THEY CROSSED THE PURUS (2)

Free Translation

Note: In this text there are actually several stories included together. The title refers to the first story, which is followed by a story about a Jarawara discovering aba fish in the Curiá River. This is followed by a story about a Jamamadi chief who fell into a stream while carrying a heavy bottle of copaíba oil. The first story mentions Maiyi, a known ancestor of the Jarawaras, but I would classify the second and third stories as traditional stories.

The white-lipped peccaries had disappeared. A spirit started them up.

A man was sick in his hammock for a long time, and he died. They took him into the forest and buried him. He started up the white-lipped peccaries, the peccaries that had disappeared. The peccaries, that had not been coming around, were always coming around, my aunt used to say, loudly. The arrows ran out, because of the peccaries. Then they shot *wairaba isi* reeds with their bows. The peccaries were always coming around, and they were shooting them.

Then they had an idea. They moved away and came this way. "Let's go there. We will live there," they said.

They went to the other side of the Purus. The Purus was not big. Maiyi's breasts were not big when they took her across. They lived over there. They made houses. They lived there for a while.

Two of them went out into the forest. They heard something.

An old man also went out into the forest. He saw a jaguar carrying a man. The jaguar came carrying a man. The jaguar crossed with him. The jaguar crossed with him up high. The jaguar crossed with him above the water. It went to the place where they stayed. The jaguar went with him. It took the man. The two jaguars started making noise. They have a hole in the ground. The jaguars growled at each other. The jaguar took its kill. It didn't want to share its kill, and it growled. Their voices were fearsome. They live there on the other side of the Purus. What used to be a small stream became the Purus.

They had seen something, and they told the story when they came back. Because of this they came back, because they had seen a trail of some other people. They came back. There is a sandy clearing where they went and lived. The sandy clearing is from long ago. They took themselves there.

They planned against each other. They planned to whip the girls with switches. They planned festas. They planned a festa, and they went into the forest. While living at the Faha Biri stream, they went and lived out in the forest and hunted.

One of them found the *aba* fish, that we eat, that lived in the Curiá River. Ataro found them, my aunt used to say. He went into the forest to hunt. He shot animals with his blowgun. He saw the *aba* fish.

When he came back, he didn't say anything. When they were going to sleep and they were taking snuff, he spoke to them. "Older brother, older brother."

"Huh?"

"Brother, there are people living there," he said.

"Where?"

"There are people living there." He was lying about the *aba* fish. "There are people living

there, and I found them," he said.

He had carried howler monkeys. He cut up the howler monkeys the next day, and they roasted the animals. They went into the forest again.

"You will see them."

"Let's go and see them."

"You will see the *aba* fish that I found living there."

They went. They shot *aba* fish with arrows. They had washed the points of the arrows, to take off the *iha* poison.

"We should live here. There are many *aba* fish here."

"That is our home. Let's go home."

They shot *aba* fish with arrows. They came back to their camp and roasted the *aba* fish. The one who had found the *aba* fish went out into the forest again. They killed animals with their blowguns. They killed woolly monkeys with their blowguns.

"That's enough. There are many animals."

There was also a tapir that died, and a deer. A deer died, too. They killed animals with their blowguns, and they roasted the animals. They left with the animals.

They beat her. They beat Wakati, my aunt used to say.

Okomobi: Father, when you weren't living yet?

Yes, when we weren't living yet. We weren't there. I guess our fathers were teenagers then. It's a story of long ago. It was a long time ago, before we were born. They also used to tell about the Yimas killing people, before we were born. They used to tell a scary story.

They were always living in different places, leaving behind their crops. We aren't running anymore, we are stopped. They came back and arrived back. They beat girls. They let them heal. They painted them with genip. They painted each other with genip. They caught each other. You won't be able to escape being panted black with genip.

Towisawa used to say that they used to catch each other. He used to say he was hung up like a spider monkey. They were playing with each other, pushing a log against each other. It was a game they had discovered. We used to do the game with the log that they used to do before. It hurt to push the log. We push against each other with the log all day long. They also discovered the game with the vine. We used to pull each other. It's heavy. People are heavy. You wouldn't be able to pull one another. We do it the way he taught long ago.

There were many people playing, because they had had children. The sandy clearing of Anitoni Ayake is where their village was, because they had children. They lived there. There were too many people, so they moved away. Then they went again. There is a clearing with *wakoya* trees where Mao Bote burned the forest.

The Jamamadis also made the Jarawaras afraid. Baribasa told about the many Jamamadis who gathered copaiba oil. "Grandson, speak to me. It was scary to see so many people gathering copaiba oil and going around," he said.

After that their chief fell in the water. Before the chief would fall in the water they came back carrying bottles of copaiba oil, he used to say.

"We can't go, the stream is flooded. Cut down a tree for the stream. Let's go," they said. "Come on."

They cut down the tree. They made the tree fall on the water. They cut the brush around the tree. Their chief did a bad thing. They crossed to this side. "Come on, let's go home," they said. "Let's go."

They stood up. They lifted the bottles up on their backs. Etona was going to fall in the water. Etona spoke. As he was going on top of the log in the middle, he said, "Ee. I'm falling in the

water," he said.

Korii, he went.

"The chief fell in the water," they said. "Chief, swim. Chief, grab onto a branch," they said.

He didn't grab onto a branch. The bottle of copaiba oil must have pulled him down backwards. They were upset as they stood on the bank, because the chief had fallen in the water. They cut a pole and poked around for the chief.

"Chief, grab onto the pole," they said.

They poked around for the chief so that he would grab onto the pole, but he didn't grab onto the pole. They cried because of the chief as they stood on the bank.

Then they set off again. They left him behind. They went home, Baribasa used to say. "The trail is there."

Where did the Brazilian live who they worked for? They went home. They lived back at their village.

"The chief fell in the water."

"Did the chief fall in the water?"

"The chief fell in the water. The chief fell in the water and did not come back. The chief seems to have died."

They thought of going back to see the chief who was said to have died, but they did not go back to see him. They went somewhere else and left him behind. Then they went back and had a feast.

They went back again and were beside the water, and one of them did a bad thing again. "Since there is no log, you are saying we should go back."

They looked for a tree. One of them fell in the water again. He didn't come back to the surface. The old log broke with him. They poked with a pole for him. They did not poke for him again. He died, too. They looked for him. They looked for him but couldn't find him. They left him behind, too. It's an old story, a story of long ago.

Interlinear Presentation

1 Hiya	Hiyama			me	fafav	va	toha		me	,	inamati
hiy	hiyama			me	fa-	fawa	to-	ha+F	me		inamati
whi	white-lipped peccary			3PL.S	DUP	disappear	СН	AUX	3PL.S		spirit
nm	nm			pron	vi		aux		pron		nm
yaro	varo kanematamona										
yaro	ka-	na	-himata	-mona							
start	COMIT	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M							
vt	aux										

'The white-lipped peccaries had disappeared. A spirit started them up.'

2	Kakawina				toe	,	ahab	e	me	,	me
	ka- k	ca-	wina		to-	ha+M	ahal	ba+M	me		me
	DUP C	COMIT	lie in hamr	nock	СН	AUX	die		3PL		3PL.S
	vi				aux		vi		pron		pron
hek	e			me	h	ikamowiti				1	hiyama
hi	- to-	ka-	ka+M	me	h	i- to-	kamo	-wit]	I+M ´	1	niyama
OC	away	y COM	IT go/come	3PL.S	5 0	C away	bury	out		7	white-lipped peccary
vt				pron	V	t				ī	nm

me	yaro	kanebar	noho				hiyama	me
me	yaro	ka-	na	-hiba	-no	-ho	hiyama	me
3PL.O	start	COMIT	AUX	FUT+M	IP.N+M	DUP	white-lipped peccary	3PL.S
pron	vt	aux					nm	pron
fafawa		toa		mati				
fa- fa	wa	to- h	na+F	mati				
DUP di	sappear	CH A	XUA	3PL.S	3			
vi		aux		pron				

'He was sick in his hammock for a long time, and he died. They took him into the forest and buried him. He started up the white-lipped peccaries, the peccaries that had disappeared.'

3 Hiyama	me	yobi	kene
hiyama	me	yobi	na -ke -ne
white-lipped pecca	ry 3PL.	S go back and for	th AUX DECL+F IRR+F
nm	pron	vi	aux
hiyama	me	yobi	na toemetemone
hiyama	me	yobi	na to- ha -hemete -mone
white-lipped peccary	3PL.S	go back and forth	AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
nm	pron	vi	aux aux
okomise	ati l	kokome to	oimaro amani
o- ka amise	ati }	ko- komeha to	o- ha.NOM+F -maro ama -ni
1SG.POSS POSS aunt	voice I	DUP be fearsome Cl	H AUX FP.E+F be BKG+F
nf	pn v	vi a	ux vc

'The peccaries, that had not been coming around, were always coming around, my aunt used to say, loudly.'

4	Wati	,	wati	abawem	atamona			amaka		hari	,
	wati		wati	ahaba	-waha	-himata	-mona	ama -k	a	haari	
	arrow		arrow	die	change	FP.N+M	REP+M	SEC DE	CL+M	that one+M	
	nm		nm	vi				sec		dem	
ban	i	hiyan	na		me	?	ihi				
bar	ni	hiya	ıma		me		ihi				
ani	.mal	whit	e-lippe	d pecc	ary 3P	L.POSS	because	of+F			
nm		nm			pr	on	post.				

'The arrows ran out, because of the peccaries.'

5	Wairaba isi	me	titisa		nawa							
	wairaba isi	me	ti-	tisa	na	-waha						
	reed sp	3PL.S	DUP	shoot with bow	AUX	change						
	nf	pron	vt		aux							
toim	etemone			wairaba isi .								
to-	ha.NOM+F -m	ete -m	one	wairaba isi								
СН	AUX FP	.N+F RE	P+F	reed sp								
aux				nf								
'The	'Then they shot wairaba isi reeds with their bows.'											

6	Wairaba isi wairaba isi reed sp nf	me me 3PL.S pron	tisa tisa shoot vt	with bow	<pre>nawa na -waha AUX change aux</pre>	<i>na</i> na+F AUX aux	me , me 3PL.S pron	
	ama	-	me	yobi	ni		kasiroa	me
hi	yama		me	yobi	na	a.NFIN	kasiro+F	me
wh	ite-lipped pe	ccary	3PL.S	go back a	nd forth A	JX	persist	3PL.O
nm			pron	vi	a	lΧ	vi	pron

me	titisa	toimetemone	amani	
me	ti- tisa	to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone	ama -ni	
3PL.S	DUP shoot with arrow	CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F	be BKG+F	
pron	nf	aux	VC	

'They shot wairaba isi reeds with their bows. The peccaries were always coming around, and they were shooting them.'

7 Fava hiyawemetemoneke ati me hiyawa faya me ati -hemete -mone -ke 3PL.POSS have an idea FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F so voice conj pn pron vi

'Then they had an idea.'

8 *Me* ati hiyawa kake me bana me -kI ati hiyawa+F bana+F me me me ka 3PL.POSS voice have an idea 3PL.S move away 3PL.S go/come coming pron pn vi pron vi pron vi Yama tokibe ahi e yama ee to- ka -be ahi thing 1IN.S away go/come IMMED+F there vi dem

'They had an idea. They moved away and came this way. "Let's go there."

9	\boldsymbol{E}	winatibe	ahi	me	ati	na	me		
	ee	wina -tee	-be	ahi	me	ati	na+F	me	
	1IN.S	live HAB	IMMED+F	there	3PL.	S say	AUX	3PL.S	
	pron	vi		dem	pron	n vt	aux	pron	
tol	kimetemone	ę		amake		ahi	Foro	kowani	ya
to	- ka.N	OM+F -mete	-mone	ama -ke)	ahi	Foro	kowani	ya
aw	ay go/c	ome FP.N+	F REP+F	be DEC	CL+F	there	Purus	other side	ADJU
vi				VC		dem	npropf	nf	prt

Forotebana

Foro -tee -bana Purus HAB FUT npropf

"We will live there," they said. They went to the other side of the Purus.'

10	Fa	nafireme	temon	e		Foro	tohin	eke		
	faha	nafi	-ra	-hemete	-mone	Foro	to-	ha	-ne	-ke
	water	be big	NEG	FP.N+F	REP+F	Purus	СН	be	CONT+F	DECL+F
	nf	vi				npropf	VC			

'The Purus was not big.'

11	Maiyi	yoari		wati	nafira ,	sawiha	me
	Maiyi	yoha	-ri	wata.NFIN	nafi -ra+F ´	sawi+F	me
	(woman's name)	breast	PN	be located	be big NEG	be present	3PL.S
	npropf	pn		vi	vi	vi	pron

hekariwaharo

hi- ka- ka -riwaha -haaro OC COMIT go/come across IP.E+F vt

'Maiyi's breasts were not big when they took her across.'

12	Faya	me	towinawitia	yobe	me	yama	na	me
			to- wina -witI+F			yama	na+F	me
	so	3PL.S	away live out	house	3PL.S	work on	AUX	3PL.S
	conj	pron	vi	nm	pron	vt	aux	pron

wina	me ,	me	wiwina	kawahemete	me
wina+F	me	me	wi- wina	ka- na -waha -hemete	me
live	3PL.S	3PL.S	DUP live	COMIT AUX change FP.N+F	3PL.S
vi	pron	pron	vi	vi	pron
awineke					
awine	-ke				
seem+F	DECL+F				

'They lived over there. They made houses. They lived there for a while.'

sec

13	Faya	me	towaka	ı		me	warabi	hawine	ę
	faya	me	to-	ka-	ka+F	me	warabi	hawi	-ne
	so	3PL.S	away	COMIT	go/come	3PL.POSS	ear+F	work	CONT+F
	conj	pron	vi			pron	pn	vi	
nin	nete								
na	.NOM+F	-mete							
AU:	X	FP.N+F							
all	v								

'Two of them went out into the forest. They heard something.'

14 <i>Faya</i> faya so conj	<pre>iti iti grandfather nm</pre>	<pre>bote bote old adj</pre>	tokab to- away vi	ise ka go/come	-bisa also	+M	yome yomee jaguar nm
see also vt <i>kakamari</i> ka- ka	a -himata -mo FP.N+M REP	+M DEC		fari faari that one- dem	, +M	yome yomee dog nm	<pre>inamati inamati someone nm</pre>

'An old man also went out into the forest. He saw a jaguar carrying a man.'

15	Yome	inamati	weye	ne	kamematai	mona			
	yomee	inamati	weye	na+M	ka	-ma	-himata	-mona	
	jaguar	someone	carry	AUX	go/come	back	FP.N+M	REP+M	
	nm	nm	vt	aux	vi				
'Th	e jaguar ca	me carrying	a man.'						

16 Yome bere kariwamematamonane
yomee bere ka- na -riwaha -ma -himata -mona -ne
jaguar be across COMIT AUX across back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
nm vi aux

'The jaguar crossed with him.'

17	Yome	bere	kariwamematamona							ya	
	yomee	bere	ka-	na	-riwaha	-ma	-himata	-mona	neme	ya	
	jaguar	be across	COMIT	AUX	across	back	FP.N+M	REP+M	up	ADJU	
	nm	vi	aux						nf	prt	

'The jaguar crossed with him up high.'

18	Fa	neme	ya	yome	bere	kariwan	ne			,	me
	faha	neme	ya	yomee	bere	ka-	na	-riwaha	-ma+M		me
	water	over	ADJU	jaguar	be across	COMIT	AUX	across	back		3PL.S
	nf	pn	prt	nm	vi	aux					pron

ka- homa.NOM+F -ni y COMIT lie on ground IP.N+F A	ya tokomematamonaha ya to- ka -ma ADJU away go/come back prt vi water. It went to the place where	
19 Tokome to- ka -ma+M yom away go/come back jag vi	•	-yoma -ma+M inamati through back someone nm
towakiyomame	yome me na+M yomee me	ati yana ati yana voice start pn vi
kawemetemone ka- na -waha -hemete -mor COMIT AUX change FP.N+F REP+ aux 'It went. The jaguar went with him. It to	+F 3PL.POSS SEC BKG+F pron sec	rted making noise.'
20 Me hoti homate hoti homa	me a -tee me a ground HAB 3PL.POSS s	wine . wine seem+F
21 Yome yome me yomee yomee me jaguar jaguar 3PL.POSS nm nm pron amake ahi ama -ke ahi SEC DECL+F then sec dem 'The jaguars growled at each other.'		nemete -mone me
jaguar victim of+M away nm pn vt kayawe ho nematar ka- yawa+M hoo na -h	ka- ka -ma+M 'COMIT go/come back	ene ehene victim of+M pn
'The jaguar took its kill. It didn't want to 23 Yama ati komeharawemete yama ati komeha		
24 Kaomaterawa ka- homa -tee -	awine ahi rawa+F awine ahi r.PL seem+F there sec dem	, Foro kowani Foro kowani Purus other side npropf nf

ya ya ADJU

prt

'They live there on the other side of the Purus.'

25	Fa	nafiremetemone				Foro	tohineke ,					fa
	faha	nafi	-ra	-hemete	-mone	Foro	to-	ha	-ne	-ke	,	faha
	water	be big	NEG	FP.N+F	REP+F	Purus	СН	be	CONT+F	DECL+F		stream
	nf	vi				npropf	VC					nf

bitemetemonehe

bite -mete -mone -he
small+F FP.N+F REP+F DUP
adj

'What used to be a small stream became the Purus.'

26	Me	noki	awahani		me	,	hiyara	me	hikai	ninama	
	me	noki	awa -har	ni	me	,	hiyara	me	hi-	kamina	-ma+F
	3PL.POSS	eye+F	see IP.N	1+F	3PL.POS	SS	story	3PL.S	OC	tell	back
	pron	pn	vt		pron		nf	pron	vt		
ihi		me	kamimete	mone	!			amake		ahi	•
ih	i	me	ka	-ma	a.NOM+F	-mete	-mone	ama -	·ke	ahi	,
be	cause of+F	3PL.S	go/come	e ba	ck	FP.N+	REP+F	be D	ECL+F	then	
ро	st	pron	vi					VC		dem	
me	inamati	hawi	me	awai	ni	mati					
me	inamati	hawi	me	awa	-hani	mati					
pe	ople	trail+F	3PL.S	see	IP.N+F	3PL.	S				
nf		pn	pron	vt		pron					

nf pn pron vt pron
'They had seen something, and they told the story when they came back. Because of this they came back, because they had seen a trail of some other people.'

27 <i>Me</i>	kama	me	towinar	mimeten	none		•	
me	ka -ma+F	me	to-	wina ·	-ma.NOM+F	-mete	-mone	
3PL.S	go/come back	3PL.S	away	live 1	back	FP.N+F	REP+F	
pron	vi	pron	vi					
boto	itineke			1	haro	boto		ha
boto	ita	-ne	-ke	ŀ	haaro	boto		haa
sandy cle	aring be loca	ted CONT	+F DEC	L+F t	that one+E	sandy	y clearing	DEM
nf	vi				dem	nf		dem
ta	amararo	, hin	ie	me	towakama			mati
taa	ama -ra -haar	o ´ hi	ne	me	to- ka	- ka	-ma+F	mati
contrast	be NEG IP.E+	F 3.	REFL	3PL.S	away COI	MIT go/	come back	3PL.S
prt	VC	pr	on	pron	vt			pron

'They came back. There is a sandy clearing where they went and lived. The sandy clearing is from long ago. They took themselves there.'

28 <i>Me</i>	ibe	wati	k	ana	me		ibe	kosi	
me	ibe	wati	k	a- na+E	" me		ibe	kosi	
3PL.POSS	RECIP	plan agair	nst C	COMIT AUX	3PL.	.POSS	RECIP	flail	
pron	pn	vt	а	ıux	pror	ſ	pn	vt	
nabone	me	ibe	wati		kana		me	•	marina
<pre>nabone na -habone</pre>	<i>me</i> me	<i>ibe</i> ibe	<i>wati</i> wati		<i>kana</i> ka-	na+F	me me	,	<i>marina</i> marina
		ibe	wati	against		-		, oss	

me	itiweme	temoneke				fahi
me	iti	-waha	-hemete	-mone	-ke	fahi
3PL.S	begin	change	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then
pron	vt					dem

'They planned against each other. They planned to whip the girls with switches. They planned festas.'

29 Marina me itiha	me	, me	toka	Fa Biri
marina me iti+	F me	me	to- ka+F	Faha Biri
feast 3PL.S begi	n 3PL.S	3PL.S	away go/come	(name of stream)
nf pron vt	pron	pron	vi	npropf
ya , me wina	me	toka	, me	towinawitia
ya ´ me wina+F	' me	to- ka+F		to- wina -witI+F
ADJU 3PL.S live	3PL.S	away go/co	me 3PL.S	away live out
prt pron vi	pron	vi	pron	vi
yama me yete na	ı , ya	ama me	yete na	, aba me
yama me yete na		ama me	yete na+F	´aba me
thing 3PL.S hunt A	JX tl	hing 3PL.S	hunt AUX	fish sp 3PL.0
nf pron vt au	ıx n:	f pron	vt aux	nm pron
hiwasiemetemone	me	e kabi	inetini	Koriwa
hi- wasi -hemete -mone	e me	ee kab	a -ne -tee	.NOM -ni Koriwa
OC find FP.N+F REP+F	3PL.O	1IN.S eat	CONT+F HAB	IP.N+F Curiá
vt	pron	pron vt		npropf
abe Ataro	me	e hiwasie	metemone	mati
abe ['] Ataro	m∈	hi- w	asi -hemete -1	mone mati
creature+F (man's	name) 3F	PL.O OC f	ind FP.N+F R	EP+F 3PL.O
pn npropm	pr	on vt		pron
okomise h	iyari	aati	tohamaroke	
o- ka amise h	iyara.NFl	IN a- ati	to- ha -ha	maro -ke
1SG.POSS POSS aunt	speak	DUP say	CH AUX FP.	E+F DECL+F
nf v	7i	vt	aux	

'They planned a festa, and they went into the forest. While living at the Faha Biri stream, they went and lived out in the forest and hunted. One of them found the aba fish, that we eat, that lived in the Curiá River. Ataro found them, my aunt used to say.'

30 <i>Yama</i>	a yete	nebona	toke	2	bar	ıi	me	fora		
yama	a yete	e na -hib	ona to-	- ka+M	ba	ni	me	fora		
thir	ng hunt	AUX INT+	M awa	ay go/co	me an	imal	3PL.O	shoot	with	blowgun
nf	vt	aux	vi		nm		pron	vt		
ne	, aba	me	awe	kame		,	ati	watare		
na+M	, aba	me	awa+M	ka	-ma+M		ati v	wata -	ra+M	,
AUX	fish	sp 3PL.O	see	go/come	back		voice e	exist N	EG	
aux	nm	pron	vt	vi			pn '	vi		
me	amo	nabone	me	sina	me	hisi	na	me	ni	ya,
me	amo	na -habon	e me	sina	me	his	i na+E	me me	ni	ya
3PL.S	sleep	AUX INT+F	3PL	snuff	3PL.S	sni	ff AUX	3PL	to	ADJU
pron	vi	aux	pron	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	prt	prt
ati	yana	nematamonah	a							
ati	yana	na -himat	a -mona	-ha						
voice	start	AUX FP.N+M	REP+M	DUP						
pn	vi	aux								

'He went into the forest to hunt. He shot animals with his blowgun. He saw the *aba* fish. When he came back, he didn't say anything. When they were going to sleep and they were taking snuff, he spoke to them.'

31	Ayo	,	ayo	
	ayo		ayo	
	older brother		older	brother
	nm		nm	

"Older brother, older brother."

```
32 Haa ?
haa
huh?
interj
"'Huh?"
```

33 Ayo meinamati wini yamani
ayo meinamati wina.NOM+F yamani
older brother people live telling
nm nf vi

"Brother, there are people living there."

34 Me inamati wini yamani ati nematamonane me inamati wina.NOM+F yamani ati na -himata -mona -ne people live telling say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M nf vi vt aux

"There are people living there," he said."

vi

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

nf

36 Me inamati ahi winahara aba kevehamenoho mera me inamati wina -hara ahi aba mera keyeha -ma -hino live IP.E+F there fish sp 3PL.O deceive back IP.N+M DUP people

nm

pron

"There are people living there." He was lying about the aba fish.'

dem

37 *Yama* winaterawani owasirawa winarawini ati wina -tee -rawa -hani wasi -rawa+F wina -rawa -ni yama \circ ati live F.PL BKG+F thing live HAB F.PL IP.N+F 1SG.S find F.PL say nf vi vt. vi vt nematamonaha yiko nari mera weye na -himata -mona -ha yiko mera weye na -haari AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP howler monkey 3PL.O carry AUX IP.E+M nm pron vt aux

"There are people living there, and I found them," he said. He had carried howler monkeys."

38 Yiko bobi namine bani me mera me viko mera bobi na -mina+M bani me me howler monkey 3PL.O slit AUX morning animal 3PL.O 3PL.S pron vt pron aux nm pron tabasi tokatasemetemone na me tabasi to- ka -tasa -hemete -mone na+F me away go/come again FP.N+F REP+F roast on grill AUX 3PL.S

vi

'He cut up the howler monkeys the next day, and they roasted the animals. They went into the forest again.'

39 Me te awibe
me tee awa -be
3PL.O 2PL.S see IMMED+F
pron pron vt

aux

pron

"You will see them."

```
40 Me e towawite mata
me ee to-awa-witI mata
3PL.O 1IN.S away see out for now pron vt prt
```

"Let's go and see them."

41 Me e towawitematahi
me ee to- awa -witI -mata -hi
3PL.O 1IN.S away see out short time IMP+F

"Let's go and see them."

pron pron vt

42	Aba	me	winateni	me	owasia	me	te
	aba	me	wina -tee -hani	me	o- wasi+F	me	tee
	fish sp	3PL.S	live HAB IP.N+F	3PL.O	1SG.S find	3PL.O	2PL.S
	nm	pron	vi	pron	vt	pron	pron

awibeya

awa -be -ya see IMMED+F now

vt

"You will see the *aba* fish that I found living there."

43	Faya	me	tokeme	etemoneke				fahi
	faya	me	to-	ka	-hemete	-mone	-ke	fahi
	so	3PL.S	away	go/come	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then
	conj	pron	vi					dem
'Th	ey went.	•						

44 <i>Me</i>	tokaha	, aba	me	me	tisa			
me	to- ka+F	aba	me	me	tisa			
3PL.S	away go/come	fish	sp 3PL.O	3PL.S	shoot	t with	arrow	
pron	vi	nm	pron	pron	vt			
nemetemone	ke	wati	ino	me	soko	na	mati	me
na -heme	ete -mone -ke	wati	ino	me	soko	na+F	mati	me

ka iha
ka iha
POSS plant sp

prt nm

'They went. They shot *aba* fish with arrows. They had washed the points of the arrows, to take off the *iha* poison.'

45	\boldsymbol{E}	winene	e	ama	ahi
	ee	wina -hene	ee	ama	ahi
	1IN.S	live IRR+F	1IN.S	SEC	here
	pron	vi	pron	sec	dem

"We should live here."

46	\boldsymbol{E}	winene	e	amake	ahi
	ee	wina -hene	ee	ama -ke	ahi
	1IN.S	live IRR+F	1IN.S	SEC DECL+F	her
	pron	vi	pron	sec	dem

"We should live here."

haro

```
aba
             me
                      tama
                               -ke
                                        haaro
                     be many DECL+F
   fish sp
             3PL.S
                                        that one+F
             pron
                      vi
                                        dem
"There are many aba fish here."
48 Fara
                        taborobisa
            P
                                        ama
                        taboro -bisa
   fara
            ee
                                        ama
                        place also
   same+F
            1IN.POSS
                                        be
            pron
                        pn
   dem
                                        VC.
"That is our home."
49 E
           tokomaba
                                        ere
   ee
           to- ka
                          -ma
                               -haha
                                        ere
   1IN.S
           away go/come back FUT+F
                                        1IN.S
   pron
           vi
                                        pron
"Let's go home."
50 Faya
                                           tisa
          me
                aba
                          me
                                   me
                                                                na
                                                                       me
                aba
                          me
                                           tisa
   faya
          me
                                   me
                                                                na+F
                                                                       me
          3PL
                fish sp
                          3PL.O
                                   3PL.S
                                           shoot with arrow
                                                                AUX
                                                                       3PL.S
          pron nm
                          pron
                                   pron
                                                                aux
                                                                       pron
kama
                            me
                                            tabasi
                 aba
                                    me
                                            tabasi
ka
         -ma+F
                 aba
                            me
                                    me
go/come back
                 fish sp
                            3PL.O
                                    3PL.S
                                            roast on grill
                            pron
                                    pron
                 nm
namimetemone
                                amani
na -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone
                                ama -ni
AUX back
                FP.N+F REP+F
                                     BKG+F
                                he
allx
                                77.0
'They shot aba fish with arrows. They came back to their camp and roasted the aba fish.'
51 Aba
             me
                     me
                              tabasi
                                                              me
                                                                         aba
                                                                                    mera
   aba
             me
                     me
                              tabasi
                                                na -ma+F
                                                             me
                                                                         aba
                                                                                    mera
                                                AUX back
   fish sp
             3PL.O
                      3PL.S
                              roast on grill
                                                              3PL.S
                                                                         fish sp
                                                                                    3PL.O
             pron
                                                             pron
                     pron
                                                aux
                                                                                    pron
wasi
            tokatase
                                      bani
                                               me
                                                                fora
                                                        me
wasi+M
            to- ka
                           -tasa+M
                                      bani
                                               me
                                                        me
find
            away go/come again
                                      animal
                                               3PL.O
                                                        3PL.S
                                                                shoot with blowgun
                                      nm
                                               pron
                                                        pron
                  wafa
                                                    fora
na
       me
                                   me
                                            me
                                                                                   me
                                                                           na
```

'They came back and roasted the *aba* fish. The one who had found the *aba* fish went out into the forest again. They killed animals with their blowguns. They killed woolly monkeys with their blowguns. "That's enough."'

me

3PL.S

pron

fora

vt.

shoot with blowgun

me

amake

be

VC

ama -ke

3PL.O

pron

DECL+F

52	Bani	me	tamake						
	bani	me	tama	-ke					
	animal	3PL.S	be many	DECL+F					
	nm	pron	vi						
"There are many animals."									

wafa

me

me

3PL.S

pron

nm

woolly monkey

47 *Aba*

na+F

AUX

aux

Faya

faya

enough

me

3PL.S

bani

bani

nm

animal

pron

me

tamake

na+F

AUX

aux

me

3PL.S

pron

53 Awi ahaba bato
awi ahaba.LIST bato
tapir die deer
nm vi nm

'There was also a tapir that died, and a deer.'

54 <i>Bato</i>	ahab	a	,	bani	me	me	fora				na	
bato	ahak	oa.LIS	Γ	bani	me	me	fora				na+	F
deer	die			animal	3PL.O	3PL.S	shoot	w.	ith blows	gun	AUX	
nm	vi			nm	pron	pron	vt				aux	
bani	me	me	ta	basi		na	me		bani	me		me
bani	me	me	t	abasi		na+F	me	,	bani	me		me
animal	3PL.0	O 3PI	.s r	bast on	grill	AUX	3PL.S		animal	3PL	.0	3PL.S
nm	pron	pro	n v	t		aux	pron		nm	pro	n	pron
yana	tokomei	temone				amani	i .					
yana	to-	ka-	na.NOM	1 -mete	-mone	ama	-ni					
start	away	COMIT	AUX	FP.N+E	REP+F	be	BKG+F					
vi	aux					VC						

'A deer died, too. They killed animals with their blowguns, and they roasted the animals. They left with the animals.'

55 Me kosi hinemetemone

me kosi hi- na -hemete -mone

3PL.S flail OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F

pron vt aux

'They beat her.'

56 Wakati kosi nemetemoneke me Wakati kosi na -hemete -mone -ke me (woman's name) 3PL.S flail AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F npropf pron vt aux okomise hiyari aati tohamaroni hiyara.NFIN to- ha -hamaro -ni ka amise a- ati CH AUX FP.E+F BKG+F DUP say 1SG.POSS POSS aunt speak vt aux

'They beat Wakati, my aunt used to say.'

57 *Abi* te watamatari ya ? abi tee wata -mata -ra.NOM+F ya father 2PL.S exist short time NEG ADJU pron vi prt

'Father, when you weren't living yet?'

58 *Ee* ota watamatari watari ota ya ee otaa wata -mata -ra.NOM+F ya otaa wata -ra.NOM+F yes 1EX.S exist short time NEG ADJU 1EX.S exist NEG interj pron vi prt pron vi

ya ya ADJU

prt

'Yes, when we weren't living yet. We weren't there.'

59	Ota	ka	abi	me .		yetene	me	totoha
	otaa	ka	abi	me	,	yetene	me	to- to- ha
	1EX	POSS	father	3PL		teenage boy	3PL.S	DUP CH be
	pron	prt	nm	pron		adj	pron	VC

tohek	iemete	?	me	awineke					
to-	ha	-hemete	me	awine	-ke				
СН	AUX	FP.N+F	3PL.S	seem+F	DECL+F				
aux			pron	sec					
'I guess our fathers were teenagers then.'									

60 Hibati ka hiyara amani
hibati ka hiyara ama -ni
long time ago pertaining to story be BKG+F
nf prt nf vc

'It's a story of long ago.'

61 Hibatimetemone amake ota watari yama hibati -mete -mone ama -ke yama otaa wata -ra.NOM+F long time ago FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F thing 1EX.S exist NEG VC nf pron vi

ya ya ADJU

'It was a long time ago, before we were born.'

62 *Ota* watari yima me ihi iti ya wata -ra.NOM+F ya vima iti.NFIN otaa me ihi 1EX.S exist NEG ADJU Yima 3PL.POSS victim of+F exist pron npropm pron vi vi prt pn

tohimaro kamina me na amake kamina.LIST to- ha.NOM+F -maro ama -ke na AUX CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F 3PL.S tell be vt aux aux 77.0 pron

'They also used to tell about the Yimas killing people, before we were born.'

63 Hiyara yoyofina tohahamaro yo- yofina hi- hiri hiyara to- ha -hamaro me CH AUX FP.E+F DUP cause fear DUP say story 3PL.S nf vi aux pron

hihahamaroamakehi-to-ha-hamaroama-keOCCHAUXFP.E+FSECDECL+Fauxsec

'They used to tell a scary story.'

64 *Me* wiwini toira wiwina me me wi- wina.NOM to- ha.NOM -ra+F me wi- wina 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX NEG 3PL.S DUP live pron vi aux pron vi

toimetemone tafe kakakosa me me to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone me tafe kana -kosa+F me ka- ka-CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS crops+F 3PL.S DUP COMIT leave middle pron aux pron pn vt.

mati mati

3PL.S

'They were always living in different places, leaving behind their crops.'

65 Haha	e	kana	ra	e	wiwina	toineke
haaha	ee	kana	na -ra+F	ee	wi- wina	to- ha -ne -ke
this+F	1IN.S	run	AUX NEG	1IN.S	DUP live	CH be CONT+F DECL+F
dem	pron	vi	aux	pron	vi	VC
haro						

haaro

that one+F

'We aren't running anymore, we are stopped.'

66	Me		kama			i	me	ko	bo	nan	ıa		me		ibe		kosi	
	me		ka	-	-ma	+F 1	me	ko	bo	na	-ma-	+F	me		ibe		kosi	
	3PL	.S	go/co	me k	oac	k .	3PL.S	ar	rive	ΑUΣ	K baci	k	3PL.	POSS	RECI	Ρ	flail	
	pro	n ·	vi			j	pron	vi		aux	ζ		pron		pn		vt	
na		me			itel	hani			me		nasah	oa		me			me	
na-	+F	me		,	it	ehan:	i		me		na-	sah	0+M	me	,		me	
ΑUΣ	Χ	3PL.	POSS		wh	atcha	amacall	Lit	3PL.	S	CAUS	COO	l off	3 P	L.S		3PL.S	
aux	K	pron			nm				pron		vt			pr	on		pron	
raw	ri	him	atemete	mone	2					or	а	ya						
rav	νi	hi-	na	-ma	ta		-heme	te	-mone	01	ra	ya						
pai	int	OC	AUX	sho	rt	time	FP.N+	F	REP+F	ge	enip	ADJ	ΤU					
vt		aux								nr	n	prt						

'They came back and arrived back. They beat girls. They let them heal. They painted them with genip.'

67	Ora	ya	me	ibe	rawi	na	me	ibe
	ora	ya	me	ibe	rawi	na+F	me	ibe
	genip	ADJU	3PL.POSS	RECIP	paint	AUX	3PL.POSS	RECIP
	nm	prt	pron	pn	vt	aux	pron	pn

watawemetemonehe

wata -waha -hemete -mone -he catch change FP.N+F REP+F DUP

'They painted each other with genip. They caught each other.'

68 0	ra	rawi	tina		ora	tiwa	hasi	niba			•
0	ra	rawi	ti-	na+F	ora	tiwa	hasi	niha	- na	-hiba	,
ge	enip	paint	2SG.	S AUX	genip	2SG.0	escape	e CAUS	AUX	FUT+M	
nı	m	vt	aux		nm	pron	vi	aux			
sokiso	oki	i	tini		ya	tiwa	ahi		tina		tiwa
soki	- sok	i	ti-	na.NOM+F	' ya	tiwa	ahi		ti-	na+F	tiwa
DUP	be o	dark	2SG.S	AUX	ADJU	2SG.0	mess	with	2SG.S	AUX	2SG.0
vi					prt	pron	vt		aux		pron

'You won't be able to escape being panted black with genip.'

69	69 Towisawa me			ibe		watimetemone			Towisawa	
	Towisa	wa	me		ibe	<u> </u>	wata.NOM+F	-mete	-mone	Towisawa
	(man's	nam	e) 3PL.P	OSS	REC	ΊP	catch	FP.N+F	REP+F	(man's name)
	npropm	l	pron		pn		vt			npropm
aati	į	toem	ari			ama	ahi .			
a-	ati	to-	ha.NOM+M	-mar	i	ama	ahi			
DUE	e say	СН	AUX	FP.E	+M	be	then			
vt		aux				VC	dem			

'Towisawa used to say that they used to catch each other.'

70 Biyo	yota	naro	nematamona	aati	
biyo	yota	na -ro	na -himat	a -mona a-	ati
spider monkey	be hung up	AUX like+F	' AUX FP.N+M	REP+M DUP	° say
nf	vi	aux	aux	vt	
toemarika	ahi	me	abe ai	na	mati .
to- ha -himari	-ka ahi	me	abe ahi	na+F	mati
CH AUX FP.E+M	DECL+M then	3PL.POSS	RECIP mess	with AUX	3PL.POSS
aux	dem	pron	pn vt	aux	pron
me ibe	yoko nawaha	awa	me was	siwani	mati
me ibe	yoko na -	waha+F awa	me wa	si -waha -h	ani mati
3PL.POSS RECIP	push AUX c	hange woo	d 3PL.S fi	nd change IP	.N+F 3PL.S
pron pn	vt aux	nf	pron vt		pron

'He used to say he was hung up like a spider monkey. They were playing with each other, pushing a log against each other. It was a game they had discovered.'

71 Awa m	e me	hihiri	hiemete		ota	hihiri
awa me	e me	hi- hiri	hi- to- ha	a -hemete	otaa	hi- hiri
wood 31	PL 3PL.	S DUP do	OC CH AU	UX FP.N+F	1EX.S	DUP do
nf p	ron pron	vt	aux		pron	vt
toamaro	amak	e .				
to- ha -h	amaro ama	-ke				
CH AUX FP	.E+F SEC	DECL+F				
aux	sec					

'We used to do the game with the log that they used to do before.'

72	Awa	yoko	ni	komamaro	amani			
	awa	yoko	na.NFIN	koma -hamaro	ama -ni			
	wood	push	AUX	hurt FP.E+F	SEC BKG+F			
	nf	result	aux	vi	sec			
'It hurt to push the log.'								

73	Awa	ya	ota	abe	yoko	natimaro	amake
	awa	ya	otaa	abe	yoko	na nahatI.NOM -maro	ama -ke
	wood	ADJU	1EX.POSS	RECIP	push	AUX daytime FP.E+F	be DECL+F
	nf	prt	pron	pn	vt	aux	VC

'We push against each other with the log all day long.'

74	Mato	me	wasiwaha	nani	ota	abe	horo
	mato	me	wasi -waha.LIST	na -hani	otaa	abe	horo
	vine	3PL.S	find change	AUX IP.N+F	1EX.POSS	RECIP	drag
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	pn	vt

kawaha

ka- na -waha.LIST
COMIT AUX change
aux

'They also discovered the game with the vine. We used to pull each other.'

75 Kanahake

kanaha -ke be heavy DECL+F vi

'It's heavy.'

```
76 E kanahini
ee kanaha -ni
1IN.S be heavy BKG+F
pron vi
'People are heavy.'
```

77 **Me** te ihe horo kanakikere -ke -re horo ka- na -kI me tee ibe 3PL 2PL.POSS RECIP drag COMIT AUX coming DECL+F NEG+F pn pron pron vt aux

'You wouldn't be able to pull one another.'

78 *Nana* toemata kanawanemata ka yama bote mera to- ha -himata mera na- na kanawana -himata ka yama bote DUP AUX CH AUX FP.N+M 3PL.O teach FP.N+M POSS thing old aux aux pron vt prt nf adj kayotoneti e kayoto -ne -tee.NOM 1IN.S COMIT follow CONT+F HAB vt

'We do it the way he taught long ago.'

79 *Me* oohari toharemetemone okomise o- ohari to- ha -ra -hemete -mone ka DUP be one CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS aunt 3PL.S pron vi aux nf aati tohamaroke ahi ihe me to- ha -hamaro -ke ahi hiyara.NFIN a- ati ihe me DUP say CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F then 3PL.POSS RECIP speak vi vt aux dem pron pn ibe me katoma mati me katoma+F me ibe mati me RECIP attack 3PL.POSS 3PL.S 3PL.POSS pron pn vt pron pron kahiwawahi karo ka- hiwa -waha.NOM+F karo COMIT have children change because

prt

'There were many people playing, because they had had children.'

80 *Me* kahiwawahi ka me me ka- hiwa -waha.NOM+F ka me 3PL.S COMIT have children change because 3PL.S pron vi prt pron winimetemone Anitoni Ayake boto va ka wina.NOM+F -mete -mone Anitoni Ayake ka boto ya live FP.N+F REP+F ADJU (village name) of sandy clearing vi prt npropm prt nf itineke ita -ne -ke be located CONT+F DECL+F

'The sandy clearing of Anitoni Ayake is where their village was, because they had children.'

81	Me	winimetemone			amak	ke	faro
	me	wina.NOM+F	-mete	-mone	ama	-ke	faaro
	3PL.S	live	FP.N+F	REP+F	be	DECL+F	that+F
	pron	vi			VC		dem

'They lived there.'

82 <i>Ha</i> haa	<i>me</i> me	towinakosa to- wina -kosa	<i>me</i> a+F me	<i>ihi</i> ihi	<i>me</i> me	<i>bana</i> bana+F
DEM	3PL.S	CH live middl	le 3PL.POS	S because of+F	3PL.S	move away
dem	pron	vi	pron	post	pron	vi
me	tokomatas	а	me	, Mao Bote	yama	sari
me	to- ka	-ma -tas	sa+F me	Mao Bote	yama	sari
3PL.S	away go	/come back agai	in 3PL.S	(man's name)	thing	burn
pron	vi		pron	npropm	nf	vt
hikaneme	rtemone		amosi	tohineke		haro
hi- ka-	- na	-hemete -mone	amosa.NFIN	to- ha -ne	-ke	haaro
OC CON	XUA TIN	FP.N+F REP+F	be good	CH be CONT+F	DECL+F	that one+F
aux			vi	VC		dem

wakoya boti
wakoya boti
tree sp bunch+F
nf pn

'There were too many people, so they moved away. Then they went again. There is a clearing with wakoya trees where Mao Bote burned the forest.'

83	Wahati	me	ati	komehe	namaro	me	ama
	wahati	me	ati	komeha.LIST	na -hamaro	me	ama
	Jamamadi	3PL.POSS	voice	be fearsome	AUX FP.E+F	3PL.POSS	be
	npropm	pron	pn	vi	aux	pron	VC

haro

haaro

that one+F

dem

'The Jamamadis also made the jarawaras afraid.'

84 Wahati tamabote	,	koba	me	kaka	
wahati tama	-bote	koba	me	ka-	kaa
Jamamadi be many	very	copaiba	3PL.S	DUP	chop
npropm adj		nf	pron	vt	
toemetemone	me	Baribasa	me	?	kakamina
to- ha -hemete -mon	e me	Baribasa	me	<u> </u>	ka- kamina
CH AUX FP.N+F REP+	F 3PL.S	(man's na	ame) 3F	PL.O	DUP tell
aux	pron	npropm	pr	on	vt
hihamaro	mati .				
hi- to- ha -hamaro	mati				
OC CH AUX FP.E+F	3PL.O				
aux	pron				

'Baribasa told about the many Jamamadis who gathered copaiba oil.'

85	Okanoti		okanoti		owa	tihiyarahi				
	0-	ka	noti	0-	ka	noti	owa	ti-	hiyara	-hi
	1SG.POSS	POSS	grandson	1SG.POSS	POSS	grandson	1SG.0	2SG.S	speak to	DUP
	nm			nm			pron	vt		

[&]quot;Grandson, speak to me."

86 **E** tamabote koba ka vaka vofinamaro na na tama -bote koba kaa na+F yaka na+F vofina -hamaro cause fear FP.E+F 1IN be many very copaiba chop AUX walk AUX pron adj nf vt aux vi aux vi amani ati nemarika ahi ka towisawa mρ na -himari -ka ama -ni ati ahi me ka towisawa SEC BKG+F AUX FP.E+M DECL+M 3PL POSS chief say then sec vt aux dem pron prt bokebanoho mati boka -hiba -no -ho mati enter water FUT+M IP.N+M DUP 3PL.S pron 77 i

"It was scary to see so many people gathering copaiba oil and going around," he said. After that their chief fell in the water.'

87 Towisawa bokebano kama me towisawa boka -hiba -no me ka -ma+Fenter water FUT+M IP.N+M 3PL.S go/come back nm vi pron vi

farasikira me weveri kanemetemone aati farasikira weye -ri kame na -hemete -mone alarge glass bottle 3PL.S carry DISTR COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP say pron vt aux vt

tohemarine

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

'Before the chief would fall in the water they came back carrying bottles of copaiba oil, he used to say.'

88 *Yama* tokomaba fa e fa to- ka -haba faha -ma faha yama ee away go/come back FUT+F 1IN.S water water thing nf nf nf pron vi

fowinihi

fowa.NOM+F -ni -hi swell IP.N+F DUP

"We can't go, the stream is flooded."

89 *Fa* aweba te. ka namatahi faha awe -ba tee kaa na -mata -hi water wood+F FUT 2PL.S chop AUX short time IMP+F pn pron vt aux "Cut down a tree for the stream."

90 **E** tokomibana me ati nemetemone -ma+F -bana ati to- ka me na -hemete -mone ee AUX FP.N+F REP+F 1IN.S away go/come back FUT 3PL.S say vi pron pron vt aux

"Let's go," they said.'

91 **E** tokomibeya

ee to- ka -ma -be -ya 1IN.S away go/come back IMMED+F now pron vi

'"Let's go."'

92 Awa awa tree	me me 3PL.S pron	<i>ka</i> kaa chop vt	na na+F AUX aux	<i>awa</i> awa tree nf	me me 3PL.S pron	tonabokawite to- na- away CAUS vt	boka	water	-witI out	awa awa tree nf
me me 3PL.S pron	ti tii cut thro vt	ugh (k anemeten ka- n COMIT A aux	a -he	emete -mo N+F RE	one -ni P+F BKG+F	, me me 3PL pron	ka ka POSS prt	towisawa towisawa chief nm	а
ene ehene deed+M pn	<i>hiyareban</i> hiya be bad vi	-ra -h	niba -n UT+M IP		<pre>mati mati 3PL.POSS pron</pre>	S				

'They cut down the tree. They made the tree fall on the water. They cut the brush around the tree. Their chief did a bad thing.'

93 Me me 3PL.S pron	kariwan ka go/com vi	-ri	waha	-		me me 3PL pro		,	me me 3PL.S pron	
kariwamemetemone waha .										
ka	-riwaha	-ma	-heme	ete	-mo	ne	waha			
go/come	across	back	FP.N	+F	REP	+F	now			
vi							prt			

'They crossed to this side.'

94	Hima	,	hima	e	tokom	ahi			me	ati
	hima		hima	ee	to-	ka	-ma	-hi	me	ati
	let's go		let's go	1IN.S	away	go/come	back	IMP+F	3PL.S	say
	interj		interj	pron	vi				pron	vt
ne	metemoneke									
na	-hemete	-mc	ne -ke							

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

"Come on, let's go home," they said.'

95 *Hima*

hima let's go interj "Let's go."

96	Me	yana	neme		ahi	
	me	yana	na	-hemete	-mone	ahi
	3PL.S	start	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	then
	pron	vi	aux			dem

'They stood up.'

97	Farasikira	me	weyeri	kamisamemetemone					
	farasikira	me	weye -ri	ka- na -misa	a -ma -hemete -mone				
	large glass bo	ottle 3PL.S	carry DISTR	COMIT AUX up	back FP.N+F REP+F				
	nf	pron	vt	aux					
	Etona	bokabano		ya .					
,	Etona	boka.NOM+M	-ba -no	ya					
	(man's name)	enter water	FUT IP.N+M	ADJU					
	npropm	vi		prt					

'They lifted the bottles up on their backs. Etona was going to fall in the water.'

98 Etona ati yana tonematamona
Etona ati yana to- na -himata -mona
(man's name) voice start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M
npropm pn vi aux

'Etona spoke.'

99 Baikani bere tonamake wa wa waa.LIST waa.LIST to- na -makI baikani bere middle stand stand be across away AUX following pn vi vi vi aux

Ee ati nematamonaka

ee ati na -himata -mona -ka (expression of surprise) say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M interj vt aux

'As he was going on top of the log in the middle, he said, "Ee."

100 **Oboka** ati nematamonane o- boka+F ati na -himata -mona -ne

1SG.S enter water say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M

vi vt aux

"I'm falling in the water," he said."

101 Korii moni nematamona
korii moni na -himata -mona
(sound of falling in water) make sound AUX FP.N+M REP+M
sound vt aux

'Korii, he went.'

102 Towisawa ahi boke me ati nemetemone towisawa boka+M na -hemete -mone ati ahi me enter water 3PL.S AUX FP.N+F REP+F chief then say vi vt dem pron aux

"The chief fell in the water," they said.'

103 Towisawa tiotio tinahi

towisawa tiotio ti- na -hi chief swim 2SG.S AUX IMP+F nm vi aux

"Chief, swim."

104 Towisawa awa ini wara tikawahi me ati towisawa awa ini wara ti- kana -waha -hi me ati branch+F 2SG.S COMIT AUX change IMP+F chief tree grab 3PL.S say nf pn vt aux pron

nemetemone

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

"Chief, grab onto a branch," they said.'

105 Awa ini wara kawematamonaha

awa ini wara ka- na -waha -himata -mona -ha
tree branch+F grab COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DUP
nf pn vt aux

10)6 .	Farasikira	hose	hinis	emata			bari		
		farasikira	hose	hi-	na	-risa	-himata	awa	-ka	bari
		large glass bottle	pull out	OC	AUX	down	FP.N+M	seem+M	DECL+M	back
		nf	vt	aux				sec		pn
ka	ı	ya .								
ka	a	ya								
L	ЭC	ADJU								
р	rt	prt								
'T	he l	bottle of copaiba oil must h	n dov	n bac	kwards.'	1				

The bottle of copaiba oil must have pulled him down backwards.'

	Faya		,	me	towisav		bol			ehei			me	yav	
	faya	a me	:	me	towis	awa	bo	ka+M		ehe	ene		me	ya:	wa+F
	so	3 P	L	3PL	chief		en	ter	water	bec	cause	of+M	3PL.	S be	upset
	con	j pr	on	pron	nm		vi			pos	st		pron	vi	
me		naoba	sa		awa	me		ti			na	towisa	wa	me	bori
me		naho	-ba	sa+F	awa	me		tii			na+F	towi	sawa	me	bori
3PL.	.S	stand	d edg	е	tree	3PL.	S	cut	throug	gh .	AUX	chie	f	3PL.5	S poke
pror	l	vi			nf	pron	1	vt			aux	nm		pron	vt
neme	rtemo	ne		ahi											
na	-he	mete	-mone	e ahi	-										
AUX	FP.	N+F	REP+	F the	en										
aux				den	n										

'They were upset as they stood on the bank, because the chief had fallen in the water. They cut a pole and poked around for the chief.'

108	Towisawa	awa	wara	tinahi				me	ati
	towisawa	awa	wara	ti-	to-	na	-hi	me	ati
	chief	tree	grab	2SG.S	СН	AUX	DUP	3PL.S	say
	nm	nf	vt	aux				pron	vt
nem	etemoneni								
na	-hemete -	mone -	ni						

AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F

"Chief, grab onto the pole," they said.'

109 A	Awa ,	towisawa awa	wara	tonebona	me	bori	hine
a	awa ´	towisawa awa	wara	to- na -hibona	me	bori	hi- na+M
t	ree	chief tree	grab	CH AUX INT+M	3PL.S	poke	OC AUX
r	nf	nm nf	vt	aux	pron	vt	aux
awa	wara	tonematamonaha					
awa	wara	to- na -himata	a -mona	-ha			
tree	grab	CH AUX FP.N+M	REP+M	DUP			
nf	vt.	aux					

'They poked around for the chief so that he would grab onto the pole, but he didn't grab onto the pole.'

110	10 <i>Faya</i>		towise	towisawa		iyo me		?	ohi	na	me		naobasi	\boldsymbol{r}	me
	faya		a towisawa		tab	oiyo me			ohi	na+F	me		naho	-basa+F	me
	so		chie	ef	abs	ence	3P	L.S	cry	AUX	3PL.	.S	stand	edge	3PL.S
	con	j	nm		pn		pr	on	vi	aux	pror	1 .	vi		pron
me		yar	na	name	metem	oneke					fahi				
me		ya	na	na	-ma	-heme	ete	-mor	ie -ke	2	fahi				
3PL	.S	st	art	AUX	back	FP.N-	ŀF	REP+	F DEC	L+F	then				
pro	n	vi		aux							dem				
terri		11		C . 1	1	. 1		1	.1 1	1 001	. 1				

'They cried because of the chief as they stood on the bank. Then they set off again.'

111 Me hekanakosematamonaka waha
me hi- ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ka waha
3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M now
pron vt prot

They left him behind.'

112 *Me* tokomimetemone Baribasa aati to- ka -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone me Baribasa aati DUP say 3PL.S away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F (man's name) pron vi npropm vt

tohemarika

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

'They went home, Baribasa used to say.'

113 Yama toa awine hawi ahi yama to- ha+F awine hawi ya ahi thing CH be seem+F trail ADJU there nf VC sec nf prt dem

"The trail is there."

114 Hibaka winehi nanarifa toemete ya yara ra me hibaka na- narifa to- ha va vara wina+M ra me -hemete ADJU Brazilian DUP help where live 0 3PL.S CH AUX FP.N+F interrog prt npropm vi prt pron aux pn

'Where did the Brazilian live who they worked for?'

115 *Me* tokoma towinama Towisawa me to- ka -ma+F to- wina -ma+F towisawa me me me 3PL.S away live back 3PL.S chief 3PL.S away go/come back vi pron vi nm pron pron

bokarene

boka -hare -ne enter water IP.E+M BKG+M vi

"They went home. They lived back at their village. "The chief fell in the water."

-ra

116 Towisawa boke yamani
towisawa boka.NOM+M yamani
chief enter water telling
nm vi

"The chief fell in the water."

117 Towisawa boka
Towisawa boka.CONT+M
(man's name) enter water
npropm vi

"Did the chief fall in the water?"

118 Towisawa bokera
towisawa boka+M
chief enter water

chief enter water mood nm vi

"The chief fell in the water."

119	Towisawa	boke	kamera				
	Towisawa	boka+M	ka	-ma+M	-hira		
	(man's name)	enter water	go/come	back	NEG+M		
	npropm	vi	vi				
""Th	a abject fall in the rev						

"The chief fell in the water and did not come back."

120 Towisawa abe awane
towisawa ahaba+M awa -ne
chief die seem+M BKG+M
nm vi sec

"The chief seems to have died."

121 Towisawa abemona towisawa me me towisawa ahaba -himona towisawa me me chief die REP+M 3PL chief 3PL.S nm νi pron nm pron hiwamebona hiwamematamona me hi- to- awa -ma -hibona me hi- to- awa -ma -himata -mona OC away see back INT+M 3PL.S OC away see back FP.N+M REP+M vt pron vt

'They thought of going back to see the chief who was said to have died, but they did not go back to see him.'

122 Me hekanakosawematamonaka
me hi- ka- kana -kosa -waha -himata -mona -ka
3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
pron vt

'They went somewhere else and left him behind.'

123 *Faya* tokoma mari me me tonama me to- ka -ma+F mari to- na faya -ma+Fme me meaway go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S feast away AUX back 3PL.S conj pron νi pron νi aux pron me tokoma me naobasa me me ka owa to- ka -ma+F me naho -basa+F me me ka owa stand edge 3PL.S away go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S 3PL of man deed+M pron vi pron pron prt nm

hiyatasematamonaha

hiya -tasa -himata -mona -ha be bad again FP.N+M REP+M DUP

'Then they went back and had a feast. They went back again and were beside the water, and one of them did a bad thing again.'

124 *Awa* awa watari watari awa ya e awa wata -ra.NOM+F wat.a -ra.NOM+F ee awa awa ya ADJU tree tree exist NEG tree exist NEG 1IN.S nf nf vi nf vi pron prt tokomabone te ati nineni -ma -habone to- ka tee ati na -ne -ni away go/come back INT+F 2PL.S AUX CONT+F BKG+F say pron vi vt aux

"Since there is no log, you are saying we should go back."

125	Awa	tabiyo	yama	me	siba	na	me	awa	tabiyo
	awa	tabiyo	yama	me	siba	na+F	me	awa	tabiyo
	tree	absence	thing	3PL.S	look for	AUX	3PL.S	tree	absence
	nf	pn	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	nf	pn

yama yama thing nf	me me 3PL.S pron	siba siba look for vt	na na+F AUX aux	me me 3PL.S pron	, and average to the second se	ra cee	tabiyo tabiyo absence pn	yama yama thing nf	me me 3PL.S pron
siba	neme	etemone		ahi ,	me	ka	owa		
siba	na	-hemete -	mone	ahi	me	ka	owa		
look fo	or AUX	FP.N+F R	EP+F	then	3PL	of	man		
vt	aux			dem	pron	prt	nm .		
bokatasei	bano			mati					
boka	- t	tasa -hiba	-no	mati					
enter	water ag	gain FUT+M	IP.N+	M 3PL.P	OSS				
vi				pron					

'They looked for a tree. One of them fell in the water again.'

126 Kimisamematamona tasa fari
ka -misa -ma -himata -mona tasa faari
go/come up back FP.N+M REP+M again that one+M
vi prt dem

'He didn't come back to the surface.'

127 Awa baka awa bote hikanemata awaka bote baka hi- to- kana -himata -ka awa awa awa wood old break OC CH COMIT AUX FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M wood nf adi aux sec 'The old log broke with him.'

128 *Me* bori hine me bori hikatasematamona hi- ka- na -tasa -himata -mona bori hi- na+M bori me me 3PL.S OC COMIT AUX again FP.N+M poke OC AUX 3PL.S poke vt pron pron vt aux aux

fa

faa that dem

'They poked with a pole for him. They did not poke for him again.'

129 Abemata awaka tasa ahaba -himata awa -ka tasa die FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M again vi sec prt

'He died, too.'

130 Me siba hinematamona

me siba hi- na -himata -mona

3PL.S look for OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M

pron vt aux

'They looked for him.'

131 *Me* siba hine siba me hinematamona siba hi- na+M siba hi- na -himata -mona me me look for OC AUX 3PL.S look for OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M 3PL.S pron vt aux pron vt aux

ahi

ahi then

'They looked for him.'

132	Me	siba	hine	me	hiwasire	me
	me	siba	hi- na+M	me	hi- wasi -ra+M	me
	3PL.S	look for	OC AUX	3PL.S	OC find NEG	3PL.S
	pron	vt	aux	pron	vt	pron

hekanakosawatasematamonaha

hi- ka- kana -kosa -waha -tasa -himata -mona -ha OC COMIT leave middle change again FP.N+M REP+M DUP vt

'They looked for him but couldn't find him. They left him behind, too.'

133Hibatiyahibatikahiyarahibatiyahibatikahiyaralong time agoADJUlong time agoofstorynfprtnfprtnf

'It's an old story, a story of long ago.'