### Free Translation

They grooved trees with the teeth of the animals that they shot with arrows. They were grooving trees all day long with animal teeth. Finally they finished cutting down the trees, and then they burned the trees.

"Let's burn the trees. We don't have gardens."

They burned the trees. They planted the gardens all day long. What did they plant?

They went back and got their crops. They were calling each other to go.

"Let's go."

"Are you calling me to go?"

"Let's go hunting."

The two of them went into the forest of the seasonally flooded area. They found some animals that had been killed by jaguars, that they had covered up. They came upon some giant otters that a jaguar had killed.

The jaguar fought against them during the day. He was with his brother-in-law.

"There are animals covered up there that were killed by a jaguar. They must have been killed by a jaguar."

The jaguar came back and attacked them. One of them grabbed the arms of the jaguar up high when the jaguar charged him, as he was looking at the animals. They were giant otters that the jaguar had killed. When the jaguar charged him, he grabbed the arms of the jaguar up high.

"Come here. Come here," he said.

The other one was afraid. The other one should have charged with bow and arrow, but he was afraid.

He kept grabbing the arms of the jaguar up high. He wanted to wedge the jaguar between two trees, and he carried the jaguar. He took it to wedge it between two trees. He couldn't wedge it, because it jumped away. It clawed him all over.

"Break off a sapling for us."

The other one tried to break off a sapling, but couldn't. The jaguar attacked them continuously, because it was protecting its kill.

It did not die. They left it behind. When it went to the water, they came back.

He was all bloody, because the jaguar had clawed him. They came back.

"Hom, the jaguar hurt me. Look at the wounds where the jaguar hurt me. The jaguar attacked me because of its kill that it had covered up, and I have come back wounded. The animals it killed are there in a pile. The jaguar was clawing us. He braced me, leaning against my back."

"The jaguar should have died, instead it clawed you. Because you didn't kill it, you are all clawed."

They looked at the wounds of the jaguar, the marks of its claws. They didn't go after it, to shoot it with arrows. It disappeared.

Other people set traps for fish. Fa Ki Ra set traps for fish, too.

## Interlinear Presentation

| 1    | Awa    | me       | kere   | na    | toei | netemo | ne   |     |       |     | bani   | me    | me    |
|------|--------|----------|--------|-------|------|--------|------|-----|-------|-----|--------|-------|-------|
|      | awa    | me       | kere   | na    | to.  | - ha   | -hem | ete | -mone | ,   | bani   | me    | me    |
|      | tree   | 3PL.S    | groove | AUX   | СН   | AUX    | FP.N | +F  | REP+F |     | animal | 3PL.O | 3PL.S |
|      | nf     | pron     | vt     | aux   | au   | X      |      |     |       |     | nm     | pron  | pron  |
| tisa | ı      |          | na     | bani  |      | me     |      | ini |       | ya  | •      |       |       |
| ti   | sa     |          | na+F   | bani  |      | me     |      | in  | i     | ya  |        |       |       |
| sh   | oot wi | th arrow | w AUX  | anima | al   | 3PL.   | POSS | to  | oth+F | ADJ | U      |       |       |
| vt   |        |          | aux    | nm    |      | pron   |      | pn  |       | prt |        |       |       |

'They grooved trees with the teeth of the animals that they shot with arrows.'

```
2 Bani
                                                                                 me
            me
                       ini
                                  ya
                                         awa
                                                me
                                                        kere
                                                                 natia
   bani
                                                me
                                                                 na
                                                                      nahatI+F
            me
                        ini
                                  ya
                                         awa
                                                        kere
                                                                                 me
                                                        groove
   animal
            3PL.POSS
                        tooth+F
                                  ADJU
                                                3PL.S
                                                                 AUX daytime
                                                                                 3PL.S
                                         tree
            pron
                                                                                 pron
                       pn
                                  prt
                                         nf
   nm
                                                pron
                                                        771
                                                                 aux
   awa
          me
                  nabiwahemetemoneke
                                                                waha
                                                                       awa
                                                                              me
   awa
          me
                  na- ahaba -waha
                                      -hemete -mone -ke
                                                                waha
                                                                       awa
                                                                              me
   tree
          3PL.S
                  CAUS end
                              change FP.N+F
                                               REP+F DECL+F
                                                                now
                                                                       tree
                                                                              3PL.S
   nf
          pron
                                                                prt
                                                                       nf
                                                                              pron
       kawabani
                                          mati
sari
       ka-
             na
                  -waha
                          -haba -ni
                                          mati
burn
       COMIT AUX change FUT+F IP.N+F
                                          3PL.S
```

'They were grooving trees all day long with animal teeth. Finally they finished cutting down the trees, and then they burned the trees.'

```
3
  Awa
          e
                   sari
                           kanaba
                                                ere
                                                        ahi
                                                        ahi
   awa
          ee
                   sari
                           ka-
                                       -haba
                                                ere
                                  na
   tree
          1IN.S
                   burn
                          COMIT AUX FUT+F
                                                1IN.S
                                                        then
   nf
          pron
                                                pron
                                                        dem
                   vt
                          aux
"Let's burn the trees."
```

sari 4 Awa kanaba ereke -ke kasari -haba ere awa ee na COMIT AUX FUT+F 1IN.S DECL+F tree 1IN.S burn nf pron vt pron aux

"Let's burn the trees."

5 E tefe watari
ee tefe wata -ra.NOM+F
lIN.POSS crops exist NEG
pron pn vi
"We don't have gardens."

Fava awa me awa sari kana awa me me awa faya awa me awa me sari kana+F awa awa me garden garden so tree 3PL tree 3PL.S burn COMIT AUX 3PL.S pron nf pron conj nf vt aux nf nf pron ? natafa natia me himata me koro rimeteya tafa nahatI+F himata koro -ri name na me -mete daytime CAUS eat 3PL.S what? 3PL.S plant AUX CQ+F FP.N+F now prt pron interrog pron vt vt aux

'They burned the trees. They planted the gardens all day long. What did they plant?'

```
7 Yamata
           me
                    totonakama
                                                    toemete
                                                                       me
                    to- to- na- ka
   vamata
           me
                                             -ma
                                                    to- ha
                                                             -hemete
                                                                       me
                  DUP away CAUS go/come back CH AUX FP.N+F
   crops
            3PL.S
                                                                       3PL.S
   nf
           pron
                    vt
                                                    aux
                                                                       pron
awineke
                      ka
                             vamata
                me
                             yamata
awine -ke
                me
                      ka
seem+F DECL+F
                 3PL
                      POSS
                             crops
                 pron prt
                             nf
'They went back and got their crops.'
8 Me
              abe
                      hima
                                                                    abe
                                   na
                                          me
                                                         me
  me
              abe
                      hima
                                   na+F
                                          me
                                                         me
                                                                    ahe
              RECIP
                      call to go
                                   AUX
                                          3PL.POSS
   3PL.POSS
                                                         3PL.POSS
                                                                    RECIP
                                          pron
                                                         pron
                                                                    pn
   pron
              pn
                      vt.
                                   aux
hima
             na
                    me
                                   Owa
                                          hima
                                                      tina
hima
             na+F
                    me
                                  owa
                                          hima
                                                      ti-
                                                            na+F
call to go
             AUX
                    3PL.POSS
                                  1SG.O
                                          let's go
                                                      2SG.S AUX
             aux
                    pron
                                  pron
                                          interj
                                                      aux
'They were calling each other to go.'63
  Hima
   hima
   let's go
   interi
"Let's go."
10 Owa
                                           ti
           hima
                        tina
                                      ama
           hima
                        + i -
                                           + i -
   OWA
                               na+F
                                      ama
   1SG.0
                        2SG.S AUX
                                            2SG.S
           call to go
                                      SEC
   pron
           vt.
                        aux
                                      sec
                                           prt
"Are you calling me to go?"
11 Yama
          e
                  yete
                         na
                               mata
   yama
           ee
                   yete
                         na
                               mata
          1IN.S
   thing
                  hunt
                         AUX
                               for now
   nf
           pron
                   vt
                          aux
                               prt
"Let's go hunting."
12 Me
          towakimetemone
                                                 waha
                                                                   amake
                                                                   ama -ke
           to- ka- ka.NOM+F -mete
                                         -mone
                                                 waha
   3PL.S
           away COMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F
                                                 flooded forest
                                                                   be
   pron
           vi
                                                 nf
                                                                   VC
haro
                yome
                                                       ihi
                         yome
                                  yome
                                           me
                                                                      me
haaro
                yomee
                         yomee
                                  yomee
                                           me
                                                       ihi
                                                                      me
                                  jaguar
that one+F
                jaguar
                         jaguar
                                            3PL.POSS
                                                       victim of+F
                                                                      3PL.S
                nm
                         nm
                                           pron
                                                       pn
                                                                      pron
                                  nm
towasiwitihabani
                                  mati
                                                              ihi
                                         vome
                                                   me
                                                                             voto
to- wasi -witI -haba -ni
                                                              ihi
                                 mati
                                          yomee
                                                                             yoto
                                                   me
away find out FUT+F IP.N+F
                                 3PL.S
                                                   3PL.POSS
                                                              victim of+F
                                          jaguar
                                                                             cover
                                                                             result
                                  pron
vt.
                                         nm
                                                   pron
                                                              pn
kana
             mati
      na+F
ka-
             mati
COMIT AUX
             3PL.POSS
'The two of them went into the forest of the seasonally flooded area. They found some animals that had been
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killed by jaguars, that they had covered up.'

<sup>63</sup> The clause owa hima tina is a false start.

13 *Yome* sabo mera waka ene neno mρ me vomee sabo mera waka na -hino ehene giant otter 3PL.O kill AUX IP.N+M victim of+M 3PL.S nm pron aux pn towasiwitia yome hinatebani me mono na hi- nahatI to- wasi -witI+F yomee me mono -haba -ni struggle with AUX OC daytime FUT+F BKG+F away find out jaguar 3PL.O vt nm pron v/t aux mati mati 3PL.O pron 'They came upon some giant otters that a jaguar had killed. The jaguar fought against them during the day.'

14 *Me* me famemetemoneke wabori ya me me fama -hemete -mone -ke wabori ya 3PL.S be two FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F 3SG.POSS brother-in-law ADJU pron pron vi nm prt

'He was with his brother-in-law.'

15 **Yama** yoto ihi kine ha yama yoto kana -ne victim of+F cover COMIT AUX CONT+F result aux

"There are animals covered up there that were killed by a jaguar."

16 **Yome** ene toe awaka yome to- ha+M -ka awa vomee ehene yomee CH be victim of+M seem+M DECL+M jaguar jaguar nm pn VC. sec kamabano ya mera mera -ma.NOM+M -ba -no ya mera mera go/come back FUT IP.N+M ADJU 3PL.O 3PL.O attack vi prt pron pron

natibanoho

nahatI -hiba -no daytime FUT+M IP.N+M DUP

"They must have been killed by a jaguar." The jaguar came back and attacked them.'

fare 17 **Yome** wara tomisibote nematamona ahi to- na yomee wara -misa -bote na -himata -mona ahi fare jaguar grab away AUX up quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M then same+M nm vt aux aux dem dem fito hikanari ki vome bani me nari fito hi- kana -haari kii bani me na -haari rush OC COMIT AUX IP.E+M animal 3PL.O look at AUX IP.E+M vi aux pron vt nm

'He grabbed the arms of the jaguar up high when the jaguar charged him, as he was looking at the animals.'

| 18 | Sabo        | memeter | moneke |       | yome   | me     | waka  |      |
|----|-------------|---------|--------|-------|--------|--------|-------|------|
|    | sabo        | me      | -mete  | -mone | -ke    | yomee  | me    | waka |
|    | giant otter | 3PL.S   | FP.N+F | REP+F | DECL+F | jaguar | 3PL.O | kill |
|    | nm          | pron    |        |       |        | nm     | pron  | vt   |

'They were giant otters that the jaguar had killed.'

yome 19 **Yome** fito hikane yome tomisibote wara fito hi- kavomee na+M vomee yomee wara to- na -misa -bote AUX up rush OC COMIT AUX jaquar grab CH quickly jaquar jaquar vi aux nm nm vt aux nm

'When the jaguar charged him, he grabbed the arms of the jaguar up high.'

20 *Yome* wara tomise Tikamake yomee wara to- na -misa+M ti- ka -makI jaguar grab CH AUX up 2SG.S go/come following vt aux

'He grabbed the jaguar's arms up high. "Come here."

21 Tikamakehi ati ahi nematamona ti- ka -makI -hi ahi ati na -himata -mona 2SG.S go/come following IMP+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M then vt aux dem

"Come here," he said.'

22 Owa watohimata awaka
owa wato -himata awa -ka
other+M be afraid FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M
adj vi sec

'The other one was afraid.'

23 *Owa* watomako efe wati fito owa wato -mako efe wati fito other+M know for this reason+M this+M arrow rush adj vt dem nm vi

tokanamaki
to- ka- na -makI na.NOM+M -mata
away COMIT AUX following AUX FP.N+M
aux aux

'The other one should have charged with bow and arrow, but he was afraid.'

24 *Yome* tomisarima ahi wara nematamona to- na -misa -rima yomee wara na -himata -mona ahi grab jaguar СН AUX up intermittent AUX FP.N+M REP+M then aux dem vt aux

'He kept grabbing the arms of the jaguar up high.'

ati 25 *Yome* hete nisebona vome ne awa yomee yomee hete na -risa -hibona ati na+M awa stick in AUX down INT+M AUX jaguar say tree nm nm vt aux vt aux

| basa kani | ya   | yome   | titiwa    | nawa       | nematamona       | ahi  |
|-----------|------|--------|-----------|------------|------------------|------|
| basa kani | ya   | yomee  | ti- tiwa  | na -waha   | na -himata -mona | ahi  |
| between   | ADJU | jaguar | DUP carry | AUX change | AUX FP.N+M REP+M | then |
| pn        | prt  | nm     | vt        | aux        | aux              | dem  |

'He wanted to wedge the jaguar between two trees, and he carried the jaguar.'

| 26 | Awa   | basa kani | hete        | hinisebon | а      |             | heke  |         |       |         |
|----|-------|-----------|-------------|-----------|--------|-------------|-------|---------|-------|---------|
|    | awa   | basa kan  | i hete      | hi- na    | -risa  | a -hibon    | a hi- | to- k   | a-    | ka+M    |
|    | tree  | between   | stick in    | OC AUX    | K down | INT+M       | OC    | away C  | TIMC  | go/come |
|    | nf    | pn        | vt          | aux       |        |             | vt    |         |       |         |
|    | hete  | hinise    | bona        | J         | ora i  | towitimatam | ona   |         |       |         |
|    | hete  | hi-       | na -risa -h | nibona y  | ora 1  | to- na      | -witI | -himata | a –mo | ona     |
|    | stick | in OC     | AUX down IN | IT+M      | jump a | away AUX    | out   | FP.N+M  | REI   | P+M     |
|    | vt    | aux       |             | 7         | 7i a   | aux         |       |         |       |         |

'He took it to wedge it between two trees. He couldn't wedge it, because it jumped away.'

| 27 | Не    | bisi    | natin | natimatamona |       |      |       |      |  |  |  |
|----|-------|---------|-------|--------------|-------|------|-------|------|--|--|--|
|    | hee   | bisi    | na    | nahatI.NOM   | -mata |      | -mona | ahi  |  |  |  |
|    | 3SG.0 | scratch | AUX   | daytime      | short | time | REP+M | then |  |  |  |
|    | pron  | 77†     | allx  |              |       |      |       | dem  |  |  |  |

'It clawed him all over.'

| 28 | $\boldsymbol{E}$ | ka   | awaba    | baka  | tisahi |     |        |       |
|----|------------------|------|----------|-------|--------|-----|--------|-------|
|    | ee               | ka   | awa -ba  | baka  | ti-    | na  | -kosa  | -hi   |
|    | 1IN              | POSS | wood FUT | break | 2SG.S  | AUX | middle | IMP+F |
|    | pron             | prt  | nf       | vt    | aux    |     |        |       |

"Break off a sapling for us."

| 29   | Owa     | awa  | owa     | awa  | awa  | baka  | nako | sebona |         | awa  |
|------|---------|------|---------|------|------|-------|------|--------|---------|------|
|      | owa     | awa  | owa     | awa  | awa  | baka  | na   | -kosa  | -hibona | awa  |
|      | other+M | tree | other+M | tree | tree | break | AUX  | middle | INT+M   | tree |
|      | adj     | nf   | adj     | nf   | nf   | vt    | aux  |        |         | nf   |
| 1 •1 | •       |      |         |      |      |       |      |        |         |      |

| hikas | awari |           | yome   | mera  | mono        |    |
|-------|-------|-----------|--------|-------|-------------|----|
| hi-   | ka-   | sawari+M  | yomee  | mera  | mono        |    |
| OC    | COMIT | frustrate | jaguar | 3PL.O | struggle wi | th |
| vt.   |       |           | nm     | pron  | vt.         |    |

natimatamonaamake, enena nahatI.NOM -mata -mona ama -keeheneAUX daytimeFP.N+M REP+M be DECL+Fvictim of+M pn

kayawari

ka- yawa -haari COMIT be upset IP.E+M

vt

'The other one tried to break off a sapling, but couldn't. The jaguar attacked them continuously, because it was protecting its kill.'

#### 30 Abarematamonaka

ahaba -ra -himata -mona -ka die NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vi

'It did not die.'

#### 31 Me hekanakosematamonane

me hi- ka- kana -kosa -himata -mona -ne 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M pron vt

'They left it behind.'

```
ya
32 Tokifiwahawiti
                                      nowati
                                                    me
               -fI
                     -waha -witI+M nowati
  to- ka
                                                    me
                                              ya
                                     behind ADJU 3PL.S
  away go/come water change out
                                              prt
                                                    pron
                                      , tokifiwawiti
kakamemetemonehe
ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -he
                                        to- ka
                                                      -fI
                                                            -waha -witI+M
COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DUP
                                        away go/come water change out
vi
                                         vi
nowati
       ya
       ya
nowati
behind ADJU
pn
       prt
'When it went to the water, they came back.'
```

| 33  | Me    | kakama        |       | , | amaan | nama      |     | , | yome   | bisi    |
|-----|-------|---------------|-------|---|-------|-----------|-----|---|--------|---------|
|     | me    | ka- ka        | -ma+F | , | ama-  | ama       | -ma |   | yomee  | bisi    |
|     | 3PL.S | COMIT go/come | back  |   | DUP   | be bloody | DUP |   | jaguar | scratch |
|     | pron  | vi            |       |   | vi    |           |     |   | nm     | vt      |
| hin | e     | karo          |       |   |       |           |     |   |        |         |

hine karo
hi- na.NOM+M karo
OC AUX because
aux prt

'They came back. He was all bloody, because the jaguar had clawed him.'

| 34                | Faya | me    | kakame | kakamemetemoneke |      |         |       |        |      |  |  |  |  |
|-------------------|------|-------|--------|------------------|------|---------|-------|--------|------|--|--|--|--|
|                   | faya | me    | ka-    | ka               | -ma  | -hemete | -mone | -ke    | fahi |  |  |  |  |
|                   | so   | 3PL.S | COMIT  | go/come          | back | FP.N+F  | REP+F | DECL+F | then |  |  |  |  |
|                   | conj | pron  | vi     |                  |      |         |       |        | dem  |  |  |  |  |
| 'They came back.' |      |       |        |                  |      |         |       |        |      |  |  |  |  |

| 35 | Hom            |             | yama  | owa   | katomini |       |
|----|----------------|-------------|-------|-------|----------|-------|
|    | hom            |             | yama  | owa   | katoma   | -ni   |
|    | (expression of | discomfort) | thing | 1SG.0 | damage   | BKG+F |
|    | interj         |             | nf    | pron  | vt       |       |

"Hom, the jaguar hurt me."

| 36 | Yama  | owa   | katoma   | ihi         | te    | awa | haro       |
|----|-------|-------|----------|-------------|-------|-----|------------|
|    | yama  | owa   | katoma+F | ihi         | tee   | awa | haaro      |
|    | thing | 1SG.0 | damage   | result of+F | 2PL.S | see | that one+F |
|    | nf    | pron  | vt       | pn          | pron  | vt  | dem        |

"Look at the wounds where the jaguar hurt me."

| 37        | Yama  |     | ihi         |         |     | weye  |       | nani |        | owa   |      | katoma |          |
|-----------|-------|-----|-------------|---------|-----|-------|-------|------|--------|-------|------|--------|----------|
|           | yama  |     | ihi         |         |     | weye  |       | na   | -hani  | -hani |      |        | katoma+F |
|           | thing |     | victim of+F |         | -F  | carry |       | AUX  | IP.N+F |       | 1SG. | 0      | attack   |
|           | nf    |     | pr          | L       |     | vt    | _     | aux  |        |       | pron |        | vt       |
| owakamine |       |     |             |         |     |       |       |      | oni    |       |      |        |          |
| 0-        |       | ka- |             | ka      | -ma | a     | -ne   |      | 0-     | ni    |      |        |          |
| 1s        | G.S   | COM | ΙΤ          | go/come | bac | ck    | CONT- | ŀF   | 1SG.S  | BK    | G+F  |        |          |
| vi        |       |     |             |         |     |       |       |      | prt    |       |      |        |          |
|           |       |     |             |         |     |       |       |      |        |       |      |        |          |

"The jaguar attacked me because of its kill that it had covered up, and I have come back wounded."

to- na -rI.NOM

be piled up CH AUX raised surface

ahi

ahi

dem

there

tori

aux

38 I

ihi

victim of+F

ta

vi

"The animals it killed are there in a pile."

taa

39 Yama otara bisi ma kane ทก ota owa ama vama otara bisi na+F otaa owa maa kana+M ama thing stop 1EX.O scratch AUX 1EX 1SG.O COMIT AUX SEC pron pron pron nf aux vi aux sec v/t fari wanahari obatasi faari  $\circ$ batasi wana -haari 1SG.POSS middle of back be attached IP.E+M that one+M pn 77 i "The jaguar was clawing us. He braced me, leaning against my back." 40 *Faya* yana tonemetemoneke fahi faya me yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke fahi so 3PL.S start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then pron vi aux dem 'They were ready.' 41 *Yome* bisi yome tiwa ahabena te neno na -hino ahaba -hina vomee tiwa bisi vomee tee awa -ra+M AUX IP.N+M jaquar 2SG.O scratch jaguar die IRR+M 2PL.S see NEG pron vt aux nm vi pron awaka -ka awa seem+M DECL+M "The jaguar should have died, instead it clawed you." 42 *Te* hasi nihino ehene tikihine ti niha- na -hino tee hasi ehene tikiha -ne ti-CAUS AUX IP.N+M 2PL.S 2SG.S have CONT+F result of+M 2SG.S escape pron πi aux vt prt "Because you didn't kill it, you are all clawed." 43 *Yome* ki ene me nemetemone vome ehene kii na -hemete -mone me yomee jaguar result of+M 3PL.S look at AUX FP.N+F REP+F jaquar hand nm pn pron vt aux nm pn ehene ataro ataro ehene claw+M result of+M 'They looked at the wounds of the jaguar, the marks of its claws.' hinakebona me hinakare me hi- to- na- ka -hibona hi- na- ka me me -ra+M OC CAUS go/come NEG+M 3PL.S OC away CAUS go/come INT+M 3PL.S 3PL.S pron vt pron vt pron hinakebona me hi- to- naka -hibona me OC away CAUS go/come INT+M 3PL.S vt pron

me

dem

sa

(man's name)

hinakarematamonaka

hi- to- na- ka -ra -himata -mona -ka ' me saa

OC away CAUS go/come NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.S shoot with arrow vt pron

hikanebonaha

hi- ka- na -hibona -ha OC COMIT AUX INT+M DUP

aux

'They didn't go after it, to shoot it with arrows.'

ahi 45 Fafawa toematamonaka fa- fawa to- ha -himata -mona -ka ahi DUP disappear CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then

'It disappeared.'

vi

onewawasinawinawahaonewa- wasina- wina -waha+F 46 *Me* Fa Ki Ra me Faa Kii Ra

3PL other+F DUP get caught CAUS hang change

pron adj nf vt

aux

npropm Fa Ki Ra wawasi nawinawaha wa- wasi na- wina -waha.LIST

Faa Kii Ra (man's name) DUP get caught CAUS hang change

nf npropm

'Other people set traps for fish. Fa Ki Ra set traps for fish, too.'