

BAKAYONA

Free Translation

They were going to change into something else. They changed into something else. He came from cutting down trees, and called to his younger brother. "Brother, Bakayona."

"What?"

"Come here a minute."

"What should I do?"

"Come here a minute."

His younger brother came.

"Turn your back this way. I'm going to make lines on your back," he said.

So he turned his back. He cut his back up with a saw, the first saw. He cut him up and roasted him on a grill, on the coals. He was on the grill. His heart was on the grill. He ate him with *haso taro*, roasted *haso*. He roasted *haso* and ate him with it.

Then the sound of the *aba* fish taking the water started. His younger brother took the water upstream. The water went, "Beetoo."

"Wait, I'm still eating," the older brother said.

He finished eating, but he didn't drink any water. He took the casting net off the nail on the wall, and went to the water, when the noise of the *aba* fish was heard, when the noise of the *aba* fish came. He cast the net, but his net didn't go in the water. Because the net didn't go in the water, he pulled it back and cast it again.

Then he went upstream. There wasn't any water at all. So he came back.

"Mother, give me some water."

"There is no water."

"I'm thirsty."

He went to sleep thirsty. He got up early and in the morning went after the water in the empty streambed. He came back. He came back and went. He went hopping along on the rocks. As he went on the rocks, he fell down hard on a rock. He hit his head. He lay there a long time.

They put points on arrows, and it was a big bunch of arrows, to shoot at him.

"Mother, when your water is all gone, my younger brother should come after me," he had said.

So he went, and shot the arrows. He went along shooting arrows. He dammed up the water with a rock. The sound of the water started up. He shot the one arrow that was left. It landed in the water, and because of it the sound of the fish started up. The fish went, "Ooo."

"You didn't believe me. My older brother is living here. He made the first canoe, he who was the first white man."

He went to his older brother.

"My older brother is not going to die; he always said he would not die,' I said," he said.

The two of them went there.

His older brother shot some fish with bow and arrow, as he made the canoe, when the first woolly monkeys came. The woolly monkeys came. He shot fish. He set the basket of fish down, because there were so many woolly monkeys calling out. He went up in a tall tree and looked at

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how many there were. "There weren't many before, but there are many now," he said.

His fish and arrows were lying on the ground. He went up the tree to look at the monkeys. Then he came back down. He put the fish on his back again and came back, and arrived back. His wife and her sister gutted the fish.

"Did my younger brother come?"

"Your brother came," his wife said.

"Younger brother, is my mother's water all gone?"

"The water is all gone. I came because the water is all gone, and I came because my mother asked me to. I came after you," he said. "Let's go downstream. Older brother, let's go downstream tomorrow."

"Yes, let's go downstream tomorrow."

They slept. They got ready to leave. He was ready. They got into the canoe.

"I'm going to let the water go. Watch out," said the older brother.

He let the water go. The water went downstream fast. The piranhas bit the trees off to make way for the streambed. The first three-toed sloth climbed up a *sirika* tree after the fruits and was receptive to the sexual advances of the woolly monkeys.

"Yaa, yaa," the woolly monkeys called. The woolly monkeys were going downstream with the current. The water went downstream. The alligator was strong, carrying them in the canoe.

Alan: Baka?

Yes. His name escapes me. Baka, it was Baka, the one who was an alligator. They went downstream. He stayed with his mother.

Interlinear Presentation

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|---|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|
| 1 | <i>Me</i>
me
3PL.S
pron | <i>tohiyaba</i>
to- hiya
CH be different
vi | | | <i>mati</i>
-haba mati
FUT+F 3PL.S
pron | | | | |
| 'They were going to change into something else.' | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | <i>Me</i>
me
3PL.S
pron | <i>tohiyemetemoneke</i>
to- hiya
CH be different
vi | | | | <i>hemete -mone -ke</i>
-hemete -mone -ke
FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F | | | |
| 'They changed into something else.' | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | <i>Awa</i>
awa
tree
nf | <i>ka</i>
kaa
chop
vt | <i>ne</i>
na+M
AUX
aux | <i>kame</i>
ka
go/come back
vi | | <i>ma+M</i>
-ma+M | | <i>nisori</i>
nisori
3SG.POSS.younger brother
nm | |
| | <i>nisori</i>
nisori
3SG.POSS.younger brother
nm | | <i>haha</i>
ha- haa
DUP call
vt | | | | <i>nematamonaka</i>
na -himata -mona -ka
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
aux | | |
| 'He came from cutting down trees, and called to his younger brother.' | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | <i>Niso</i>
niso
younger brother
nm | | <i>Bakayona</i>
Bakayona
(man's name)
npropm | | | | | | |
| '"Brother, Bakayona." | | | | | | | | | |

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5 *Haa* ?
 haa
 huh?
 interj
 "What?"

6 *Tikamamata*
 ti- ka -ma -mata
 2SG.S go/come back short time
 vi
 "Come here a minute."

7 *Himata ebe oribe* ?
 himata ebe o- na -ri -be
 what? purpose 1SG.S AUX CQ+F IMMED+F
 interrog vt aux
 "What should I do?"

8 *Tikamamata*
 ti- ka -ma -mata
 2SG.S go/come back short time
 vi
 "Come here a minute."

9 *Nisori kamematamonaka*
 nisori ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 3SG.POSS.younger brother go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm vi
 'His younger brother came.'

10 *Kame Tibatasewama*
 ka -ma+M ti- batasi -waha -ma
 go/come back 2SG.S turn ones back change back
 vi vi
 'He came. "Turn your back this way."

11 *Tibatasewama*
 ti- batasi -waha -ma
 2SG.S turn ones back change back
 vi
 "'Turn your back this way."

12 *Tibatasi hani onawahibe* , *ati*
 ti- batasi hani o- na- waa -be ati
 2SG.POSS middle of back line+F 1SG.S CAUS stand IMMED+F say
 pn pn vt vt
nematamonaka
 na -himata -mona -ka
 AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 aux
 "'I'm going to make lines on your back," he said.'

13 *Faya barewamematamonahane*
 faya bari -waha -ma -himata -mona -ha -ne
 so turn back change back FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M
 conj vi

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'So he turned his back.'

14 **Bobi hikanisematamonaka**, **sehoti ya**
 bobi hi- ka- na -risa -himata -mona -ka , sehoti ya
 slit OC COMIT AUX down FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M saw ADJU
 vt aux nf prt

sehotitebana

sehoti -tee -bana
 saw HAB FUT
 nf

'He cut his back up with a saw, the first saw.'

15 **Bobi hikanise faya**, **bobi hine tabasi**
 bobi hi- ka- na -risa+M faya , bobi hi- na+M tabasi
 slit OC COMIT AUX down so slit OC AUX roast on grill
 vt aux conj vt aux vt
hinematamonaka **yifo ya**, **yifo witi ya**, **tana ya**
 hi- na -himata -mona -ka yifo ya , yifo witi ya , tana ya
 OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M fire ADJU fire coal ADJU grill ADJU
 aux nf prt nf pn prt nf prt

ahi

ahi
 then
 dem

'He cut his back. He cut him up and roasted him on a grill, on the coals.'

16 **Tana ya kawematamonaka**
 tana ya ka- waa -himata -mona -ka
 grill ADJU COMIT stand FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf prt vi

'He was on the grill.'

17 **Makawari (kawitarematamonaka tana ya)**
 makawari ka- ita -rI -himata -mona -ka tana ya
 heart COMIT sit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M grill ADJU
 pn vi nf prt

'His heart was on the grill.'⁴⁵

18 **Haso ya kakawi hinematamonaka**
 haso ya ka- kawu hi- na -himata -mona -ka
 taro sp ADJU DUP eat with something OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nm prt vt aux

haso ya, **haso yokahari**
 haso ya , haso yoka -haari
 taro sp ADJU taro sp roast on coals IP.E+M
 nm prt nm result

'He ate him with *haso* taro, roasted *haso*.'

19 **Haso yoke haso kakawi hine**,
 haso yoka+M haso ka- kawu hi- na+M ,
 taro sp roast on coals taro sp DUP eat with something OC AUX
 nm vt nm vt aux
aba me ye moni yana tonematamona amaka,
 aba me yehe moni yana to- na -himata -mona ama -ka
 fish sp 3PL.POSS hand sound start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M
 nm pron pn pn vi aux sec

45 The part in parentheses was said in Portuguese; the Jarawara was supplied by Okomobi.

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faha towakenoho

faha to- ka- ka -hino -ho
water away COMIT go/come IP.N+M DUP
nf vt

'He roasted *haso* and ate him with it. Then the sound of the *aba* fish taking the water started.'⁴⁶

20 **Faha towakatimematamonaka**

faha to- ka- ka -tima -himata -mona -ka
water away COMIT go/come upstream FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
nf vt

nisori

nisori
3SG.POSS.younger brother
nm

'His younger brother took the water upstream.'

21 **Beetoo**

fa	moni	nemetemone	ahi
beetoo	faha moni	na -hemete -mone	ahi
(sound of water)	water make sound	AUX FP.N+F REP+F	then
sound	nf vt	aux	dem

'The water went, "Beetoo."'

22 **Aa**

hiba	otafasa	o	ati
aa	hiba	o-	ati
(pause)	wait	1SG.S eat still	say
interj	interj	vi prt	vt

nematamonaha

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

'"Wait, I'm still eating," he said.'

23 **Faya tafi**

ahabe	fa	fawarematamonahane
faya tafa.NFIN	ahaba+M	faha fawa -ra -himata -mona -ha -ne
so eat	end	water drink NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M
conj vi	vi	nf vt

'He finished eating, but didn't drink any water.'

24 **Fa**

faware	tahafa	sota	tokane
faha fawa -ra+M	tahafa	sota	to- ka- na+M
water drink NEG	casting net	remove	CH COMIT AUX
nf vt	nf	vt	aux

tokome

to- ka	-ma+M	to- ka	-fI	-waha	-witI+M	tahafa
away go/come	back	away go/come	water	change	out	casting net
vi		vi				nf

wati

kanematamonaka	aba	moni	sai
wati ka- na -himata -mona -ka	aba	moni	sai.NOM
think about COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	fish sp	sound	be heard
vt aux	nm	pn	vi

ya

aba	moni	kaki	ya
ya aba	moni	ka	-kI.NOM
ADJU fish sp	sound	go/come	coming
prt nm	pn	vi	prt

'He didn't drink any water. He took the casting net off [the nail], and went to the water, when the noise of the *aba* fish was heard, when the noise of the *aba* fish came.'

⁴⁶ *Aba me ye moni* is a mistake, it should be *aba moni*.

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25 *Tahafa koro tokanematamonane hinaka*
 tahafa koro to- ka- na -himata -mona -ne hinaka
 casting net throw CH COMMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 3SG.POSS
 nf vt aux pron

tahafa kabokarahabanihi
 tahafa ka- boka -ra -haba -ni -hi
 casting net COMMIT enter water NEG FUT+F IP.N+F DUP
 nf vi

'He cast the net, but his net didn't go in the water.'

26 *Tahafa kabokara ihi tahafa horo*
 tahafa ka- boka -ra+F ihi tahafa horo
 casting net COMMIT enter water NEG because of+F casting net drag
 nf vi post nf vt

kaname tahafa koro
 ka- na -ma+M tahafa koro
 COMMIT AUX back casting net throw
 aux nf vt

tokanamatasematamonane
 to- ka- na -ma -tasa -himata -mona -ne
 CH COMMIT AUX back again FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 aux

'Because the net didn't go in the water, he pulled the net back in and cast the net again.'

27 *Faya tokatimemata*
 faya to- ka -tima -himata
 so away go/come upstream FP.N+M
 conj vi

'Then he went upstream.'

28 *Fa wataremetemoneke fa nafi*
 faha wata -ra -hemete -mone -ke faha nafi
 water exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F water all
 nf vi nf pn

'There wasn't any water at all.'

29 *Faya kamematamonaka*
 faya ka -ma -himata -mona -ka
 so go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 conj vi

'So he came back.'

30 *Ami , ami oko fabana*
 ami ami o- ka faha -bana
 mother mother 1SG.POSS POSS water FUT
 nf nf prt nf

'"Mother, give me some water."'

31 *Fa watarini*
 faha wata -ra -ni
 water exist NEG BKG+F
 nf vi

'"There is no water."'

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32 **Bakasi owa oke**
 bakasi o- awa o- ke
 thirst 1SG.S feel 1SG.S DECL+F
 nf vt prt

'I'm thirsty.'

33 **Faya bakasi amo kane** , **bakasi amo kane** ,
 faya bakasi amo ka- na+M , bakasi amo ka- na+M ,
 so thirst sleep COMIT AUX thirst sleep COMIT AUX
 conj nf vi aux nf vi aux

bosa ne , **fa kiyominematamonane** **fa**
 bosa na+M , faha kiyo -mina -himata -mona -ne faha
 get up early AUX water chase morning FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M water
 vi aux nf vt nf

kori
 kori
 empty+F
 pn

'He went to sleep thirsty. He got up early and in the morning went after the water in the empty streambed.'

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

'He came back.'

35 **Wete namematamonaka**
 wete na -ma -himata -mona -ka
 return AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi aux

'He turned back.'

36 **Wete name tokomake** , **tokomake** ,
 wete na -ma+M to- ka -makI , to- ka -makI ,
 return AUX back away go/come following away go/come following
 vi aux vi vi

yora na ya yora tonamakehite **betira ya**
 yora na+F ya yora to- na -makI -hitI betira ya
 jump AUX ADJU jump away AUX following along the way rock ADJU
 vi aux prt vi aux nf prt

'He came back and went. He went hopping along on the rocks.'⁴⁷

37 **Betira ya tokomake** , **yati** , **yati ya kote**
 betira ya to- ka -makI , yati , yati ya kote
 rock ADJU away go/come following stone stone ADJU hit
 nf prt vi nf nf prt vi

kanematamonane **sonahari**
 ka- na -himata -mona -ne sona -haari
 COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M fall IP.E+M
 aux vi

'He went on the rocks. He fell down hard on a rock.'

38 **Tati mete** , **tati karimematamonaka** **haro**
 tati mete tati karima -himata -mona -ka haro
 head rear+M head hit FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M that one+F
 pn pn vi dem

47 *Yora na ya* is a mistake.

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'He hit his head.'

39	Faya	fore	fofore	toematamonaka	fahi
	faya	forI	fo- forI	to- ha -himata -mona -ka	fahi
	so	lie on top	DUP lie on top	CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	then
	conj	vi	vi	aux	dem

'He lay there a long time.'

40	Wati	me	nawaria	wati	me	
	wati	me	na- waa -rI+F	wati	me	
	arrow	3PL.S	CAUS stand raised surface	arrow	3PL.S	
	nm	pron	vt	nm	pron	
	nawaria		wati	tabo	fotematamonane	me
	na- waa -rI+F		wati	tabo	fota -himata -mona -ne	me
	CAUS stand raised surface		arrow	bunch+M	be big FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M	3PL.S
	vt		nm	pn	vi	pron
	tisa		hinebonaha			
	tisa		hi- na -hibona -ha			
	shoot with arrow		OC AUX INT+M DUP			
	vt		aux			

'They put points on arrows, and it was a big bunch of arrows, to shoot at him.'

41	Ami	tika	fa	ahabi	ya	
	ami	ti-	ka	faha	ahaba.NOM+F	ya
	mother	2SG.POSS	POSS	water	end	ADJU
	nf	prt		nf	vi	prt
	okaniso		kamakiya		ati	
	o- ka niso		ka -makI -yaho		ati	
	1SG.POSS POSS younger brother		go/come following DIST.IMP+M		say	
	nm		vi		vt	
	nematamonane					
	na -himata -mona -ne					
	AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M					
	aux					

'"Mother, when your water is all gone, my younger brother should come after me," he said.'

42	Faya	tokomakematamonaka	wati	sa
	faya	to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka	wati	saa
	so	away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	arrow	shoot with arrow
	conj	vi	nm	vt
	nebanoho			
	na -hiba -no -ho			
	AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP			
	aux			

'So he went, and shot the arrows.'

43	Wati	tisa	tonamakehite	fa		
	wati	tisa	to- na -makI -hitI	faha		
	arrow	shoot with arrow	away AUX following along the way	water		
	nm	vt	aux	nf		
	bari	kanematamonaka	betira	ya	yati	ya
	bari	ka- na -himata -mona -ka	betira	ya	yati	ya
	impede	COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M	rock	ADJU	stone	ADJU
	vt	aux	nf	prt	nf	prt

'He went along shooting arrows. He dammed up the water with a rock.'

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44 *Yati ya fa bari kane , fa moni yana*
 yati ya faha bari ka- na+M , faha moni yana
 stone ADJU water impede COMMIT AUX water sound start
 nf prt nf vt aux nf pn vi

tonemetemone

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

'He dammed up the water with a rock. The sound of the water started up.'

45 *Aba me wati towaharikose sa*
 aba me wati to- ohari -kosa+M saa
 fish 3PL arrow CH be one middle shoot with arrow
 nm pron nm vi vt

tokanamaki

to- ka- na -makI+M , wati , koho nife ehene , aba
 away COMMIT AUX following arrow hit AUX water because of+M fish
 aux nm vi aux post nm

me moni yana tonemetemone
 me moni yana to- na -hemete -mone
 3PL.POSS sound start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron pn vi aux

'He shot the one arrow that was left. It landed in the water, and because of it the sound of the fish started up.'⁴⁸

46 *Ooo aba me moni nemetemone*
 ooo aba me moni na -hemete -mone
 (sound of many fish) fish 3PL.S make sound AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 sound nm pron vt aux

'The fish went, "Ooo."'

47 *Owati tikasawariara ti*
 o- ati ti- ka- sawari -hara ti-
 1SG.POSS voice 2SG.S COMMIT frustrate IP.E+F 2SG.S
 pn vt prt

'"You didn't believe me."'

48 *Okoyo wina , okoyo wine*
 o- ka ayo wina , o- ka ayo wine+M
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother live 1SG.POSS POSS older brother live
 nm vi nm vi

awaka ahi
 awa -ka ahi
 seem+M DECL+M there
 sec dem

'"My older brother is living there."'

49 *Kanawateba , kanawateba yama nematamonaka ,*
 kanawa -tee -ba , kanawa -tee -ba yama na -himata -mona -ka
 canoe HAB FUT canoe HAB FUT make AUX FP.N+F REP+M DECL+M
 nf nf vt aux

yaratebana

yara -tee -bana
 Brazilian HAB FUT
 npropm

'He made the first canoe, he who was the first white man.'

48 *Aba me* appears to be a mistake.

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50 *Anoti* , *anoti* *ni*
 anoti , anoti ni
 3SG.POSS older brother 3SG.POSS older brother to
 nm nm prt

tokomakematamonaka
 to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
 away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi
 'He went to his older brother.'

51 *Okoyo* , *ahabarebona* *ati* *nofe* *ama*
 o- ka ayo , ahaba -ra -hibona ati na nofa+M ama
 1SG.POSS POSS older brother die NEG INT+M say AUX recently SEC
 nm vi vt aux sec
 , *onahara* *o* *ati* *nematamonaha*
 ati o- na -hara o- ati na -himata -mona -ha
 say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F 1SG.S say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 vt prt vt aux

""My older brother always said he would not die,' I said," he said.'

52 *Faya me tokomaketemoneke*
 faya me to- ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke
 so 3PL.S away go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj pron vi
 'They went there.'

53 *Me towakamakia* *me* , *anoti*
 me to- ka- ka -makI+F me , anoti
 3PL.S away COMIT go/come following 3PL.S 3SG.POSS older brother
 pron vi pron nm

aba me sa *nematamonane* , *kanawa yama*
 aba me saa na -himata -mona -ne , kanawa yama
 fish 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M canoe make
 nm pron vt aux nf vt

nari , *wafa* *meteba* *me*
 na -haari , wafa me -tee -ba me
 AUX IP.E+M woolly monkey 3PL HAB FUT 3PL.S
 aux nm pron pron

kakibeni *ya*
 ka -kI.NOM -be -ni ya
 go/come coming FUT+F IP.N+F ADJU
 vi prt

'The two of them went there. His older brother shot some fish with bow and arrow, as he made the canoe, when the first woolly monkeys came.'

54 *Wafa me kakemetemone* *me* *amake*
 wafa me ka -kI -hemete -mone me ama -ke
 woolly monkey 3PL.S go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC DECL+F
 nm pron vi pron sec

'The woolly monkeys came.'

55 *Faya aba me sa* *ne* , *aba me*
 faya aba me saa na+M , aba me
 so fish 3PL.O shoot with arrow AUX fish 3PL.O
 conj nm pron vt aux nm pron

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nawarise , **me** **ati** **tamaha** **me** **ihi**
na- waa -risa+M , me ati tama+F me ihi
CAUS stand down 3PL.POSS voice be many 3PL.POSS because of+F
vt pron pn vi pron post
'He shot fish. He set the [basket of] fish down, because there were so many [woolly monkeys] calling out.'

56 **Awa** **nemeha** **ya** **tokomisawite** , **mera** **ki**
awa nemeha+F ya to- ka -misa -witI mera kii
tree be high ADJU away go/come up out 3PL.O look at
nf vi prt vi pron vt

nematamonaka , **me** **tama** **mati**
na -himata -mona -ka me tama+F mati
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.S be many 3PL.S
aux pron vt pron
'He went up in a tall tree and looked at how many there were.'

57 **Me** **tatama** **nofara** , **me** **tamawaine**
me ta- tama na nofa -ra+F me tama -waha -ne
3PL.S DUP be many AUX recently NEG 3PL.S be many change CONT+F
pron vi prt pron vi

ati **nematamonaha**
ati na -himata -mona -ha
say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
vt aux

'"There weren't many before, but there are many now," he said.'

58 **Hinaka** **aba** **me** **homa** , **hinaka** **wati**
hinaka aba me homa.LIST , hinaka wati
3SG.POSS fish 3PL.S lie on ground 3SG.POSS arrow
pron nm pron vi pron nm

kahoma , **tokomisawite** , **mera** **ki**
ka- homa.LIST , to- ka -misa -witI mera kii
COMIT lie on ground away go/come up out 3PL.O look at
vi vi pron vt

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

'His fish and arrows were lying on the ground. He went up [the tree] to look at them.'

59 **Faya** **kisamematamonaka**
faya ka -risa -ma -himata -mona -ka
so go/come down back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
conj vi

'Then he came back down.'

60 **Kisame** , **kamematamonaha**
ka -risa -ma+M ka -ma -himata -mona -ha
go/come down back go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DUP
vi vi

'He came back down, and came back.'

61 **Aba** **me** **weye** **namisame** , **kame** , **kobo**
aba me weye na -misa -ma+M ka -ma+M , kobo
fish 3PL.O carry AUX up back go/come back arrive
nm pron vt aux vi vi

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namematamonaka

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

'He put the fish on his back again and came back, and arrived back.'

62 *Fati* , *fati* *aba* *me* *bobi*
 fati fati aba me bobi
 3SG.POSS.wife 3SG.POSS.wife fish 3PL.O slit
 nf nf nm pron vt

narawemetemone

ama

na -rawa -hemete -mone ama
 AUX F.PL FP.N+F REP+F SEC
 aux sec

'His wife and her sister gutted the fish.'

63 *Okaniso* *kamakino* *awa* ?
 o- ka niso ka -makI -hino awa ?
 1SG.POSS POSS younger brother go/come following IP.N+M seem+M
 nm vi sec

""Did my younger brother come?""

64 *Niso* *kamakinone* *fati*
 niso ka -makI -hino -ne fati
 2SG.POSS.younger brother go/come following IP.N+M BKG+M 3SG.POSS.wife
 nm vi nf

ati nemetemoneni

ati na -hemete -mone -ni
 say AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
 vt aux

""Your brother came," his wife said.'

65 *Niso* *okomi* *ka* *fa* *aba* *awine* ?
 niso o- ka ami ka faha ahaba+F awine ?
 younger brother 1SG.POSS POSS mother POSS water end seem+F
 nm nf prt nf vi sec

""Younger brother, is my mother's water all gone?""

66 *Fa* *abara*
 faha ahaba -hara
 water end IP.E+F
 nf vi

""The water is all gone.""

67 *Fa* *aba* *ihi* *okomi* *ati* *ihi*
 faha ahaba+F ihi o- ka ami ati ihi
 water end because of+F 1SG.POSS POSS mother voice because of+F
 nf vi post nf pn post

okomakera

o

o- ka -makI -hara o-
 1SG.S go/come following IP.E+F 1SG.S
 vi prt

""I came because the water is all gone, and I came because my mother asked me to.""

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68 **Tiwa onakamakiara oni ati**
 tiwa o- na- ka -makI -hara o- ni ati
 2SG.O 1SG.S CAUS go/come following IP.E+F 1SG.S BKG+F say
 pron vt prt vt

nematamonaha

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

"I came after you," he said.'

69 **E tokisamaba ere**
 ee to- ka -risa -ma -haba ere
 1IN.S away go/come down back FUT+F 1IN.S
 pron vi pron

"Let's go downstream."

70 **Ayo , ayo e**
 ayo ayo ee
 older brother older brother 1IN.S
 nm nm pron

tokisaminabone

to- ka -risa -ma -mina -habone ere
 away go/come down back morning INT+F 1IN.S
 vi pron

"Older brother, let's go downstream tomorrow."

71 **Ee , e tokisaminibe**
 ee ee to- ka -risa -ma -mina -be
 yes 1IN.S away go/come down back morning IMMED+F
 interj pron vi

"Yes, let's go downstream tomorrow."

72 **Me amo na me , me amo nemetemoneke**
 me amo na+F me me amo na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux pron pron vi aux

"They slept.'

73 **Me amo na me yana tona yana**
 me amo na+F me yana to- na+F yana
 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S start CH AUX start
 pron vi aux pron vi aux vi

tonematamonane

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

"They slept, and they got ready to leave. He was ready.'

74 **Kanawa ya me kibemetemonehe**
 kanawa ya me kibI -hemete -mone -he
 canoe ADJU 3PL.S be inside FP.N+F REP+F DUP
 nf prt pron vi

"They got into the canoe.'

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75 Fa naha okomatibe

faha naha o- ka- na -mata -be
 water open 1SG.S COMIT AUX short time IMMED+F
 nf vt aux

"I'm going to let the water go."

76 Tera , te kakatoma

tera , tee ka- katoma
 2PL.O 2PL.S COMIT look at
 pron pron vt

"Watch out."

77 Fa naha kanematamonaka

faha naha ka- na -himata -mona -ka
 water open COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 nf vt aux

'He let the water go.'

78 Fa tokisemetemone

faha to- ka -risa -hemete -mone ama kita ya
 water away go/come down FP.N+F REP+F SEC strength ADJU
 nf vi sec nf prt

'The water went downstream fast.'

79 Fa kitemetemone

faha kita -hemete -mone ama -ni
 water be strong FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F
 nf vi sec

'The water went fast.'

80 Aba me yai hinemetemone , amake fa
 aba me yai hi- na -hemete -mone ama -ke faha
 fish 3PL.S bite off OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F stream
 nm pron vt aux sec nf

toritebana , oma mati
 tori -tee -bana , oma mati
 bed+F HAB FUT piranha 3PL
 pn nm pron

'The fish bit [the trees to make way for] the streambed, the piranhas.'

81 Oma me yai hinemetemone amake
 oma me yai hi- na -hemete -mone ama -ke
 piranha 3PL.S bite off OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F
 nm pron vt aux sec

'The piranhas cut them [the trees].'

82 Kerewetebani , sirika noko yama
 kerewe -tee -ba -ni , sirika noko yama
 three-toed sloth HAB FUT IP.N+F rubber tree sp seed+M climb after
 nf nm pn vt

naware siwa nimetemone ama
 na -wahaI siwa na.NOM+F -mete -mone ama
 AUX all over play AUX FP.N+F REP+F be
 aux vi aux vc

'The first three-toed sloth climbed up a *sirika* tree after the fruits and was receptive to the sexual advances [of the woolly monkeys].'

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- 83 **Yaa** , **yaa**
 yaa yaa
 (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey)
 interj interj
- yaa** **yaa** **yaa**
 yaa yaa yaa
 (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey) (call of woolly monkey)
 interj interj interj
- yaa** **fa** , **fa** , **fa** **tokisa** **ra**
 yaa faha , faha , faha to- ka -risa+F ra
 (call of woolly monkey) water water water away go/come down O
 interj nf nf nf vi prt
- wafa** **me** **towakisemetemoneke**
 wafa me to- ka -ka -risa -hemete -mone -ke
 woolly monkey 3PL.S away go/come DECL+M down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 nm pron vt
- "Yaa, yaa," [the woolly monkeys called]. The woolly monkeys were going downstream with the current.'

- 84 **Faya tokisemetemone**
 faya to- ka -risa -hemete -mone
 so away go/come down FP.N+F REP+F
 conj vi
- 'It [the water] went downstream.'

- 85 **Kitehimatamonaka** **mera** **kaheka** **nari** **ahi**
 kita -himata -mona -ka mera kaheka na -haari ahi
 be strong FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.O carry AUX IP.E+M then
 vi pron vt aux dem
- 'He was strong, carrying them.'

- 86 **Mera weye kanematamonaka** **ahi**
 mera weye ka- na -himata -mona -ka ahi
 3PL.O carry COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
 pron vt aux dem
- 'He carried them.'

- 87 **Baka** ?
 Baka
 (man's name)
 npropm
- 'Baka?'

- 88 **Ee** , **ino** **fawa** **ne** **amaka** **ahi**
 ee , ino fawa na+M ama -ka ahi
 yes name+M disappear AUX SEC DECL+M then
 interj pn vi aux sec dem
- 'Yes. His name escaped me.'

- 89 **Baka** , **Bakamatamonaka** , **inohowe**
 Baka Baka -mata -mona -ka inohowe
 (man's name) (man's name) FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M alligator sp
 npropm npropm nm
- toahari**
 to- ha -haari
 CH be IP.E+M
 vc
- 'Baka, it was Baka, the one who was an alligator.'

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90 *Faya me tokisemetemoneke fahi* .
 faya me to- ka -risa -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 so 3PL.S away go/come down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 conj pron vi dem

'They went downstream.'

91 *Faya mati ya fafamawa toematamona*
 faya mati ya fa- fama -waha to- ha -himata -mona
 so 3SG.POSS.mother ADJU DUP be two change CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 conj nf prt vi aux

amaka fahi .
 ama -ka fahi
 SEC DECL+M then
 sec dem

'He stayed with his mother.'