP+F	SEC	Curiá	creature+F	3PL.S	find	3PL.S
prt	sec	npropf	pn	pron	vt	pron

'They also wrapped the *aba* fish, and their voices could be heard during the night. They had discovered the fish of the Curiá.'

306	Koriwa	aba	me	boti	me
	Koriwa	aba	me	boti	me
	Curiá	fish sp	3PL.POSS	inside	3PL.S
	npropf	nm	pron	pn	pron

tokemetemoneke	okomise	me	na
to- ka -hemete -mone -ke	o- ka	amise	me ati na
away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F	1SG.POSS POSS	aunt	3PL.O say AUX
vi	nf	pron	vt

hiwamaro	me	amani	me	wasi	yati
hi- to- ha -hamaro	me	ama -ni	me	wasi.NFIN	yati
OC CH AUX FP.E+F	3PL.O	SEC BKG+F	3PL.S	find	new
aux	pron	sec	pron	result	adj

'The *aba* fish of the Curiá didn't swim deep, because they had just been discovered, my aunt used to say.'

307	Faya	me	me	totowama	na	hiaremetemone
	faya	me	me	to- to- awa -ma	na	hi- to- ha -ra -hemete -mone
	so	3PL.O	3PL.S	DUP away see back	AUX	OC CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F
	conj	pron	pron	vt	aux	aux

me	amake	fahi
me	ama -ke	fahi
3PL.O	SEC DECL+F	then
pron	sec	dem

'They didn't go back to see them for a long time.'

ABA TOSI

308 *Yama me yete ni ka ya faya me me*
 yama me yete na.NOM+F ka ya faya me me
 thing 3PL.S hunt AUX because ADJU so 3PL.O 3PL.S
 nf pron vt aux prt prt conj pron pron

hiwa

hi- awa.LIST
 OC see
 vt

'Then they did see them when they were hunting.'

309 *Me me hiwa me , faya me yana tona me*
 me me hi- awa+F me , faya me yana to- na+F me
 3PL.O 3PL.S OC see 3PL.O so 3PL.S start CH AUX 3PL.S
 pron pron vt pron conj pron vi aux pron

kamemetemoneke

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

fahi

fahi
 then
 dem

'They had seen them, and had come back.'

310 *Me kama , me kama me kobo*
 me ka -ma+F , me ka -ma+F me kobo
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive
 pron vi pron vi pron vi

namemetemone

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

ayaka

ayaka me
 festa 3PL.S
 nf pron

me

me
 3PL.S
 pron

hiri

hiri
 make 3PL.S
 vt pron

namabani

na -ma -haba -ni
 AUX back FUT+F IP.N+F
 aux

mati

mati
 3PL.S
 pron

okomise

o- ka amise
 1SG.POSS POSS aunt
 nf

hiyari

hiyara.NFIN
 speak
 vi

aati

a- ati
 DUP say
 vt

toamaroke

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

memetemone

me -mete -mone
 3PL FP.N+F REP+F
 pron

mera

mera
 3PL.O
 pron

kaminaro

kamina -haaro
 tell IP.E+F
 vt

'They came back, and arrived back. They had a festa back at the village, my aunt used to say, telling about them.'