## Free Translation

They moved to another place. They went to the Purus River. The Purus didn't exist. The river was small, but now it's big, the Purus. My aunt went there when her breasts began to grow. They crossed, and lived over there.

They built a house to live in there, but they didn't live there, because they heard a report. They went hunting, and they came upon some jaguars. The jaguars were in a hole. They were scared of the jaguars. The jaguars were snarling at each other in the hole, as they were eating their kill. They were in their hole, on the other side [of the Purus].

They hunted. They came back and slept in the village. Two of them went out, and they told the report when they came back. It was Ete Bote who went out hunting. He went with his brother-in-law. They heard the talk of the ones who moved, the Indians of another tribe. They were shooting howler monkeys with blowguns when the talk of the others came to them. They were walking and talking. They listened to them talking. One of them was keeping a dog. He was going along behind the others. His dog chased an animal. The dog went away barking. They began to hear it barking.

"Faya," he said. "Don't let it get away! We are famished," he said. Then the dog couldn't be heard anymore. As they walked along, their voices couldn't be heard anymore. They scared them.

"Let's look at their trail. They stopped talking. I think they live here."

They found signs of them. There was a path coming across. Palm fibers from their women's "tails" were left on a log that lay across the trail. They looked at their trail. They went after them, but they didn't find them. The two of them turned back, because they were afraid. They told a report back at the village, and because of them they moved away.

"It seems to be the speech of the Yimas," they said.

They moved away, because they were afraid. We would have lived on the other side. They moved away. Because they were afraid, they came back, and that's why we are living back here. They were living there and they moved away. They came back, crossing back.

They went to the Curiá River, because they were afraid. They didn't stop at the Faha Biri stream. They went to the Curiá River. They turned back at Amara Wari, and came back this way. They lived back this way. They cut brush, and they cut down trees back this way, at Siro Wari.

Another group of them came back and lived at Yome Kabe. They had a festa, and they ate jaguars. That's why it's called Yome Kabe. Then they feasted on fish. Then they found some Apurinã Indians who had come downstream. They never went back to see them, because they had heard them talking. They said it was the Yimas talking. "Is that some of our people talking?" we said, because they hadn't seen them quickly. He didn't have the courage. He had heard them talking, we always used to say. Why didn't they go after them, they had arrows.

They didn't go far. It's far. It was far. They hunted again, the ones who became our fathers, our grandfathers. Our grandfathers hunted again. They went to the Curiá River. They didn't stop here. They passed on by. Amara Wari is the name of the place where they turned back, on the Curiá River. They turned back at the Curiá. As they came along the trail, did they carry their food? They arrived at their garden, and lived there. It was Fare Wari, on the Faha Biri stream. They ate jaguars,

that's why it's called Yome Kabe. They were living there.

They came back along the trail. They cleared brush again. They were living at Sawa Mete, and then they came back. The place they went to was Wara Lake. They lived at the Aba Wini stream. They lived at the Aba Wini stream. They buried people there. That was their village. They lived in two longhouses, my aunt used to say. "We are few now," my aunt used to say. That was our village when there were many of us.

They had a festa, and the others hosted them back. There were two villages that hosted each other back and forth. They didn't feast on *aba* fish, they were redtail catfish, my aunt used to say. They were the inhabitants of Wara Lake, the people of Wara of long ago. There are two sandy clearings where their village stood.

They buried Mate Sako, and they mourned for her. Her head stuck up. Noko Maiyi was also buried. They buried people.<sup>6</sup>

My aunt said the clearing used to be big. She said it was the village of many people. There are two clearings at Aba Wini. What they grated was not manioc mash. They grated *fowe*, not manioc. They used *fowe* as starch, when they feasted on redtail catfish. It was the village of the people who killed fish and carried fish. Some of them had gotten fish.

"You get firewood. Get their food ready. Your husbands have gotten fish. The ones who are carrying fish are coming." One of them had come back ahead of the others. They had told him to tell the women [to prepare food].

It was the village of our ancestors' women, who used to speak softly. They were our ancestors. We came after them. Our fathers came after them. The speech of those people was nasal. Where were they, the women whose voices could be heard as they toasted *fowe*? They cooked fish in many ceramic pots. What did they make fire with, since there were no matches? They turned a stick.

There weren't any Brazilians, either. The river was small. There was no river. It is now the Purus, they used to say. The Brazilians didn't live here. There were only Paumaris. It was the Paumaris' village. He wasn't a Paumari. Who was the Paumari? Who were the Paumaris?

It was here in the area that floods that they fought the jaguar. Two of them went out hunting. It killed some giant otters. They had killed some giant otters, and they were covered over with dead leaves, their kill. There were two jaguars. One of them fought the men first. There were two men, too. They didn't have any weapons, we used to say. There were two of them.

They looked at the jaguars' kill. "It's a jaguar's kill," they said, as they stood looking at the animals. The jaguar, which had buried its kill, was hunting them. He looked back at the jaguar. The two of them were carrying blowguns, I guess. Weren't there any arrows? The jaguar charged them. He held the jaguar, lifting it. He kept himself from falling. When the other man saw that the jaguar had been lifted up, he tried to break off a small tree to kill the jaguar, but the tree was too strong for him. All the trees were too hard to break. All the trees were tough. There was nothing to kill the jaguar with, and it attacked them. He lifted it up and heaved it away, but it came rushing back. He lifted it up again. Then the other man came. Their hole was close to where they were lying. As the jaguar was fighting them, he lifted the jaguar again. Then he got injured, because he was tired. He lifted up the jaguar.

"Hold onto my waist. Brace me. We are going to die because of the jaguar," he said.

The jaguar came at him again. He lifted up the jaguar again. Then he had an idea. He picked up the jaguar. He went carrying the jaguar. He went carrying the jaguar. When he was about to stuff the jaguar between two trees, the jaguar jumped away. The jaguar fought him. He brought the jaguar back.

<sup>6</sup> This refers to a game that young people played, burying each other except for the head.

"Brace me," he said.

He held onto the other man by the armpits. He held onto his armpits. They were all cut up because of the jaguar. They were hoarse from yelling to each other because of the jaguar. They finally came home, after the jaguar went away. When it went to the water to drink, they came back. They left it behind. It didn't die.

One also grabbed Towisawa Rowi when he was hunting spider monkeys with his blowgun. He shot spider monkeys with his blowgun. He went to get two spider monkeys that fell. He was coming back, carrying the spider monkeys on his shoulder, when a jaguar attacked him. When the jaguar attacked him, he thought it was a spirit, a *kose mati* monster. "A *kose mati* monster, which I heard about long ago, is grabbing me," he thought, he used to say. He ran with it, because he realized it was the face of a jaguar. The jaguar was trying to stop Towisawa, he used to say. Then he went under a log, and it let go. It charged him and grabbed him again. It latched onto the belt that Towisawa was wearing. Towisawa always said he carried it along, as it held onto the belt. It cut into the belt. He went along twisting and turning, he used to say. His head had a scar, Towisawa's head, also his shoulder, and the side of his chest, scars of the jaguar's claws. When it came back, he shot it with an arrow when it attacked him, he said. He picked up the arrows. It went careening, almost knocking him over, he used to say. He said that he let it pass by him. He yelled then with happiness. It suffered loudly.

He didn't go after it to look at it. He came running back, because he was tired, he used to say. He was tired, and he came back and tied up the spider monkeys. He stood there, and then came home, he used to say.

Towisawa was alone. Towisawa didn't call anyone older brother or younger brother. He was alone. My father, however, had a brother. Sawa Bofe had a brother, and Amane had many brothers. They were Tafa, Amane, and Sakobi. They had two brothers-in-law, too, Kowarafo and Kanawa. Kowarafo and his brother had one older sister, too, Kakiti. My aunt was alone, too, Maiyi. Maiyi was alone, too. My uncle, who was Ha Kanaki, who married someone who was not really an aunt of mine. She wasn't a parallel cousin of my mother, but I just called him uncle anyway.

## Interlinear Presentation

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1 Me banemetemoneke
  me bana -hemete -mone -ke
  3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
  pron vi
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'They moved to another place.'

2	Me	tokimetemone			amake	ai	Foro	ya
	me	to- ka.NO	M+F -mete	-mone	ama -ke	ahi	Foro	ya
	3PL.S	away go/com	me FP.N+F	REP+F	SEC DEC	L+F there	Purus	ADJU
	pron	vi			sec	dem	npropf	prt

'They went to the Purus River.'

3	Foro	wataren	netemo	amak	amake			
	Foro	wata	-ra	-hemete	-mone	ama	-ke	
	Purus	exist NEG		FP.N+F	REP+F	SEC	DECL+F	
	npropf	vi				sec		
'Th	ie Purus d	idn't exis	st.'					

4 Foroteba wataremetemone amake

Foro -tee -ba wata -ra -hemete -mone ama -ke

Purus HAB FUT exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F

npropf vi sec

'The Purus didn't exist.'

5 Fa kanafiremetemone kanafineke
faha ka- nafi -ra -hemete -mone ka- nafi -ne -ke
stream COMIT be big NEG FP.N+F REP+F COMIT be big CONT+F DECL+F
nf vi

'The river was small, but now it's big.'

6 *Fa* kanafiremetemone nafineke Foro náfi faha ka- nafi -ra -hemete -mone -ne -ke Foro stream COMIT be big NEG FP.N+F REP+F be big CONT+F DECL+F Purus nf νi νi npropf

toaharo

to- ha -haaro CH be IP.E+F

VC

'The river was small, but now it's big, the Purus.'

7 Okomise wataha tokimetemone voari amise voha -ri to- ka.NOM+F -mete -mone ka wata+F 1SG.POSS POSS aunt breast PN arow away go/come FP.N+F REP+F vi pn

amakeahiama -keahiSEC DECL+Ftheresecdem

'My aunt went there when her breasts began to grow.'

8 *Me* kariwa me towinawitia me me to- wina -witI+F me ka -riwaha+F me me yobe me go/come across away live out 3PL.S 3PL.S 3PL.S house 3PL.S pron vi pron vi pron nm pron

ai nemetemoneke winabone mati me mati ahi na -hemete -mone -ke me wina -habone AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S live INT+F 3PL.S aux pron

'They crossed, and lived over there. They built a house to live in there.'

9 *Me* winabone yobe ai nemetemoneke me me wina -habone yobe me ahi na -hemete -mone -ke 3PL.S live INT+F house 3PL.S work on AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron pron vi nm vt. aux

winarabani mati me hiyara me mita mati wina -ra -haba -ni hiyara mita+F mati mati me me 3PL.S live NEG FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S 3PL.S 3PL.S story hear pron pron nf vt

'They built a house to live in there, but they didn't live there, because they heard a report.'

10	Yama	me	yete	na	me	tokaha ,	yome	me	me
	yama	me	yete	na+F		to- ka+F	yomee		me
	thing	3PL.S	hunt	AUX	3PL.S	away go/come	jaguar	3PL.O	3PL.S
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	vi	nm	pron	pron

wasibemetemoneke ka mati vome vome vama wasi -baha -hemete -mone -ke yomee yomee yama ka mati find before FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F jaguar jaguar forest of 3PL nm nf prt pron

'They went hunting, and they came upon some jaguars.'

kahomemetemoneke 11 Yome hoti mρ ya ya yomee kahoma me -hemete -mone -ke hoti jaguar 3PL.S COMIT lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F hole ADJU pron vi nf nm prt

'The jaguars were in a hole.'

12 *Yome* hikanakomehe me me yomee me hi- kakomeha me na-3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT CAUS be fearsome jaguar nm pron pron

hinemetemoneni

hi- na -hemete -mone -ni OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F aux

'They were scared of the jaguars.'

13 *Yome* me ihi kaba ihi me me kaba+F ihi vomee me ihi me me jaquar 3PL.POSS victim of+F 3PL.S eat because of+F 3PL.POSS post pron pn pron vt pron kakohemetemoneke abe hoti ya -hemete -mone -ke kaako hoti ahe ya RECIP be angry with FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F hole ADJU nf prt

'The jaguars were snarling at each other in the hole, as they were eating their kill.'

14 *Me* me me hoti ya me me me me hoti ya me 3PL 3PL 3PL.POSS hole+F ADJU 3PL.S pron pron pron pn prt kahomemetemone kowani ya -hemete -mone kowani ya COMIT lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F other side ADJU prt

'They were in their hole, on the other side [of the Purus].'

15	Yama	me	yete	na	me	kamai	tasa		me	am	0
	yama	me	yete	na+F	me	ka	-m	a -tasa	+F me	am	0
	thing	3PL.S	hunt	AUX	3PL.S	go/c	ome ba	ck again	3PI	L.S sl	eep
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	vi			pro	on vi	
nai	ma	me	, m	e ,	me	towak	emetemo	neke			
na	-ma+F	me	m∈	e ´	me	to-	ka-	ka	-hemet	e -mone	e -ke
AU	X back	3PL.S	31	PL	3PL.S	away	COMIT	go/come	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F
au	X	pron	p	ron	pron	vi					
	hiyara	me	kamin	amabani			ma	ti .			
	hiyara	me	kamir	na -ma	-haba	-ni	ma	ti			
	story	3PL.S	tell	bac	k FUT+F	IP.N-	+F 3P	L.S			
	nf	pron	vt				pr	on			

'They hunted. They came back and slept in the village. Two of them went out, and they told the report when they came back.'

<sup>7</sup> The second token of *ihi* is a false start.

	ematamonak				tokahari			yama	vete
Ete Bo			ona -ka	,	to- ka	-ha	ari ,	yama	yete
(man's	name) F	P.N+M RE	P+M DEC	L+M	away qo/	come IP.	E+M	thing	hunt
npropm	1				vi			nf	vt
ebonaha									
	ona -ha	•							
1+TNI XU	M DUP								
ıux									
It was Ete l	Bote who w	ent out hun	ting.'						
7 Wabori			ya	fameim	atamonaka			. me	
wabori	-		ya	fama	-himat	a -mona	-ka	me	
3SG.PC	SS broth	er-in-la	w ADJU	be wit	th FP.N+M	REP+M	$\mathtt{DECL+M}$	3PL	.S
nm			prt	vi				pro	n
panani		me	ati	me	mitabai	ni	ħ	nati ,	
oana	-hani	me	ati	me	mita	-haba -n	i n	nati ´	
nove away	y IP.N+F	3PL.POS	SS voi	ce 3PL.	S hear	FUT+F IP	.N+F 3	BPL.S	
7i		pron	pn	pron	ı vt		F	oron	
para	mati ,	bara	me	ati	me	mitab	ani		mati
oara	mati	bara	me	at			-haba		mati
other+F	3PL	other+F	' 3PL.I	POSS vo	ice 3PL	.S hear	FUT+F	IP.N+F	3PL.S
adj	pron	adj	pron	pn	pro	n vt			pron
			me me	fora		na na+1	me	ni ya	
yiko howler	monkey	me 3PL.O	me 3PL.S	fora shoot w	ith blowg	na+I jun AUX	F me 3PL	ni ya to AD	
yiko howler nm	monkey	me 3PL.O	me 3PL.S pron	fora	ith blow <u>c</u>	na+I	F me 3PL	ni ya	
howler	_	me 3PL.O pron	me 3PL.S pron	fora shoot w	ith blowg	na+I gun AUX aux	F me 3PL	ni ya to AD	
yiko howler nm <b>ne</b>	ati	me 3PL.O pron <i>kakemetem</i> ka	me 3PL.S pron <i>oneni</i> -kI	fora shoot w vt -hemete		na+I gun AUX aux	F me 3PL	ni ya to AD	
yiko howler nm  ne ne 3PL.POSS	ati ati voice pn	me 3PL.O pron kakemetem ka go/come vi	me 3PL.S pron oneni -kI coming	fora shoot w vt -hemete FP.N+F	- mone -: REP+F B	na+I gun AUX aux ni KG+F	F me 3PL pron	ni ya to AD prt pr	
yiko howler nm  ne ne BPL.POSS	ati ati voice pn	me 3PL.O pron kakemetem ka go/come vi	me 3PL.S pron oneni -kI coming	fora shoot w vt -hemete FP.N+F	-mone -:	na+I gun AUX aux ni KG+F	F me 3PL pron	ni ya to AD prt pr	
yiko howler nm  ne ne BPL.POSS oron They were	ati ati voice pn shooting ho	me 3PL.O pron kakemetem ka go/come vi owler monke	me 3PL.S pron oneni -kI coming eys with b	fora shoot w vt -hemete FP.N+F blowguns w me	-mone -: REP+F B: when the talk	na+I gun AUX aux ni KG+F K of the oth	F me 3PL pron	ni ya to AD prt pr	
yiko howler nm  ne ne BPL.POSS oron They were:	ati ati voice pn shooting ho	me 3PL.O pron kakemetem ka go/come vi owler monke yaka yaka	me 3PL.S pron oneni -kI coming eys with b na na+F	fora shoot w vt -hemete FP.N+F blowguns w me me	- mone -: REP+F B: when the talk ati ati	na+H gun AUX aux ni KG+F  K of the oth me me	F me 3PL pron	ni ya to AD prt pr	
yiko howler nm  me BPL.POSS bron They were 9 Me me 3PL.PO	ati ati voice pn shooting ho ati ati oss voice	me 3PL.O pron kakemetem ka go/come vi owler monke yaka yaka ce walk	me 3PL.S pron oneni -kI coming eys with b  na na+F AUX	fora shoot w vt  -hemete FP.N+F  slowguns w me me 3PL.POS	-mone -: REP+F B: when the talk  ati ati ati voice	na+H gun AUX aux ni KG+F  K of the oth me me 3PL.S	F me 3PL pron	ni ya to AD prt pr	
yiko howler nm  me BPL.POSS bron They were: 9 Me me 3PL.PO pron	ati ati voice pn shooting ho ati ati oss voice pn	me 3PL.O pron kakemetem ka go/come vi owler monke yaka yaka	me 3PL.S pron oneni -kI coming eys with b na na+F	fora shoot w vt -hemete FP.N+F blowguns w me me	-mone -: REP+F B: when the talk  ati ati S voice pn	na+H gun AUX aux ni KG+F  K of the oth me me 3PL.S pron	F me 3PL pron	ni ya to AD prt pr	t
yiko howler nm  ne BPL.POSS bron They were 9 Me me 3PL.PO pron nikamitemet	ati ati voice pn shooting ho ati ati oss voice pn	me 3PL.O pron kakemetem ka go/come vi owler monke yaka yaka ce walk vi	me 3PL.S pron oneni -kI coming eys with b  na na+F AUX aux	fora shoot w vt  -hemete FP.N+F  slowguns w  me me 3PL.POS pron	re-mone -: REP+F B: When the talk  ati ati ati S voice pn  me ka	na+H gun AUX aux ni KG+F  K of the oth me me 3PL.S pron owa	F me 3PL pron ers came	ni ya to AD prt pr  to them.'	t owa
yiko howler nm  ne BPL.POSS Dron They were: 9 Me me 3PL.PO pron nikamitemet	ati ati voice pn shooting ho ati ati oss voic pn temoneke mita -1	me 3PL.O pron kakemetem ka go/come vi owler monke yaka yaka ce walk vi hemete -m	me 3PL.S pron oneni -kI coming eys with b  na na+F AUX aux	fora shoot w vt  -hemete FP.N+F  slowguns w  me me 3PL.POS pron ,	-mone	na+H gun AUX aux ni KG+F  K of the oth me me 3PL.S pron owa owa	r me 3PL pron ers came	ni ya to AD prt pr  to them.'	owa owa
yiko howler nm  ne BPL.POSS Dron They were: 9 Me me 3PL.PO pron nikamitemet ni- ka-	ati ati voice pn shooting ho ati ati oss voice pn	me 3PL.O pron kakemetem ka go/come vi owler monke yaka yaka ce walk vi hemete -m	me 3PL.S pron oneni -kI coming eys with b  na na+F AUX aux	fora shoot w vt  -hemete FP.N+F  slowguns w  me me 3PL.POS pron ,	r -mone -mon	na+H gun AUX aux ni KG+F  K of the oth  me me 3PL.S pron owa owa SS man	r me 3PL pron ers came , me me 3PL	ni ya to AD prt pr  to them.'	owa owa man
yiko howler nm  ne ne BPL.POSS oron They were 9 Me me 3PL.PO pron nikamitemen nic ka- OC COMIT	ati ati voice pn shooting ho ati ati ati oss voice pn semoneke mita -l	me 3PL.O pron kakemetem ka go/come vi owler monke yaka yaka ce walk vi hemete -m P.N+F RE	me 3PL.S pron oneni -kI coming eys with b  na na+F AUX aux	fora shoot w vt  -hemete FP.N+F  slowguns w  me me 3PL.POS pron ,	-mone	na+H gun AUX aux ni KG+F  K of the oth  me me 3PL.S pron owa owa SS man	r me 3PL pron ers came , me me 3PL	ni ya to AD prt pr  to them.'	owa owa
yiko howler nm  ne ne BPL.POSS oron They were: 9 Me me 3PL.PO pron nikamitemen ni- ka- OC COMIT ort	ati ati voice pn shooting ho ati ati ati oss voice pn semoneke mita -l T hear Fi	me 3PL.O pron kakemetem ka go/come vi owler monke yaka yaka ce walk vi hemete -m P.N+F RE	me 3PL.S pron oneni -kI coming eys with b  na na+F AUX aux hone -ke	fora shoot w vt  -hemete FP.N+F  clowguns w  me me 3PL.POS pron , cl+F	r -mone -mon	na+H gun AUX aux ni KG+F  K of the oth  me me 3PL.S pron owa owa SS man	r me 3PL pron ers came , me me 3PL	ni ya to AD prt pr  to them.'	owa owa man
yiko howler nm  ne ne BPL.POSS Dron They were: 9 Me me 3PL.PO pron nikamitemet ni- ka- DC COMIT rt rome na	ati ati voice pn shooting ho ati ati ati oss voic pn semoneke mita -l T hear Fi	me 3PL.O pron kakemetem ka go/come vi owler monke yaka yaka ce walk vi hemete -m P.N+F RE	me 3PL.S pron oneni -kI coming eys with b  na na+F AUX aux none -ke EP+F DEG	fora shoot w vt  -hemete FP.N+F  blowguns w  me me 3PL.POS pron , CL+F	r -mone -mon	na+H gun AUX aux ni KG+F  K of the oth  me me 3PL.S pron owa owa SS man	r me 3PL pron ers came , me me 3PL	ni ya to AD prt pr  to them.'	owa owa man
yiko howler nm  ne BPL.POSS bron They were 9 Me me 3PL.PO pron nikamitemet ni- ka- OC COMIS 77 toome no gomee no dog Ca	ati ati voice pn shooting ho ati ati ati oss voice pn semoneke mita -l I hear Fi mwatateinoh a- wata AUS exist	me 3PL.O pron kakemetem ka go/come vi owler monke yaka yaka ce walk vi hemete -m P.N+F RE	me 3PL.S pron oneni -kI coming eys with b  na na+F AUX aux hone -ke	fora shoot w vt  -hemete FP.N+F  blowguns w  me me 3PL.POS pron , CL+F	r -mone -mon	na+H gun AUX aux ni KG+F  K of the oth  me me 3PL.S pron owa owa SS man	r me 3PL pron ers came , me me 3PL	ni ya to AD prt pr  to them.'	owa owa man
yiko howler nm  me ne BPL.POSS oron They were: 9 Me me 3PL.PO pron nikamitemet ni- ka- OC COMIT rt rome na vomee na dog Ci nm v	ati ati voice pn shooting ho ati ati ati out ati ati ati bus voice pn semoneke mita -l f hear Fi mwatateinoh a- wata AUS exist	me 3PL.O pron kakemetem ka go/come vi owler monke yaka yaka ee walk vi hemete -m P.N+F RE	me 3PL.S pron oneni -kI coming eys with b  na na+F AUX aux none -ke EP+F DEG	fora shoot w vt  -hemete FP.N+F  blowguns w  me me 3PL.POS pron e CL+F  .ho UP	r -mone -mon	na+H gun AUX aux ni KG+F  K of the oth  me me 3PL.S pron owa owa SS man t nm	me 3PL proners came and me 3PL pro	ni ya to AD prt pr  to them.'	owa owa owa man
yiko howler nm  ne ne BPL.POSS bron They were  9 Me me 3PL.PO pron nikamitemet ni- ka- DC COMIT ot come nicyomee nicyome	ati ati voice pn shooting ho ati ati ati out ati ati ati bus voice pn semoneke mita -l f hear Fi mwatateinoh a- wata AUS exist	me 3PL.O pron kakemetem ka go/come vi owler monke yaka yaka ee walk vi hemete -m P.N+F RE	me 3PL.S pron oneni -kI coming eys with b  na na+F AUX aux none -ke EP+F DEG	fora shoot w vt  -hemete FP.N+F  slowguns w  me me 3PL.POS pron e CL+F  ho UP	when the tall  ati ati ati S voice pn  me ka me ka 3PL POO pron pro	na+H gun AUX aux ni KG+F  K of the other me me 3PL.S pron owa owa SS man t nm	me 3PL proners came and me 3PL pro	ni ya to AD prt pr  to them.'	owa owa owa man
yiko howler nm  ne ne BPL.POSS bron They were  9 Me me 3PL.PO pron nikamitemet ni- ka- DC COMIT ot come nicyomee nicyome	ati ati voice pn shooting ho ati ati ati out ati ati ati bus voice pn semoneke mita -l f hear Fi mwatateinoh a- wata AUS exist	me 3PL.O pron kakemetem ka go/come vi owler monke yaka yaka ce walk vi hemete -m P.N+F RE  o -tee -h t HAB IR	me 3PL.S pron oneni -kI coming eys with b  na na+F AUX aux none -ke EP+F DEG	fora shoot w vt  -hemete FP.N+F  slowguns w  me me 3PL.POS pron e CL+F  ho UP ed to them  yama	when the talk  ati ati ati S voice pn  me ka me ka 3PL POS pron pro  talking. On	na+H gun AUX aux ni KG+F  K of the oth  me me 3PL.S pron owa owa SS man t nm	me 3PL pron ers came  , me me 3PL pro	ni ya to AD prt pr  to them.'  ka ka POSS n prt  ng a dog.'	owa owa owa man
yiko howler nm  ne ne BPL.POSS Dron They were:  19 Me me 3PL.PO pron hikamitemet ni- ka- DC COMIT of come ne dog CI nm VT They were:  20 Yotoino yoto	ati ati voice pn shooting ho ati ati ati oss voic pn semoneke mita -l I hear Fi mwatateinoh a- wata AUS exist t walking and	me 3PL.O pron kakemetem ka go/come vi owler monke yaka yaka ce walk vi hemete -m P.N+F RE  o	me 3PL.S pron oneni -kI coming eys with b  na na+F AUX aux  none -ke CP+F DEC  nino -i P.N+M Di  ney listene yome	fora shoot w vt  -hemete FP.N+F  slowguns w  me me 3PL.POS pron e CL+F  ho UP ed to them	when the talk  ati ati ati S voice pn  me ka me ka 3PL POS pron pro  talking. On  kiyoima kiyo	na+H gun AUX aux ni KG+F  K of the oth  me me 3PL.S pron owa owa SS man t nm  e of them v	me 3PL pron ers came  , me me 3PL pro	ni ya to AD prt pr  to them.'  ka ka POSS n prt  ng a dog.'	owa owa owa man

21 *Yome* habo ni tokomematamona ati vana habo na.NFIN to- ka -ma -himata -mona vomee ati yana bark AUX away go/come back FP.N+M REP+M doa voice start nm vi aux vi pn vi nebanoho ni ya me na -hiba -no -ho me ni va AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP 3PL to ADJU pron prt prt

'The dog went away barking. They began to hear it barking.'

22 Faya ati nematamonaka

faya ati na -himata -mona -ka so say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M conj vt aux

"Faya," he said.'

23 Sasawi ba tina
sa- sawi na -ba ti- na
DUP be present AUX without stopping 2SG.S AUX
vi aux aux

"Don't let it get away!"

24 **E** ati nako haro nematamonane nako.NOM haaro ati na -himata -mona -ne 1IN.S be famished AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M that one+F say pron vi dem vt aux

"We are famished," he said.'

nematamonaka fahi 25 *Faya* yome ati fawa fawa na -himata -mona -ka ati fahi faya yomee stop AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M dog voice then conj dem nm pn vi aux

'Then the dog couldn't be heard anymore.'

26 *Me* yaka na me me ati fawa me yaka na+F me me ati fawa 3PL.S walk AUX 3PL.S 3PL.POSS voice stop vi aux pron pron pn

tosemetemone

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

'As they walked along, their voices couldn't be heard anymore.'

27 *Me* hikanakome Me hawi me me e me me hi- kana- komeha me hawi me ee 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT CAUS be fearsome 3PL.O 3PL.POSS trail+F 1IN.S pron pn pron pron pron vt pron

awabanake

awa -habana -ke see FUT+F DECL+F

vt

'They scared them. "Let's look at their trail."

```
28 Me
             hawi
                              awabanake
                      ee
                      e
                             awa -habana -ke
             hawi
                      1IN.S see FUT+F DECL+F
  3PL.POSS
             trail+F
  pron
             pn
                      pron
"Let's look at their trail."
29 Me
             ati
                    fawa
                           ni
             ati
                           na.NOM+F
  me
                    fawa
  3PL.POSS
             voice
                    stop
                         AUX
             pn
  pron
                    vi
                           aux
"They stopped talking."
30 Me
          winate
                             awineke
                     me
          wina -tee me
  me
                             awine -ke
  3PL.S live HAB
                     3PL.S seem+F DECL+F
  pron vi
                     pron
                             sec
"I think they live here."
31 Me
                                  hiwasimetemone
                          me
             ihi
                                  hi- wasi -hemete -mone
                          me
  3PL.POSS result of+F
                          3PL.S
                                  OC find FP.N+F REP+F
                                  vt
          pn
                          pron
'They found signs of them.'
32. Hawi
                     nikimemetemone
                                                ahi
          here
                     na -kima -hemete -mone
  hawi
          bere
                                                ahi
  trail be across AUX two FP.N+F REP+F
                                                then
          vi
                     vi
'There was a path coming across.'
33 Me
        ka
                 me
                           fanawiri
                                        ka
                                               yifo
                                                       be
                                                                me
                            fanawi -ri
  me
        ka
                 me
                                        ka
                                               yifo
                                                       behe
                                                                me
  3PL POSS
                           woman PN
                 3PL.POSS
                                        POSS miriti
                                                                3PL.S
                                                       base
  pron prt
                                        prt
                 pron
                           pn
                                               nm
                                                       pn
                                                                pron
hehekariwaino
                                           ka
                                                   awa
                                                         ka
                                                                vifo
                                                                         be
              ka -riwaha.NOM -no
he- hi- ka-
                                            ka
                                                   awa
                                                          ka
                                                                yifo
                                                                         behe
DUP OC COMIT go/come across IP.N+M which
                                                   tree
                                                         POSS
                                                                miriti
                                                                        base
                                           prt
                                                   nf
                                                         prt
koto
            kariwematamona
                                               amane
            ka- na -riwaha -himata -mona
                                               ama -ne
lie across
            COMIT AUX across FP.N+M REP+M
                                               SEC BKG+M
            aux
'Palm fibers from their women's "tails" were left on a log that lay across the trail.'
34 Me
             hawi
                                   hiwawite
                      me
                            me
                                                           me
                                                                   me
  me
             hawi
                      me
                            me
                                   hi- to- awa -witI
                                                           me
                                                                   me
  3PL.POSS trail+F
                      3PL
                            3PL.S OC away see out
                                                           3PL.O
                                                                   3PL.S
             pn
                      pron pron
                                   vt
  pron
                                                           pron
                                                                   pron
hinakamakia
                                          me
hi- to- na- ka -makI+F
                                  me
OC away CAUS go/come following 3PL.O 3PL.S
                                  pron
hiwasimakiremetemoneni
hi- to- wasi -makI
                      -ra -hemete -mone -ni
OC away find following NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
'They looked at their trail. They went after them, but they didn't find them.'
```

35 *Me* wete kanamemetemoneke me me wete ka- na -ma -hemete -mone -ke me COMIT AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S return pron aux pron kakome mati kakomeha mati COMIT be fearsome 3PL.S pron

'The two of them turned back, because they were afraid.'

36 *Me* kakome kanamemetemone me wete ka- komeha ka- na -ma me me wete -hemete -mone COMIT AUX back FP.N+F COMIT be fearsome REP+F 3PL.S return pron νi vi pron aux hiyara kawinawabani mati me me hiyara me ka- wina -waha -haba -ni mati me 3PL.S COMIT live change FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S 3PL.POSS nf pron vt pron pron ihi banabani mati -haba -ni mati bana result of+F move away FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.POSS pron

'They turned back because they were afraid. They told a report back at the village, and because of them they moved away.'

ati 37 Yima ati me yima awine me me me na yima yima awine me me me ati me ati na+F 3PL Yima 3PL.POSS 3PL.S Yima voice seem+F AUX 3PL S say npropm pron pron npropm pron pn sec pron vt. aux banemetemoneke me kakome mati -hemete -mone -ke kakomeha me mati move away FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S COMIT be fearsome 3PL.S pron vi pron

"It seems to be the speech of the Yimas," they said. They moved away, because they were afraid."

38 Kowani ota winehenemete ota amake va ama -ke kowani ya otaa wina -hene -mete otaa other side ADJU 1EX.S live IRR+F FP.N+F 1EX.S SEC DECL+F prt pron vi pron

'We would have lived on the other side.'

39 *Me* kakome hana me me me me bana+F me ka- komeha me me me me 3PL.S move away 3PL.S 3PL.S COMIT be fearsome 3PL.S 3PL.S pron pron pron vi pron pron vi kamemetemone winamineke ahi ota wina -ma ahi -ma -hemete -mone otaa -ke -ne go/come back FP.N+F REP+F 1EX.S live back CONT+F DECL+F here pron νi

'They moved away. Because they were afraid, they came back, and that's why we are living back here.'

40	Me	wina	me	bana	me	kama		me	me
	me	wina+F	me	bana+F	me	ka	-ma+F	me	me
	3PL.S	live	3PL.S	move away	3PL.S	go/come	back	3PL.S	3PL.S
	pron	vi	pron	vi	pron	vi		pron	pron

kariwama kariwama me me me -riwaha -ma+F me me ka -riwaha -ma+F go/come across back 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come across back 3PL.S vi vi pron pron tokimetemone Koriwa amake to- ka.NOM+F -mete ama -ke Koriwa -mone va away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F Curiá ADJU 3PL.S be pron vi VC npropf prt

'They were living there and they moved away. They came back, crossing back. They went to the Curiá River.'

Koriwa tokimetemone amake ya me to- ka.NOM+F -mete Koriwa me -mone ama -ke ya me away go/come FP.N+F REP+F ADJU be DECL+F Curiá 3PL.S 3PL.S pron vi VC npropf prt pron

kakomematika-komehamatiCOMIT be fearsome3PL.Svipron

'They went to the Curiá River, because they were afraid.'

42 *Me* ma namamatarimetemone amake -ra.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke maa na -ma -mata stop AUX back short time NEG FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S be DECL+F pron vi aux VC

Fa BiriyaFaha Biriya(name of stream)ADJUnpropfprt

'They didn't stop at the Faha Biri stream.'8

43 *Me* tokemetemoneke ya Koriwa -hemete -mone -ke to- ka Koriwa me ya away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S Curiá ADJU pron vi npropf prt

'They went to the Curiá River.'

44 Amara Wari va me wete nama me me Amara Wari ya me wete na -ma+F me me (name of place) ADJU 3PL.S return AUX back 3PL.S 3PL.S npropm prt pron aux pron pron

kamemetemone

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

'They turned back at Amara Wari, and came back this way.'

45 *Me* winamimetemone ahi amake wina -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi me 3PL.S live back FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F there pron vi VC

'They lived back this way.'

46	Faya	awa	me	tii	na	awa	me	ti	na
	faya	awa	me	tii	na+F	awa	me	tii	na+F
	so	tree	3PL.S	cut through	AUX	tree	3PL.S	cut through	AUX
	conj	nf	pron	vt	aux	nf	pron	vt	aux

<sup>8</sup> There is a clause that is unclear at the beginning of the sentence.

Siro, ka namemetemone amake awa mρ awa me kaa na -ma -hemete -mone ama -ke AUX back FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F tree 3PL.S chop nf aux sec pron Siro Wari ya Siro Wari ya (village name) ADJU npropm prt 'They cut brush, and they cut down trees back this way, at Siro Wari.'

47 Me namakia one me one ma me one me one maa na -makI+F AUX following 3PL other+F 3PL other+F stop pron adj pron adj 77 i aux Yome Kabe winimetemone amake va wina.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke Yome Kabe ya live FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F (name of village) ADJU vi VC npropm prt

'Another group of them came back and lived at Yome Kabe.'

48 *Fava* hine me me me ibe mari na hine faya me me me ibe mari na+F 3.REFL 3PL 3PL 3PL.POSS RECIP offer a feast to AUX pron pron pron pron pn

yome amake ahi me kabimetemone me me kaba.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi me yomee me me 3PL.O 3PL.POSS 3PL.S FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then jaguar eat he pron VC pron pron 77+ dem nm

'They had a festa, and they ate jaguars.'

49 Yome Kabe yama tohineke ini aba me to- ha -ne Yome Kabe yama ini -ke aba me CH be CONT+F DECL+F fish 3PL.O (name of village) thing name+F npropm nf pn VC nm pron

memarinabanimatimemarina -haba -nimati3PL.Sfeast onAUX FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.Spronvtauxpron

'That's why it's called Yome Kabe. Then they feasted on fish.'

50 Fava vati me wasimetemone amake fahi me wasi.NOM -mete fahi faya vati me me -mone ama -ke find DECL+F so Apurinã 3PL.O 3PL.S FP.N+F REP+F be then pron pron conj npropm vt VC dem

yati wina kisakiani mati me yati wina+F ka -risa -kI -hani mati me Apurinã 3PL.S live go/come down coming IP.N+F 3PL.S npropm pron vi vi pron

'Then they found some Apurinã Indians who had come downstream.'9

51 *Me* me totowama na me me to- toawa -ma.LIST na DUP away see back 3PL.O 3PL.S AUX pron pron vt aux

<sup>9</sup> The verb *wina* is a false start.

hiaremetemoneheni ati me me hi- to- ha -ra -hemete -mone -he -ni ati me OC CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F 3PL.POSS voice 3PL.S aux pron pn pron

'They never went back to see them, because they had heard them talking.'

52 Yima atimetemone me me na yima ati -mete me -mone me me ati na voice FP.N+F REP+F Yima 3PL.POSS say AUX 3PL.O 3PL.S pron npropm pron pn pron vt.

hiemetemoneke

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

'They said it was the Yimas talking.'

53 **E** one me ati toemete awine ota me to- ha -hemete ee one me ati me awine otaa 1IN relative 3PL.POSS CH be FP.N+F 3PL.POSS 1EX.S voice seem+F pron nf pron pron VC sec pron pn aati otake hiwibote toamaro me me

to- ha -hamaro otaa -ke hi- awa -bote aati me me DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F 1EX.S DECL+F 3PL.0 OC 3PL.S see quickly vt. aux pron pron pron vt.

hirimete

hi- na -ra.NOM+F -mete OC AUX NEG FP.N+F

aux

"Is that some of our people talking?" we said, because they hadn't seen them quickly."

54 <i>E</i>	Habo	bayireno		awaka		me	ati	
h	nabo	bayi	-ra -hino	awa -ka	a ´	me	ati	
С	courage+M	be deep	NEG IP.N+N	M seem+M DEC	CL+M	3PL.POSS	voice	
p	on	vi		sec		pron	pn	
mitek	hino	me	ati m	niteimata	ota	aati	toamaro	
	<i>hino</i> a -hino	<i>me</i> me		<i>niteimata</i> nita -himata		<i>aati</i> a- ati		-hamaro
mita		me	ati m		otaa	a- ati		

otake

otaa -ke 1EX.S DECL+F pron

'He didn't have the courage. He had heard them talking, we always used to say.'

55	Me	ye	hona	hine	me
	me	yehe	hona+F	hine	me
	3PL.POSS	hand	have something	3.REFL	3PL.S
	pron	pn	vi	pron	pron

awabisaremetemoneke wati kia mati me awa -bisa -ra -hemete -mone -ke wati kiha+F me mati see also NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S arrow have 3PL.S nm pron vt pron

'Why didn't they go after them, they had arrows.'

```
56 Me
         totokoma
                                          toaremetemoneni
                                    na
         to- to- ka -ma.LIST
  me
                                    na
                                          to- ha -ra -hemete -mone -ni
  3PL.S DUP away go/come back
                                        CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
                                    AUX
         vi
                                     aux
                                          aux
yama
      vabo
                 ya
       vabo.NOM
                 ya
vama
thing be far
                 ADJU
nf
       vi
                 prt
'They didn't go far.'
57 Yama
         yaboke
         yabo
  yama
                -ke
  thing be far DECL+F
  nf
         vi
'It's far.'
58 Yama
         toyabowahini
  yama
         to- yabo -waha -ni
  thing CH be far change BKG+F
  nf
         vi
'It was far.'
59 Fava
                      yete
        vama
                            nama
                                     toimetemone
                                                                  amake
              me
  faya
                       yete na -ma to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone
        vama
               me
                                                                  ama -ke
        thing 3PL.S hunt AUX back CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                                                                  be DECL+F
               pron vt
        nf
                             aux
                                      aux
                                                                  VC
  conj
                    abi
                             metebani
                                                                 ka
        ota
               ka
                                                  mati
waha
                                                           ota
        otaa ka
                            me -tee -ba -ni
                     abi
                                                  mati
                                                           otaa
                                                                 ka
waha
        1EX POSS father 3PL HAB FUT IP.N+F
                                                  3PL
                                                           1EX
                                                                 POSS
        pron prt nm
                             pron
                                                                 prt
                                                  pron
                                                           pron
prt
iti
           mati
iti
            mati
grandfather 3PL
            pron
'They hunted again, the ones who became our fathers, our grandfathers.'
                           yama
                                         yete
60 Ota
        ka
              iti
                                   me
                                                nama
  otaa
        ka
              iti
                           yama
                                   me
                                          yete
                                                na -ma
  1EX
        POSS grandfather
                           thing
                                  3PL.S hunt
                                                AUX back
  pron prt
              nm
                           nf
                                   pron vt
                                                aux
toimetemone
                           amake
                                   ahi
to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone
                           ama -ke
                                       ahi
CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                           be DECL+F then
                           VC
'Our grandfathers hunted again.'
61 Me
                                                  ahi
         tokimetemone
                                      amake
                                                           Koriwa
         to- ka.NOM+F -mete -mone
                                      ama -ke
                                                          Koriwa
                                                  ahi
         away go/come FP.N+F REP+F
                                     be DECL+F
                                                          Curiá
                                                                   ADJU
  3PL.S
                                                 then
  pron
         vi
                                                  dem
                                                          npropf prt
                                      VC
'They went to the Curiá River.'
         ma
               namamatarimetemone
                                                            amake
                                 -ra.NOM+F -mete -mone
                                                            ama -ke
         maa
               na -ma -mata
         stop AUX back short time NEG FP.N+F REP+F
                                                           be DECL+F
         vi
  pron
               aux
```

'They didn't stop here.'

63 Me fiya tonemetemoneke ahi
me fiya to- na -hemete -mone -ke ahi
3PL.S pass CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
pron vi aux dem

'They passed on by.'

64 *Me* wete namimetemone va Amara Wari yama ya na -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone Amara Wari me wete yama 3PL.S return AUX back FP.N+F REP+F ADJU (name of place) place pron vi aux prt npropm nf

ini tohineke Koriwa ya to- ha -ne -ke ini Koriwa ya name+F CH be CONT+F DECL+F Curiá ADJU VC npropf prt

'Amara Wari is the name of the place where they turned back, on the Curiá River.'

65 Koriwa wete namemetemoneke fahi *ya* me Koriwa wete na -ma -hemete -mone -ke fahi ya me Curiá ADJU 3PL.S return AUX back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then npropf prt pron vi aux dem

'They turned back at the Curiá.'

namahite 66 Fava me kama tafe me faya -ma na -ma -hitI tafe me ka me AUX back along the way 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.POSS food+F vi aux conj pron pron nn

weweye toemete awine me me we- weye to- ha -hemete awine me DUP carry CH AUX FP.N+F 3PL.S seem+F 3PL.S pron vt aux sec

'As they came along the trail, did they carry their food?'

67 Me tafe va me kobo nama me me me tafe ya me kobo na -ma+F me AUX back 3PL.POSS crops+F ADJU 3PL.S arrive 3PL.S 3PL.S pron prt pron vi aux pron

wiwinama
wi- wina -ma to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke
DUP live back CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F
vi aux vc

'They arrived at their garden, and lived there.'

68 Fa Biri Fare Wari amake ya Faha Biri ama -ke Fare Wari ya (name of stream) (name of place) SEC DECL+F ADJU npropf sec npropf prt

'It was Fare Wari, on the Faha Biri stream.'

69 Yome Kabe ka yama ini amake vome yomee Yome Kabe ka yama ini ama -ke name+F be DECL+F (name of village) POSS thing jaguar 3PL.O npropm prt nf pn VC nm pron

mehikabemetemonematimehi-kaba -hemete -monemati3PL.SOCeatFP.N+FREP+F3PL.Opronvtpron

'They ate jaguars, that's why it's called Yome Kabe.'

70 *Fava* me wiwina me kama toa wi- wina faya me to- ha+F me ka -ma go/come back so 3PL.S DUP live СН AUX 3PL.S pron conj pron aux vi νi namahite ti me awa me tasa na -ma -hitT me awa me tii. na -tasa+F 3PL.S cut through AUX back along the way 3PL.S tree AUX again pron nf pron vt Sawa Mete ya me winama me me Sawa Mete уа me wina -ma+F me 3PL.S (name of stream) ADJU 3PL.S live back 3PL.S pron npropm prt pron vi pron ahi kamawaimetemone amake -waha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi -ma go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then

'They were living there. They came back along the trail. They cleared brush again. They were living at Sawa Mete, and then they came back.'

VC

dem

71 Wara itineni me Wara ita -ni me -ne (name of lake) be located CONT+F BKG+F 3PL.S npropf vi pron tokomawaimetemone karo -waha.NOM+F -mete -ma to- ka -mone karo away go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F LOC prt

'The place they went to was Wara Lake.'

72 *Me* wiwina toimetemone amake ahi ama -ke wi- wina to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ahi 3PL.S DUP live СН AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F there pron aux dem Aba Wini ya

Aba Wini ya
Aba Wini ya
(name of stream) ADJU
npropf prt

vi

'They lived at the Aba Wini stream.'

73 Aba Wini wiwina toimetemone fahi va me Aba Wini wi- wina to- ha.NOM+F -mete fahi уа me -mone (name of stream) ADJU 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F then dem npropf prt pron vi aux

'They lived at the Aba Wini stream.'

74 *Me* ibe kakamo na toimetemone ibe kakamo.LIST na to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS RECIP COMIT bury AUX CH AUX pron vt aux aux pn

 $\begin{array}{lll} \textit{amake} & \textit{fahi} \\ \text{ama} & -\text{ke} & \text{fahi} \\ \text{be} & \text{DECL+F} & \text{there} \\ \text{vc} & & \text{dem} \end{array}$ 

'They buried people there.'

75 *Me* taborimetemone amake faro tabori -mete -mone ama -ke me faaro be DECL+F 3PL.POSS place+F FP.N+F REP+F that+F pron pn VC dem

'That was their village.'

76 *Me* wiwinikima toimetemone okomise wi- wina -kima to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone me 0ka amise 3PL.S DUP live two CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS aunt pron vi aux nf toamaroni

a- ati to- ha -hamaro -ni DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F BKG+F vt aux

'They lived in two longhouses, my aunt used to say.'

tamakare okomise aati tama -ka -re 0amise aati ka be many DECL NEG+F 1SG.POSS POSS aunt DUP say 1IN.S pron nf

toamaroke

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

"We are few now," my aunt used to say."

78 **E** tatama toemetemone me tabori bote to- ha -hemete -mone ee ta- tama me tabori bote 1IN.S DUP be many CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS place+F old pron vi aux pron pn adj

amani

ama -ni be BKG+F vc

'That was our village when there were many of us.'

79 <b>Faya</b>	me	ibe	mari			na	me	me		ibe
faya	me	ibe	mari			na+F	me	me		ibe
so	3PL.POSS	RECIP	offe	r a fea	ast to	AUX	3PL.POS	S 3PL	.POSS	RECIP
conj	pron	pn	vt			aux	pron	pro	n	pn
mari		nawaha		yobe	yoro	nikime		, me		ibe
mari		na -wa	aha+F	yobe	yoro	na -	kima+M	me		ibe
offer a	feast to	AUX ch	ange	house	stay	AUX t	CWO	3PL	.POSS	RECIP
vt		aux		nm	vi	aux		pro	n	pn
mari		na	mati		aba	me	amara	ı	me	me
mari		na+F	mati	,	aba	me	ama	-ra+F	me	me
offer a	feast to	AUX	3PL.PO	SS	fish sp	3PL	.S be	NEG	3PL.O	3PL.S
vt		aux	pron		nm	pro	n vc		pron	pron

mari na mati mowe ete mati okomise na+F mari mati mowe ete mati 0ka amise 1SG.POSS POSS aunt feast on AUX 3PL.S redtail catfish 3PL pron nm nf aux pron hivari aati toamaroke to- ha -hamaro -ke hivara.NFIN a- ati DUP sav СН AUX FP.E+F DECL+F speak vi vt aux

'They had a festa, and the others hosted them back. There were two villages that hosted each other back and forth. They didn't feast on aba fish, they were redtail catfish, my aunt used to say.'

80 Wara abe Wara hibati abe Wara hibati Wara inhabitant+F long time ago (name of lake) (name of lake) npropf npropf nf pn kametemone amake ka -mete -mone ama -ke of FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F VC

'They were the inhabitants of Wara Lake, the people of Wara of long ago.'

81 *Me* taborimetemone yokana boto yoro tabori -mete -mone yokana boto yoro place+F FP.N+F REP+F true sandy clearing stav pron adi nf vi pn nikimineke

na -kima -ne -ke AUX two CONT+F DECL+F

'There are two sandy clearings where their village stood.'

82 *Me* kakamo hiemetemone ini ee hi- to- ha kamo -hemete -mone ini 9 OC CH AUX FP.N+F COMIT bury 3PL.S REP+F name+F (pause) pron vt aux pn interj Mate Sako Mate Sako abamone me hikamoa tabiyo Mate Sako Mate Sako ahaba -hamone me hi- kamo+F tabiyo (woman's name) (woman's name) die REP+F 3PL.S OC bury absence npropf npropf vi pron vt. me na hiemetemone tati ooi ta 0ohi.LIST na hi- to- ha -hemete -mone tati taa 3PL.S DUP cry AUX OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F head protrude pron vi aux aux pn vi

tonaharo

to- na -haaro CH AUX IP.E+F

aux

'They buried Mate Sako, and they mourned for her. Her head stuck up.'

83 Noko Maiyi kamo hikamoa mati me me kamo.LIST Noko Maiyi me me hi- kamo+F mati (woman's name) 3PL.O 3PL.S OC bury bury 3PL.O npropf result pron pron vt pron

'Noko Maiyi was also buried. They buried people.'

```
84 Boto
                     nanafi
                                   toemetemone
                                                             okomise
                                   to- ha -hemete -mone
   boto
                     na- nafi
                                                             0-
                                                                        ka
                                                                             amise
                                   CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                     DUP be big
   sandy clearing
                                                             1SG.POSS POSS aunt
                     vi
                                   aux
                                                             nf
          hiamaro
                                   amani
ทก
          hi- to- ha -hamaro
ati na
                                   ama -ni
          OC CH AUX FP.E+F
                                   SEC BKG+F
sav AUX
vt
          aux
                                   sec
'My aunt said the clearing used to be big.'
85 Me
                                 taborimetemone
                                                          okomise
           tama
                     me
   me
           tama+F
                     me
                                 tabori -mete -mone
                                                          0-
                                                                    ka
                                                                          amise
                                 place+F FP.N+F REP+F
                                                          1SG.POSS POSS aunt
   3PL.S
           be many
                     3PL.POSS
                                 pn
   pron
           vi
                     pron
                                                          nf
na
          hiamaro
ati na
          hi- to- ha -hamaro
say AUX
          OC CH AUX FP.E+F
vt
          aux
'My aunt said it was the village of many people.'
86 Aba Wini
                       ka
                             boto
                                                      nikimineke
                                               yoro
   Aba Wini
                             boto
                                                      na -kima -ne
                       ka
                                               yoro
                       LOC
                             sandy clearing
                                                                  CONT+F DECL+F
   (name of stream)
                                               stay
                                                      AUX two
                       prt
                            nf
                                                vi
                                                      aux
ivawa
                                                                        hiti
              amara
                           me
                                    ivawa
                                                   amara
                                                                                na
                                                                me
iyawa
              ama -ra+F
                                                   ama -ra+F
                                                                        hiti
                                                                                na+F
                           me
                                    iyawa
                                                                me
                           3PL
                                                                                AUX
manioc mash
              he
                   NEG
                                    manioc mash
                                                   he
                                                        NEG
                                                                3PL.S
                                                                        grate
                                    nf
                                                   VC
                                                                pron
                                                                                allx
              77.0
                           pron
                                                                        77
          fowe
                         fowa
                                   amarari
mati
                                                        fowa
                                                                  amare
                                                                              me
                                   ama -ra -haari
                          fowa
                                                                  ama -ra+M
mati
           fowe
                                                        fowa
                                                                              me
                                       NEG IP.E+M
3PL.S
           plant sp
                         manioc
                                   be
                                                        manioc
                                                                      NEG
                                                                              3PL.S
                                                                 be
           nf
                                   VC.
pron
                          nm
                                                        nm
                                                                  VC.
                                                                              pron
hiti
        na
               mati
hiti
        na+F
               mati
grate
        AUX
               3PL.S
        aux
               pron
'There are two clearings at Aba Wini. What they grated was not manioc mash. They grated fowe, not manioc.'
87 Fowe
              me
                      kakawia
                                                        toemetemonehe
                                                  na
   fowe
              me
                      ka- kawia.LIST
                                                  na
                                                        to- ha -hemete -mone -he
   plant sp
              3PL.S
                      DUP eat with something
                                                  AUX
                                                        СН
                                                           AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP
              pron
                      vt
                                                  aux
                                                        aux
mowe ete
                                                      mati
                                   mari
                   me
                           me
                                               na
mowe ete
                   me
                           me
                                   mari
                                               na+F
                                                      mati
redtail catfish
                   3PL.O
                           3PL.S
                                   feast on
                                               AUX
                                                      3PL.S
                   pron
                           pron
                                                      pron
                                   vt
                                               aux
'They used fowe as starch, when they feasted on redtail catfish.'
88 Aba
                          nahabia
                                          aba
          me
                  me
                                                 me
                                                         me
   aba
                  me
                          na- ahaba+F
                                          aba
                                                 me
                                                         me
                                                                 we- weye
          me
   fish
                  3PL.S
                          CAUS end
                                          fish
                                                 3PL.O
                                                         3PL.S
          3PL.O
                                                                 DUP carry
         pron
                  pron
                          vt
                                          nm
                                                 pron
                                                         pron
                                      tabori
toemetemone
                          me
                                                amani
to- ha
         -hemete -mone
                                      tabori
                                                ama -ni
                          me
CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                          3PL.POSS
                                     place+F
                                                be BKG+F
                          pron
                                     pn
'It was the village of the people who killed fish and carried fish.'
```

89	Me me 3PL pron	one one some- adj	+F	<i>ihi</i> ihi vict: pn	im o	f+F	itiamo iti exist vi	-h	amone P+F	31		, S	Yifa yif fir nf		te tee 2PL.9 pron	awa awa S see vi
'So	me of t	hem ha	ıd got	ten fis	sh. "Y	ou get	firewo	od."'								
	Me me 3PL.B pron et their		pn	e - d+F I	-ba FUT	te tee 2PL. pron	ha S be		nishe	ed (	toniha to- nil CH CA aux		ha AUX	•		
	Te tee 2PL pron our hus		yi hu nm		m d 3 p	PL.PC	SS -	<i>ihi</i> ihi vict pn	im of	Ē+F	<pre>itihara iti exist vi</pre>	-ha IP.		•		
ka ka POS pri nim nim com vt ""T	o' SS m t n: <b>na</b> ma mmunic	pronwa ta wa ta an b m v	.0 n ui ai e ah i re can	AUX aux r <b>rying</b>	toan to- CH aux a -hib INT+	nari ha AUX ona M	aux -ma back me me 3PL.: pron ning."	F m 3 r -ha IP. h as	n <b>inahar</b> ati hi say O0 rt	ka go vi , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	/come  me  me  3PL.PO pron  a -ha  UX IP.	SS ari E+M	fanaw fanaw fanaw woma: pn	<i>iri</i> wi -ri n PN	warab warab wara ear+ pn	bi
93  tabetal pla	Ati ati voice pn ori bori ace+F	hiya hiya be vi ama ama be vc	aya ya dif ke -ke DEC	ferer	-int Di	ya.LI UP <b>e</b> ee 1IN pron	ST r  one  one  rela  nf	tive	to- CH aux me me 3PI pro	ha AUX L.S		-he	N+F -tee	REP+F		POSS
94	<i>Taiti</i> tai be ah	- nead F		.NOM	me		oneke mete 'P.N+E				-F					

pron

Hahaeyotoemeteeamake,haahaeeyoto-hemeteeeama -kethis+F1IN.SfollowFP.N+F1IN.SSECDECL+Fdempronvipronsec

'They were our ancestors.'

'We came after them.'

95 *Haha* 

ha

haa

DEM

ari

ari

1IN dem pron

96 **E** ka abi meteba votoemetemoneke me me -tee -ba ka abi me yoto -hemete -mone -ke 3PL HAB FUT follow FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S 1IN POSS father pron prt nm pron vi pron 'Our fathers came after them. fa 97 *Me* ati hanono toemetemone na ati hano -no.LIST to- ha -hemete -mone faa me na 3PL.POSS voice be nasal DUP AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F that pron vi aux aux dem pn mati mati 3PL pron 'The speech of those people was nasal.' 98 Hibaka me tohateriya fowe ati hibaka me to- ha -tee -ra+F -ya fowe sira -rawa+F ati where 3PL.S CH be HAB NEG now plant sp toast F.PL voice interrog pron VC nf sairawaha -rawa -ha be heard F.PL DUP 'Where were they, the women whose voices could be heard as they toasted fowe?' 99 *Aba* kakamakewa me mρ aha mρ rama aha ka- ka -makI -waha+F aha me me rama me 3PL.S 3PL.O COMIT go/come following change fish unusual fish 3 PT. O vt pron prt pron pron nm warekanikimakani me ahi yiwa boni va -kanikima -kani yiwaha boni waa -rI ahi ya cook raised surface scattered ?+F then 3PL.S ceramic pot ADJU dem nf prt viwa boni va yiwaha boni ya ceramic pot ADJU prt 'They cooked fish in many ceramic pots.' 100 Himata me tatari kana toemete fofi himata me ta- tari kana to- ha -hemete fofi 3PL.S DUP peel COMIT AUX CH AUX FP.N+F match interrog pron vt aux aux nf watarihi ni karo wata -rihi na.NOM+F karo exist NEG.LIST AUX because aux prt 'What did they make fire with, since there were no matches?' 101 Awa wawari toemetemoneke me awa wa- wari to- ha -hemete -mone -ke 3PL.S DUP turn CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron aux

'They turned a stick.'

Yara me watarihi yara me wata 102 *Yara* wata -rihi Brazilian 3PL.S exist NEG.LIST npropm pron vi 'There weren't any Brazilians, either.' 103 *Fa* nafiremetemone nafi -ra -hemete -mone faha stream be big NEG FP.N+F REP+F nf vi 'The river was small.' 104 *Fa* wataremetemone amake haro watarememente wata -ra -hemete -mone ama -ke faha haaro stream exist NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F that one+F nf vi sec 'There was no river.' 105 *Foro* toineke hiyari me Foro to- ha -ne -ke me hiyara.NFIN a- ati Purus CH be CONT+F DECL+F 3PL.S speak DUP say npropf vc pron vi amake to- ha.NOM+F -maro ama -ke CH AUX FP.E+F be DECL+F VC 'It is now the Purus, they used to say.' 106 *Yara* wiwina toaremetemone me mρ amani wi- wina to- ha -ra -hemete -mone me ama -ni yara me Brazilian 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S SEC BKG+F npropm pron vi aux pron sec 'The Brazilians didn't live here.' Hatamemetemonemeamake, wakarihaataame-mete-monemeama-kewakari 107 **Ha** mati wakari mati DEM contrast 3PL FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S be DECL+F Paumari 3PL dem prt dem prt pron pron VC nm 'There were only Paumaris.' 108 Wakari me taborimete amake wakari me tabori -mete ama -ke Paumari 3PL.POSS place+F FP.N+F be DECL+F pron nf 'It was the Paumaris' village.' 109 Wakari ha amarematamona hataamarematamonaamakahaataaama -ra -himata -monaama -ka ta amaka wakari Paumari DEM contrast be NEG FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M nm dem prt VC sec 'He wasn't a Paumari.' hibake -mata ama -rr who+M 110 Hibakemata wakari ama -ra -ya wakari

Paumari

nm

who+M FP.N+M be CQ+M now

VC

interrog

'Who was the Paumari?'

```
111 Wakari
                                       hibaka
                                                          tohari
              ha
                    ta
                               me
                                                  me
                                                                           fa
    wakari
              haa
                                        hibaka
                                                  me
                                                          to- ha -ri
                                                                            faa
                   taa
                               me
                                                          CH be CQ+F
    Paumari
              DEM
                   contrast
                               3PL
                                        who+F
                                                  3PL.S
                                                                            that
              dem
                               pron
                                        interrog pron
                                                          VC
                                                                            dem
                   prt
mati
```

mati 3PL pron

'Who were the Paumaris?'

112 Faimetemone amake ahi waha ya yome fai -mete -mone ama -ke ahi waha yomee ya there FP.N+F REP+F flooded forest ADJU be DECL+F there jaguar dem VC. dem nf prt nm hinemetemone mono me mono hi- na -hemete -mone mati 3PL.O struggle with OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.O aux

'It was here in the area that floods that they fought the jaguar.'

```
113 Yome
                       me
                                     nabone
               yama
                              yete
                                                   me
                                                           towaka
                                     na -habone
                                                           to- ka-
   vomee
               vama
                       me
                              vete
                                                   me
                                                                       ka+F
                                     AUX INT+F
                                                           away COMIT go/come
   jaguar
               thing
                       3PL.S
                              hunt
                                                   3PL.S
                       pron
                                                   pron
               nf
                              vt
                                     aux
                                                           vi
                     waka
saho
                                  sabo
                                                                waka
              mera
                           ne
                                                me
                                                        me
                           na+M
                                                                waka
sabo
             mera
                     waka
                                  sabo
                                                me
                                                        me
             3PL.O
                                                        3PL.S
                     kill AUX
                                                 3PL.O
                                                                kill
giant otter
                                  giant otter
             pron
                            aux
                                                pron
                     vt.
                                  nm
                                                        pron
hinani
                 me
                         yoto
                                kanemetemoneke
                                                                      hasabote
hi- na
        -hani
                                ka- na -hemete -mone -ke
                                                                      hasabote
                 me
                         yoto
OC AUX IP.N+F
                                COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                         cover
                                                                      junk
                 3PL.S
                         result aux
aux
                 pron
                                                                      nf
va
         yome
                  me
                             ihi
```

ya yomee me ihi
ADJU jaguar 3PL.POSS because of+F
prt nm pron post

'Two of them went out hunting. It killed some giant otters. They had killed some giant otters, and they were covered over with dead leaves, their kill.'

114 Yome me famemetemoneni
yomee me fama -hemete -mone -ni
jaguar 3PL.S be two FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
nm pron vi
'There were two jaguars.'

115 Ohari mera mono nibeimatamonaka
ohari+M mera mono na -baha -himata -mona -ka
be one 3PL.O struggle with AUX before FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi pron vt aux

'One of them fought the men first.'

116	Me	famabisei		fa	mati				
	me	fama	-bisa	-hemete	-mone	-ke	,	faa	mati
	3PL.S	be two	also	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F		that	3PL
	pron	vi						dem	pron

'There were two men, too.'

117	Me	ye	wawata		reme	te			ota	aati	
	me	yehe	wa- wata	l	na	-ra	-heme	te	otaa	a-	ati
	3PL.POSS	hand	DUP exis	st	AUX	NEG	FP.N+	F	1EX.S	DUP	say
	pron	pn	vi		aux				pron	vt	
toim	aro		ama ,	e		fa	maro				
to-	ha.NOM+F	-maro	ama ´	е	е	f	ama	-haa	aro		
СН	AUX	FP.E+F	SEC	I	ndiar	n b	e two	IP.E	E+F		
aux			sec	n	f	V	i				

'They didn't have any weapons, we used to say, the two Indians.'

118 <b>У</b>	ome omee	, .	<i>yome</i> yomee		ne ne		<i>ihi</i> ihi			me me		<i>ki</i> kii		<i>na</i> na+F	Yome yomee
j	aguar		jagua:	r 3	BPL.E	POSS	victir	n of+F		3PL	.S	1001	k at	AUX	jaguar
n	.m	:	nm	I	oron		pn			pro	Ω	vt		aux	nm
ehenen	10			ama	ka		me	ati	n	emete	emor	eni			•
ehene	9	-nc	)	ama	-ka		me	ati	n	.a -	-her	nete	-mone	-ni	,
victi	im of+M	IP.	N+M	SEC	DEC	L+M	3PL.S	say	Α	.UX I	FP.1	1+F	REP+F	BKG+F	
pn				sec			pron	vt	а	ux					
bani	me		me	k	akato	ma		me		yoro		na	mat	i,	yome
bani	me		me	k	a-	kato	oma+F	me		yord	)	na+I	F mat	i	yomee
anima	al 3PL	. 0	3PL.9	5 (	COMIT	100	k at	3PL.S		star	nd	AUX	3PI	.S	jaguar
nm	pro	l	pron	7	rt .			pron		vi		aux	pro	n	nm
me	yete	hi	ikanama	ıni				mati			en	e		yoto	
me	yete	h:	i- ka	-	na	-ma	-hani	mat	Ĺ		eŀ	ene		yoto	
3PL.C	) hunt	00	C COI	TIM	AUX	back	IP.N+F	3PL	. 0		vi	ctim	of+M	cove	r
pron	vt	a١	ux					pror	1		pr	1		vt	
kanari															
ka-	na -1	naar	ri												
COMIT	וד צוזב יו	> E.4	+M												

aux

'They looked at the jaguars' kill. "It's a jaguar's kill," they said, as they stood looking at the animals. The jaguar, which had buried its kill, was hunting them.'

119	Yome	ki	kawame	•			ahi
	yomee	kii	ka-	na	-waha	-ma+M	ahi
	jaguar	look at	COMIT	AUX	change	back	then
	nm	vt	aux				dem

'He looked back at the jaguar.'

120	Karaboa	me	tiwa	kanikim	emete			me	awineke	
	karaboha	me	tiwa	ka-	na	-kima	-hemete	me	awine -ke	
	blowgun	3PL.S	carry	COMIT	AUX	two	FP.N+F	3PL.S	seem+F DECL	+F
	nf	pron	vt	aux				pron	sec	

'The two of them were carrying blowguns, I guess.'

121	Wati	wataran	nata		awineni		?
	wati	wata	-ra.NOM+M	-mata	awine	-ni	
	arrow	exist	NEG	FP.N+M	seem+F	BKG+F	
	nm	vi			sec		

'Weren't there any arrows?'

122	Faya	yome	me	fito	hikana		me	yome	wara
	faya	yomee	me	fito	hi- ka	- na+F	me	yomee	wara
	so	jaguar	3PL.O	rush	OC CO	MIT AUX	3PL.O	jaguar	grab
	conj	nm	pron	vi	aux		pron	nm	vt

#### tomisematamonaka

to- na -misa -himata -mona -ka CH AUX up FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

'The jaguar charged them. He held the jaguar, lifting it.'

fareba itimatamonane 123 Fareba hiwa fare -ba fare -ba hiwa iti -himata -mona -ne same+M FUT same+M FUT 3SG.REFL.M pick up FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M dem dem vt pron

'He kept himself from falling.'

124 *Yome* tomisi owa owa yome wara yomee yomee to- na -misa.NFIN owa owa wara other+M other+M CH AUX up jaguar jaguar grab nm adj adj nm result aux yome naboweibonaha awa awa ne awa -tee.NOM awa yomee na- aboha -hibona -ha awa baka na+M see HAB tree jaguar CAUS die INT+M DUP tree break AUX vt nf nf vt aux hikasawarimatamonaha awa hi- ka- sawari -himata -mona -ha awa COMIT frustrate FP.N+M REP+M DUP tree nf

'When the other man saw that the jaguar had been lifted up, he tried to break off a small tree to kill the jaguar, but the tree was too strong for him.'

125	Awa	kita	hinama	awa	wania	hinama	toem	etem	one	
	awa	kita+F	hinama	awa	wani+F	hinama	to-	ha	-hemete	-mone
	tree	be strong	all	tree	be tough	all	СН	be	FP.N+F	REP+F
	nf	vi	adj	nf	vi	adj	VC			

#### amani

ama -ni SEC BKG+F

sec

'All the trees were too hard to break. All the trees were tough.'

126	Yome	nanabowa	watare ,	mera	mono
	yomee	na- na- aboha	wata -ra+M ´	mera	mono
	jaguar	DUP CAUS die	exist NEG	3PL.O	struggle with
	nm	pn	vi	pron	vt

nawahebanoho

na -waha -hiba -no -ho AUX change FUT+M IP.N+M DUP

'There was nothing to kill the jaguar with, and it attacked them.'

127	Mera	mo	no		ne	wara	himise	e			yoko
	mera	mo	no		na+M	wara	hi-	to-	na	-misa+M	yoko
	3PL.O	st	ruggle wi	th	AUX	grab	OC	CH .	AUX	up	push
	pron	vt			aux	vt	aux				vt
hiwi	ti			fito	nam	atasema	tamona				
hi-	to-	na	-witI+M	fit	o na	-ma	-tasa	a -hi	imata	a -mona	
OC	away	AUX	out	rusl	h AUX	back	agair	n FP.	N+M	REP+M	
aux				vi	aux						

'It attacked them. He lifted it up and heaved it away, but it came rushing back.'

128 Wara tomisarima  wara to- na -misa -rima grab CH AUX up intermitten vt aux  kamakiwahebanoho ka -makI -waha -hiba -no go/come following change FUT+M IP.N vi 'He lifted it up again. Then the other man came.'	hi- na -himata -mona t OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M aux -ho N+M DUP	ahi , owa ahi owa then 1SG.0 dem pron
129 Me kahomi yabo  me ka- homa.NFIN yabo 3PL.S COMIT lie on ground be pron vi vi  hoti homa -hemete -mone hole+F lie on ground FP.N+F REP+F pn vi	oo -ra.NOM+F -ni ya far NEG IP.N+F ADJU prt e -ke	, me me 3PL.POSS pron
yomee me mono h jaguar 3PL.O struggle with O nm pron vt a  tomisarima to- na -misa -rima na -hi CH AUX up intermittent AUX FP. aux nawebanoho na -waha -hiba -no -ho maa	imata -mona ahi 'noho .N+M REP+M then be hu dem vi  toari a to- ha -haari tired CH AUX IP.E+M aux	-ho urt DUP
131 Yome wara tomise yomee wara to- na -misa+M jaguar grab CH AUX up nm vt aux 'He lifted up the jaguar. "Hold onto my waist."'	Owenoki tama o- eenoki tama 1SG.POSS middle hold onto pn vt	tina . ti- na 2SG.S AUX aux
132 Owa ma tikana . owa maa ti- ka- na 1SG.O stop 2SG.S COMIT AUX pron vi aux "Brace me."		
133 Owa ma tikanahi owa maa ti- ka- na -h 1SG.O stop 2SG.S COMIT AUX IM pron vi aux "Brace me."		
134 E fawa tokanaba ee fawa to- ka- na 1IN.S disappear CH COMIT AUX pron vi aux	e amani -haba ee ama -ni K FUT+F 1IN.S SEC BKG+F pron sec	, <b>yama</b> yama thing nf

ihi ati nematamonaka

ihi ati na -himata -mona -ka because of+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M post vt aux

"We are going to die because of the jaguar," he said."

yome 135 *Fava* hinakamatase wara yome hi- na- ka faya yomee -ma -tasa+M vomee wara grab so OC CAUS go/come back again jaguar jaguar

conj nm vt nm vt

tomisatase hiyawe ati yome tiwa hiyawa+M to- na -misa -tasa+M ati yomee tiwa have an idea CH AUX up again voice jaguar carry aux pn 77 i nm vt.

namisematamonane

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

aux

'The jaguar came at him again. He lifted up the jaguar again. Then he had an idea. He picked up the jaguar.'

136 *Yome* tiwa ni tokematamona ahi na.NFIN to- ka -himata -mona ahi yomee tiwa away go/come FP.N+M REP+M then jaguar carry AUX vt aux dem

'He went carrying the jaguar.'

137 *Yome* tiwa ni toke basa kani vome awa ya na.NFIN yomee vomee toka+M basa kani tiwa awa va jaguar AUX away go/come tree fork ADJU jaguar carry nm

nm vt aux vi nf pn prt hete nisebona yome yora

hete na -risa -hibona yomee yora stick in AUX down INT+M jaguar jump vt aux nm vi

towititaseimatamona amane

to- na -witI -tasa -himata -mona ama -ne away AUX out again FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M aux sec

'He went carrying the jaguar. When he was about to stuff the jaguar between two trees, the jaguar jumped away.'

138 *Yome* yome mono hine faya yome yome me yomee yomee mono hi- na+M yomee me faya yomee jaguar jaguar jaguar struggle with OC AUX jaguar 3PL SO nm vt aux nm pron conj nm

kakamatasematamonane

ka- ka -ma -tasa -himata -mona -ne COMIT go/come back again FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M

vt

'The jaguar fought him. He brought the jaguar back.'

139 *Owa* tikanahi ma owa maa tikana -hi 1SG.O stop 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMP+F aux pron vi "Brace me."

140 **Owa** ma tikanahi ati nematamonane ti- ka- na -hi na -himata -mona -ne owa maa ati 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMP+F AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 1SG.O stop say pron vi aux vt aux "Brace me," he said.' 141 *Owa* wanematamonaka ivori owa -himata -mona -ka owa wana owa ivori be attached FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M other+M other+M shoulder vi adi pn 'He held onto the other man by the armpits.' 142 *Mano* batori bofe kawitematamona ya mano ka- ita -himata -mona mano batori bofe ya mano arm+M junction below ADJU arm+M COMIT sit FP.N+M REP+M pn pn prt pn νi 'He held onto his armpits.' 143 *Me* hiyaya kawemetemone yome -ya ka- na -waha -hemete -mone yomee be hurt DUP COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+F jaguar aux ehene ehene because of+M 'They were all cut up because of the jaguar.' namiti 144 *Me* hawiremetemoneke hora me hawi -ra -hemete -mone -ke namiti hora me me work NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3PL.S 3PL.POSS throat exclaim vi pron pron pn na mati yome ehene na -kima.LIST na+F mati yomee ehene AUX two AUX 3PL.S jaguar because of+M aux aux pron nm post 'They were hoarse from yelling to each other because of the jaguar.' 145 *Faya* me kakamemetemoneke fahi waha vome faya me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke fahi waha yomee 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then now jaquar conj pron vi dem prt toke nowati ya to- ka+M nowati ya away go/come after ADJU pn prt 'They finally came home, after the jaguar went away.' 146 *Fa* tokifiwahe fawebona nowati me -fI -waha+M faha fawa -hibona to- ka nowati ya me

away go/come water change

behind

pn

ADJU 3PL.S

prt

kakamemetemoneke

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

771

water drink INT+M

'When it went to the water to drink, they came back.'

```
hi- ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ka
   me
          OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
   3PL.S
   pron
'They left it behind.'
148 Abarematamonaka
   ahaba -ra -himata -mona -ka
       NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
   vi
'It didn't die.'
149 Towisawa wata nematamona
                                            Towisawa Rowi
                                                           biyo
   towisawa wata.LIST na -himata -mona Towisawa Rowi
                                                           biyo
   chief catch AUX FP.N+M REP+M (man's name)
                                                           spider monkey
   nm
             vt
                        aux
                                            npropm
                                                           nf
fora
                   narawari
fora
                   na -rawa -haari
shoot with blowgun AUX F.PL IP.E+M
                    aux
'One also grabbed Towisawa Rowi when he was hunting spider monkeys with his blowgun.'
150 Bivo
                  fora
                                      narawe
                                                    karaboa
                                                              ya
   bivo
                  fora
                                      na -rawa+M karaboha
                                                              ya
   spider monkey shoot with blowgun AUX F.PL
                                                    blowaun
                                                              ADJU
   nf
                                      aux
                                                   nf
                  77 t
                                                              prt
              fora
                                                   bivo
bivo
                                   narawe
biyo fora na -rawa+M spider monkey shoot with blowgun AUX F.PL
                                                   biyo
```

aux

sona -kima -rawa+F to- no fall two --makI to- na- ka -rawa+M fall two F.PL away CAUS go/come following F.PL vi vt tiwa karawe kame yome

ka- na -rawa+M ka -ma+M yomee jaguar carry COMIT AUX F.PL go/come back aux vi

## hiwatematamonaka

nf

147 *Me* 

hekanakosematamonaka

hi- wata -himata -mona -ka OC catch FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

vt

'He shot spider monkeys with his blowgun. He went to get two spider monkeys that fell. He was coming back, carrying the spider monkeys on his shoulder, when a jaguar attacked him.'

spider monkey

bivo

nf

biyo

spider monkey

nf

151 <i>Yome</i>	hiwate ,	inamati	ama	nikani		ati
yomee	hi- wata+M ´	inamati	ama	na+F	-kani	ati
jaguar	OC catch	spirit	be	AUX	CNTRFACT	say
nm	vt	nm	VC	aux		vt
nematamonaka		kose mati				
na -himata	-mona -ka	kose mati	Ĺ			
AUX FP.N+M	REP+M DECL+M	(name of	monst	er)		
aux		nm				

'When the jaguar attacked him, he thought it was a spirit, a kose mati monster.'

152 Kose mati ama nikani ati nematamonane kose mati na+F -kani ama ati na -himata -mona -ne AUX CNTRFACT AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M (name of monster) be say VC aux vt aux

'He thought it was a kose mati monster.'

153 Kose mati tamine mimita oamaro owa kose mati mi- mita o- to-ha -hamaro tamine owa (name of monster) news about DUP hear 1SG.S CH AUX FP.E+F 1SG.O vt pn aux pron

nikani ati nematamona watine aati na+F -kani ati na -himata -mona wata -ne a ati catch CONT+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP say AUX CNTRFACT vt aux vt aux vt.

toemarine

to- ha -himari -ne CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M

"A kose mati monster, which I heard about long ago, is grabbing me," he thought, he used to say."

154 *Bete* hikawematamona noki yama yome hi- ka- na -waha -himata -mona noko yama noki yomee OC COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M thing face+F jaguar face+M vi pn

tohamako

to- ha -mako CH be for this reason+M

'He ran with it, because he realized it was the face of a jaguar.'

155 Towisawa ma kanematamona na hiemari ati na Towisawa hi- to- ha -himari ka- na -himata -mona maa OC CH AUX FP.E+M COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M say AUX (man's name) stop vi npropm aux vt. aux

amaka yomahi
ama -ka yomahi
SEC DECL+M jaguar
sec nm

'The jaguar was trying to stop Towisawa, he used to say.'

156 *Faya* kaya bofe ya habi awa na faya awa kaya na+F bofe ya habi pass under so tree lie AUX below ADJU prt conj nf vi aux pn

hikasawitiwahahi- to- ka- na -kosa -witI+MwahaOC away COMIT AUX middle outfall off

tonakosematamonane

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

'Then he went under a log, and it let go.'

157	Faya	fito	tonam	ake		fe	watatase	,	kamata	wara
	faya	fito	to-	na	-makI	fee	wata -tasa+M	ĺ	kamata	wara
	so	rush	away	AUX	following	3SG.0	catch again		belt	grab
	conj	vi	aux			pron	vt		nm	vt
naw	ahemata	monaka			,	kamata	Towisawa	hi	vatari	
		<i>monaka</i> him	ata -	mona	-ka	<i>kamata</i> kamata	<i>Towisawa</i> Towisawa		<i>vatari</i> - wata	-haari
na	-waha	-him			-ka DECL+M				- wata	-haari IP.E+M

'It charged him and grabbed him again. It latched onto the belt that Towisawa was wearing.'

158 Towisawa hekematamona na Towisawa hi- to- kaka -himata -mona ati na away COMIT go/come FP.N+M REP+M say AUX (man's name) OC npropm vt. vt. hiemari kamata tama nari hi- to- ha -himari kamata tama na -haari OC CH AUX FP.E+M belt hold onto AUX IP.E+M aux nm vt aux

'Towisawa always said he carried it along, as it held onto the belt.'

159 Kamata hisiri tonamakematamona ahi ama kamata hisiri to- na -makI -himata -mona ama belt cut lines in away AUX following FP.N+M SEC then vt. sec

'It cut into the belt.'

160 **Behe** hiyari tohitimatamona nawa na -waha to- na -hitI hiyara.NFIN hehe -himata -mona turn over AUX change CH AUX along the way FP.N+M REP+M speak vi aux aux aati toemarika ahi -himari -ka to- ha ahi ati CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M DUP say then aux

'He went along twisting and turning, he used to say.'

161 *Tati* hihiya toemari amaka Towisawa tati na hi- hiya.LIST tati na to- ha -himari ama -ka Towisawa tati head DUP be bad AUX CH AUX FP.E+M SEC DECL+M (man's name) head vi aux aux sec npropm pn haro haro ivori batori bofe haro mano haaro haaro iyori mano batori bofe haaro junction that one+F that one+F shoulder arm+M below that one+F pn dem dem pn pn pn vome ve ataro enematamonaha ehene -mata -mona -ha yomee yehe ataro jaguar hand claw+M result of+M FP.N+M REP+M DUP pn pn pn

'His head had a scar, Towisawa's head, also his shoulder, and the side of his chest, scars of the jaguar's claws. $^{10}$ 

162 Kamaki
ka -makI+M saa hi-ka- na -waha -himata -mona
go/come following vi vt aux

<sup>10</sup> Yowao speaks in Portuguese at the beginning.

hiemarika ahi he mono hi- to- ha -himari -ka ahi hee mono sav AUX OC CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M then 3SG.0 struggle with vt aux dem pron

nari

na -haari AUX IP.E+M

aux

'When it came back, he shot it with an arrow when it attacked him, he said.'

163 *Wati* towakitikosawe ahi to- ka- iti wati -kosa -waha+M rama ahi CH COMIT take out middle change arrow unusual then prt dem

'He quickly picked up the arrows.'

164 Towakematamona hiemari ahi na to- ka- ka -himata -mona ati na hi- to- ha -himari ahi away COMIT go/come FP.N+M REP+M say AUX OC CH AUX FP.E+M then vt aux dem

fe kanabowenaha

ka- na- aboha -hina -ha 3SG.O COMIT CAUS die IRR+M DUP

'It went careening, almost knocking him over, he used to say.'

165 *Fiva* hikaniwitimatamona

> hi- to- ka- niha- na -witI -himata -mona fiya pass OC away COMIT CAUS AUX out FP.N+M REP+M vt. aux

hinemarine

ati hi- na -himari -ne say OC AUX FP.E+M BKG+M

'He said that he let it pass by him.'

166 **Ye** tonakosematamona aati toemarika ahi yee to- na -kosa -himata -mona aati to- ha -himari -ka ahi CH AUX FP.E+M DECL+M CH AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M yell DUP say then aux aux dem

'He yelled then with happiness.'

167 *Ati* tosahiwiti

> ati to- sawi voice away be present out pn vi

hiwamakerematamonaka

-ra -himata -mona -ka hi- to- awa -makI OC away see following NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

'It suffered loudly. He didn't go after it to look at it.'

168 *Kana* aati toemarine kana na.NFIN ka -ma -himata -mona a- ati to- ha -himari -ne CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M run AUX go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DUP say vi aux vi vt aux

toahari ma

to- ha -haari CH AUX IP.E+M be tired

aux

'He came running back, because he was tired, he used to say.'

kana ni kamawe bivo toe to- ha+M na.NFIN maa kana ka -ma -waha+M bivo

be tired CH AUX run AUX go/come back change spider monkey nf

aux vi vi νi aux

kamawematamona wete narawe wame aati wete na -rawa+M waa -ma+M ka -ma -waha -himata -mona a **–** ati go/come back change FP.N+M REP+M AUX F.PL DUP say tie stand back vi vt. aux 77 i

toemarine

to- ha -himari -ne CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M

'He was tired, and he came back and tied up the spider monkeys. He stood there, and then came home, he used to say.'

170 Towisawa ooari toemata awaka

Towisawa o- ohari to- ha -himata -ka awa (man's name) DUP be alone CH AUX FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M

npropm vi aux sec

'Towisawa was alone.'

171 Towisawa aayo toaremata

a- ayo Towisawa to- ha -ra -himata DUP call someone older brother CH AUX NEG FP.N+M (man's name)

aux

npropm 77 i

awaka nisori nari nisori -ka na

-haari 3SG.POSS.younger brother AUX IP.E+M seem+M DECL+M

'Towisawa didn't call anyone older brother or younger brother.'

172 *Ooari* toemarine

ohari to- ha -himari -ne DUP be alone CH AUX FP.E+M BKG+M

dem

aux

'He was alone.'

173 *Okobi* fafama me toamaro ta me

ka abi me taa fa- fama to- ha -hamaro me 1SG.POSS POSS father 3PL contrast 3PL.S DUP be two CH AUX FP.E+F

pron vi aux pron prt

amake haro ama -ke haaro

SEC DECL+F 3PL.S that one+F

'My father, however, had a brother.'

sec

174 Sawa Bofe me fama Amane me ee Sawa Bofe fama.LIST me ee Amane me (man's name) 3PL.S (pause) (man's name) 3PL.S be two interj npropm pron vi npropm pron

tatama ta- tama DUP be many vi Sawa Bofe had a	toamaro to- ha -hamaro CH AUX FP.E+F aux brother, and Amane l	3PL.S pron	amake ama -ke SEC DECL+F sec cothers.'	faro . faaro that+F dem	
Tafa.LIST (man's nanth npropm toamaro to-ha -hama CH AUX FP.E- aux They were Tafa, 2	npropm	-	Sakobi Sakobi.LIST (man's name) npropm	me 3PL.S	na AUX aux
me ka me ka 3PL POSS pron prt  Kanawa (man's name) npropm  They had two bro	wabo wabo brother-in-lam nm me fama me fama+F 3PL.S be two pron vi others-in-law, too, Ko	pron mati mati 3PL.S pron	fama.LIST be two vi	Kowarafo Kowarafo (man's name) npropm	<i>ya</i> ya ADJU prt
177 <i>Kowarafo</i> Kowarafo  (man's nameropm  npropm  Kowarafo and his	me ka me ka me) 3PL POSS pron prt s brother had one old	ati ati older si nf er sister, too	vi		's name)
	vi		sa.LIST 'I	<b>Maiyi</b> Maiyi (woman's name npropf	
179 <i>Maiyi</i> Maiyi  (woman's  npropf  Maiyi was alone,	vi	ST na	toamaro to- ha -ham CH AUX FP.E aux		L+F
	ka abise ' F POSS uncle	<b>Ha Kanaki</b> Haa Kanak (man's na npropm		1SG.POS nf	ka amise S POSS aunt
o- ka 1SG.POSS POSS nf	amise hine k Saunt only p	a pertaining ort	iti -	-haari ' IP.E+M <i>abise</i>	

obisari				hine	ya	
0-	na	-bisa	-haari	hine	ya	
1SG.S	AUX	also	IP.E+M	only	ADJU	
aux				pron	prt	

'My uncle, who was Ha Kanaki, who married someone who was not really an aunt of mine. She wasn't a parallel cousin of my mother, but I just called him uncle anyway.'