Part I - Personal Experience Narratives:

KAMABIRA

Free Translation

They went downstream. They built a house, and then went hunting. As they were hunting, they saw some woolly monkeys, and shot at them with blowguns. No monkeys died.

He only took home one little monkey. He burned the hair off the monkey back in the village, in the fire his mother lit. After he burned the hair off the monkey, he cut up the monkey, and roasted the monkey on the fire. He toasted some manioc mash, and took the monkey off the fire. Then he ate the monkey, not noticing it still had blood in it.

"Are you eating bloody meat?" his mother said.

"The meat doesn't have blood in it. The meat isn't bloody. I'm really hungry," he said. "I'm really hungry, that's why I'm eating the monkey."

He got up. He drank some water. He took some snuff, and then went out to defecate. He went out, and then came back. The house was in the middle of a large clearing. The village plaza was very big. As they were living in the middle of a clearing, he got a fever.

"My thighs are really hurting a lot," he said. "My head is hurting a lot." He had been hurt by a monster, at Oto Wari.

It was dark. They slept. As they slept, he woke up talking because of his fever. "Yasi, yasi tebere," he was whistling, like a bird.

"That's Kamabira whistling, he was hurt by a monster," his uncle said.

"I wasn't hurt by a monster. I'm fine," he said.

They stayed with him. His fever got worse. They sucked on him to make him well. After several tried, they stopped trying.

Then they moved to another place [because they were afraid of the spirits]. "You and the others go on ahead," Nami Abono [his mother] said.

"I want to find out what hurt him," my grandfather said.

"No, you go on ahead," said Nami Abono. "Don't wait for me."

"All right," he said in anger. "You come on later. I'm leaving." So my grandfather took down his hammock, and moved out. They left.

Ye Yome [another name of Kamabira] was sick, and Bato Wene and his companion went with him after the others. They were taking him on their backs, and halfway they put him on the ground.

"Wait a little for us. We are going to defecate," the two of them said.

The two of them went off and defecated, and then came back. As they came back, they heard a bird.

"Yasi, yasi tebere," he was whistling.

He was crawling on all fours all around in the forest. He was going in circles.

"We are taking you and you are not behaving," they said.

"I'm not sick, you are just making it up," he said.

"Come on, let's go. I'm going to lift you onto my back again," he said.

He lifted him onto his back. They went on. They heard someone hitting on his back. The

spirit was hitting on his back. He fell off his back to the ground.

"Ye Yome has died. Ye Yome has died and his mother went on ahead. Where will his grave be? His grave will be right here beside the trail," they said.

The monster took away his soul. The monster killed him.

They got the others, and buried him. They dug the hole for him and buried him. Then they came back this way. They came and arrived at Siro Wari. Now it is Maka Wari. My grandfather came before the others to Siro Wari. They came and lived over here. They came upstream in the dry season.

Interlinear Presentation

| 1 | Me | tokom | emetemonek | ke | bato | ya | | | |
|---|-------|-------|------------|------|---------|-------|--------|------------|------|
| | me | to- | ka | -ma | -hemete | -mone | -ke | bato | ya |
| | 3PL.S | away | go/come | back | FP.N+F | REP+F | DECL+F | downstream | ADJU |
| | pron | vi | | | | | | nf | prt |

'They went downstream.'

| 2 | Yobe | me | hiri | na | , | yobe | me | hiri | na | , | yama | me |
|-----|-------|-----------|------|------|---|-------|-------|------|------|---|-------|-------|
| | yobe | me | hiri | na+F | | yobe | me | hiri | na+F | , | yama | me |
| | house | 3PL.S | make | AUX | | house | 3PL.S | make | AUX | | thing | 3PL.S |
| | nm | pron | vt | aux | | nm | pron | vt | aux | | nf | pron |
| yet | e nem | etemoneke | ? | | | _ | | | | | | |

yete na -hemete -mone -ke
hunt AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vt. aux

'They built a house. They built a house, and then went hunting.'

| 3 | Yama | me | yete | na | wafa | me | me | kobo |
|-----------|----------|----------------------|-----------------|---------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| | yama | me | yete | na+F | wafa | me | me | kobo |
| | thing | 3PL.S | hunt | AUX | woolly monkey | 3PL.O | 3PL.S | meet |
| | nf | pron | vt | aux | nm | pron | pron | vt |
| | | | | | | | | |
| ne | metemone | ke | | , | wafa | mera | fora | |
| ne. na | | ke te -mon | ie -ke | , | wafa wafa | <i>mera</i> mera | <i>fora</i> fora | |
| na | | te -mon | e -ke F DECL | , +F | | mera | fora | with blowgun |

nebanoho

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na -hiba -no -ho
AUX FUT+M IP.N+M DUP
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'As they were hunting, they saw some woolly monkeys, and shot at them with blowguns.'

| 4 | Wafa | me | abaremetemoneke | | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|-------|-----------------|-----|---------|-------|--------|--|--|--|
| | wafa | me | ahaba | -ra | -hemete | -mone | -ke | | | |
| | woolly monkey | 3PL.S | die | NEG | FP.N+F | REP+F | DECL+F | | | |
| | nm | pron | vi | | | | | | | |
| 'No | o monkeys died.' | | | | | | | | | |

| 5 | Wafa | biti | oharimat | rimatamonaka | | | | | |
|---|---------------|---------|----------|--------------|-------|--------|--|--|--|
| | wafa | biti | ohari | -himata | -mona | -ka | | | |
| | woolly monkey | young+M | be one | FP.N+M | REP+M | DECL+M | | | |
| | nm | adj | vi | | | | | | |

⁵ Siro Wari and Maka Wari were in the area of the Faha Biri stream, where the Jarawaras live today, whereas Oto Wari was further downstream on the Cainã River.

hekamahari

hi- ka- ka -ma -haari OC COMIT go/come back IP.E+M

'He only took home one little monkey.'

Mati yifo afo hikana ya wafa yifo ya mati afo hi- kana+F wafa 3SG.POSS.mother fire light OC COMIT AUX ADJU woolly monkey nf aux prt nf v/t

tokamematamonaka

toka -ma -himata -mona -ka partially burn back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vt

'He burned the hair off the monkey back in the village, in the fire his mother lit.'

Wafa tokame wafa bobi wafa toka -ma+Mwafa bobi na+M woolly monkey partially burn back woolly monkey slit AUX vt wafa yokematamonane yifo ya -himata -mona -ne wafa yoka yifo ya roast on coals FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M fire ADJU woolly monkey nf prt

'He burned the hair off the monkey, then cut up the monkey, and roasted the monkey on the fire.'

wafa Faya iyawa sire yamama sira+M iyawa wafa yama faya -ma so woolly monkey remove from fire DUP toast manioc mash 77 t conj 77+ nm

nimatamonane

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

'He toasted some manioc mash, and took the monkey off the fire.'

Wafa yamama wafa ni wafa yama -ma niha+Mna wafa woolly monkey remove from fire DUP CAUS AUX woolly monkey aux

kabawematamonakawafaamehinohokaba -waha -himata -mona -kawafaama -hino -hoeat change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M woolly monkeybe bloody IP.N+M DUPvtnmvi

'He took the monkey off the fire. Then he ate the monkey, not noticing it still had blood in it.'

10 **Bani** tikabine mati ame tini ati ama+Mtikaba -ne mati ati bani tini 2SG.S eat CONT+F 3SG.POSS.mother be bloody 2SG.S BKG+F animal say vt. prt nf vt.

nemetemoneni

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

"Are you eating bloody meat?" his mother said.'

11 **Bani** amakara bani ama -ka -ra+M animal be bloody DECL+M NEG vi "The meat doesn't have blood in it." siba 12 *Bani* kara siba karu siba na ka -ra bani animal be all right AUX go/come NEG+M nm vi prt "The meat isn't bloody." 13 Ofimimakoni oke ati ama oke ati
ama o- ke ati ama o- fimi -makoni 1SG.S be hungry for this reason+F SEC 1SG.S DECL+F say vi sec prt vt nematamonaka na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M "I'm really hungry," he said.' Ofimimakoni , wafa okobine o- fimi -makoni wafa o- kaba -ne 14 Ofimimakoni 1SG.S be hungry for this reason+F woolly monkey 1SG.S eat CONT+F nm vt 0 0-1SG.S prt "I'm really hungry, that's why I'm eating the monkey." 15 Faya yana nematamonaka faya yana na -himata -mona -ka so get up AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M conj vi aux 'He got up.' fawematamonane fawa -himata -mona -ne water drink FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M 'He drank some water.' , sina hisi nematamonaka
hisi na -himata 17 **Sina** sina hisi na -himata -mona -ka snuff sniff AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M sina snuff nf vt aux 'He took some snuff.' 18 **Sina** hisi ne tokawematamonaha

sina hisi na+M to- ka -waha -himata -mona -ha snuff sniff AUX away go/come change FP.N+M REP+M DUP

νi

nf vt aux

mii

defecate

nebonaha

na -hibona -ha AUX INT+M DUP

aux

'He took some snuff, and then went out to defecate.'

19 Toke kamematamonaha

to- ka+M ka -ma -himata -mona -ha away go/come go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DUP vi vi

'He went out, and then came back.'

20 Me winakosemetemoneke

me wina -kosa -hemete -mone -ke 3PL.S live middle FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron vi

'The house was in the middle of a large clearing.'

21 Tabora tabora nafimetemoneni

tabora tabora nafi -hemete -mone -ni village village be big FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F nf vi

'The village plaza was very big.'

22. Me. ni winakosa me hiwa ya yana wina -kosa+F hiwa me me ni ya yana 3PL.S live middle 3PL to ADJU 3SG.REFL.M start pron vi pron prt prt pron

kanematamonaka

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

'As they were living in the middle of a clearing, he got a fever.'

fotake 23 Ofanoko kome ati nematamonaka fanako kome fota -ke ati na -himata -mona -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M pain+F be big DECL+F 1SG.POSS thigh say pn vi vt aux

"My thighs are really hurting a lot," he said."

24 Otati kome nafini ati nematamonane tati kome nafi -ni ati na -himata -mona -ne 1SG.POSS head pain+F AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M be big BKG+F say pn vi vt aux Oto Wari tonenoho no ya noho to- na -hino -ho Oto Wari ya

noho to- na -hino -ho Oto Wari ya be hurt CH AUX IP.N+M DUP (village name) ADJU vi aux npropm prt

"My head is hurting a lot," he said. He had been hurt by a monster, at Oto Wari.'

25 Oto Wari toneno *ya* no yama Oto Wari noho to- na -hino yama ya be hurt CH AUX IP.N+M (village name) ADJU thing npropm prt vi aux

sokimetemoneamakesoki.NOM -mete -moneama -kebe darkFP.N+F REP+FbeDECL+Fvivc

'He had gotten hurt in Oto Wari. It was dark.'

26 *Fava* me amo nemetemoneke fahi fahi faya me amo na -hemete -mone -ke sleep so 3PL.S AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then pron conj vi aux 'They slept.'

27 *Me* ati amo na me amo na me ni ya na+F amo me amo na+F me ni ya ati 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL to ADJU voice pron vi aux pron νi aux pron prt prt pn

tafimatamonane

tafi -himata -mona -ne wake up FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M

'As they slept, he woke up talking because of his fever.'

yasi tebere 28 *Yasi* bono ati nematamonaka vasi tebere ati na -himata -mona -ka vasi bono AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M beak+M say pn vt aux

"Yasi, yasi tebere," he was whistling, like a bird."

29 *Yasi* ati yasi tebere bono nematamonane na -himata -mona -ne yasi tebere bono ati yasi AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M beak+M say vt pn aux

"Yasi, yasi tebere," he was whistling, like a bird."

30 Kamabira no toneno bono ati saika Kamabira noho to- na -hino bono ati sai CH AUX IP.N+M (man's name) be hurt beak+M voice be heard DECL+M vi aux pn pn vi hari ee batise ati nematamonaha na -himata -mona -ha haari ee batise ati

that one+M (pause) 3SG.POSS.uncle say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP dem interj nm vt aux

"That's Kamabira whistling, he was hurt by a monster," his uncle said."

31 Noho okare
noho o- to- na -ka -re
be hurt 1SG.S away AUX DECL+M NEG+F
vi prt

"I wasn't hurt by a monster."

32 Otamina oke ati nematamonaha \circ tamina 0ke ati na -himata -mona -ha 1SG.S DECL+F AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP 1SG.S be good say vi prt vt aux "I'm fine," he said.'

| 33 <i>Faya</i> faya so conj | me me 3PL.S pron | hikawi hi- k OC C vt | κa- | wina+M lie in h | ammock | , | <pre>kiya kiya have a fever vi</pre> | <pre>ni na.NFIN AUX aux</pre> |
|--|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------|--------------------|------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| nafiwemata nafi - be big c vi | waha - hange F | P.N+M | REP+ | -M DECL+M | <i>fahi</i> fahi then dem | | | |
| 'They staye | d with hin | n. His fe | ever got | worse.' | | | | |

| 34 | Me | toma | hine | | toma | ni | me | fawa |
|----|-------|------|------|------|------|---------|-------|------|
| | me | toma | hi- | na+M | toma | na.NFIN | me | fawa |
| | 3PL.S | suck | OC | AUX | suck | AUX | 3PL.S | stop |
| | pron | vt | aux | | vt | aux | pron | vi |

hinematamonaka

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

'They sucked on him to make him well. After several tried, they stopped trying.'

| 35 | Faya | , | faya | me | banemetemoneke | | | | | |
|----|------|---|------|-------|----------------|---------|-------|--------|------|--|
| | faya | | faya | me | bana | -hemete | -mone | -ke | fahi | |
| | SO | | so | 3PL.S | move away | FP.N+F | REP+F | DECL+F | then | |
| | conj | | conj | pron | vi | | | | dem | |

'Then they moved to another place.'

| 36 <i>Ee</i> | • | Nami Abono | • | Nami Abono | • | Te | tai |
|--------------|---|----------------|---|----------------|---|-------|----------|
| ee | | Nami Abono | | Nami Abono | | tee | tai |
| (pause) | | (woman's name) | | (woman's name) | | 2PL.S | be ahead |
| interj | | npropf | | npropf | | pron | vi |

toama

to- ha -ma CH AUX back

"'You and the others go on ahead," Nami Abono said.'

| 37 | Yama | aawa | ! | obe | | | , | okiti | | | ati |
|----|-------|------|-----|-------|-----|---------|---|----------|------|-------------|-----|
| | yama | a- | awa | 0- | na | -be | | 0- | ka | iti | ati |
| | thing | DUP | see | 1SG.S | AUX | IMMED+F | | 1SG.POSS | POSS | grandfather | say |
| | nf | vt | | aux | | | | nm | | | vt |

nematamonaha

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

"I want to find out what hurt him," my grandfather said."

| 38 Nami Abono | Te | tai | toam | ahi | | | ha | ha | te |
|----------------|-------|----------|------|-----|------|-------|-----|-----|------|
| Nami Abono | tee | tai | to- | ha | -ma | -hi | haa | haa | tee |
| (woman's name) | 2PL.S | be ahead | СН | AUX | back | IMP+F | DEM | DEM | 2PL |
| npropf | pron | vi | aux | | | | dem | dem | pron |

ta

taa

contrast

"No, you go on ahead," said Nami Abono.'

| fana ati na | wait for COMIT vt aux netemoneke -hemete -mone -l K FP.N+F REP+F DE | | na -hi AUX IMP+F | Nami Abono Nami Abono (woman's name) npropf |
|--|--|--|-----------------------------|--|
| 40 <i>Haa</i> , haa all right interj "All right," he said in | ee , te tee yes 2PL.S interj pron anger. "You come on late | follow DIST.IM vi | · P+F | |
| 41 Okomibone o- to- ka 1SG.S away go vi nematamonaha na -himata -mon AUX FP.N+M REP+ aux ""I'm leaving," my gran | /come back I . a -ha M DUP | | ka iti PSS POSS gran | ati ati ndfather say vt |
| conj nm banematamonaka bana -himat move away FP.N+M vi | ka iti S POSS grandfathe a -mona -ka REP+M DECL+M ok down his hammock, | er hammock CON nm vt | ise - tisa+M MIT undo | , |
| me to- k | etemonehe a -ma -heme o/come back FP.N+ | ete -mone -he +F REP+F DUP | | |
| pron vt | name) be sick vi amonaka | (man's na npropm -mona -ka REP+M DECL+M | vi | (man's name) npropm |
| 45 Me hikayoto me hi- ka 3PL.S OC CO pron vt | - yoto+M me MIT follow 3P | hi- ka- | ka -ma go/come fol | , <i>hawi</i> kI+M hawi lowing trail nf |

enoki me hiwatarisematamonaha va hi- wata -risa -himata -mona -ha eenoki va me OC exist down FP.N+M REP+M DUP middle ADJU 3PL.S prt pron vt 'They were taking him on their backs, and halfway they put him on the ground.'

46 Otara nonoki timata
otara no- noki ti- na -mata
1EX.O DUP eye+F 2SG.S AUX short time
pron vt aux

"Wait a little for us."

47 *Ota* mi kamatibe ati me mii ka- na -mata ati otaa -he me 1EX.S defecate COMIT AUX short time IMMED+F 3PL.S say pron vi aux pron

nemetemoneke

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

"We are going to defecate," the two of them said."

48 *Fava* me towaka mi kanani me to- kaka+F kafaya me me mii na -hani away COMIT go/come COMIT AUX IP.N+F 3PL.S 3PL.S defecate so pron vi pron vi aux

me kakamemetemonehe

me ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -he 3PL.S COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DUP pron vi

'The two of them went off and defecated, and then came back.'

49 *Me* kakama me ati ka- ka me -ma+F me bono ati COMIT go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S beak+M voice pron νi pron

saimatamonaka

sai -himata -mona -ka
be heard FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi

'As they came back, they heard a bird.'

50 Yasi , yasi tebere ati nematamonaka yasi tebere ati na -himata -mona -ka say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vt aux

"Yasi, yasi tebere," he was whistling."

51 *Mano* ka yaka nawarematamona yama kabani va na -waharI -himata -mona mano ka ya yaka yama kabani ya AUX all over FP.N+M REP+M LOC ADJU walk forest ADJU arm+M vi pn prt prt aux nf prt

ahi ahi

then

'He was crawling on all fours all around in the forest.'

52 Momoto nawa nematamonaka
mo- moto na -waha na -himata -mona -ka
DUP loop AUX change AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi aux aux

'He was going in circles.'

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towakamakiabone
53 Tiwa ota
                                                 tiwehene
        otaa to- ka- ka -makI -habone ti- ehene
  tiwa
  2SG.O 1EX.S away COMIT go/come following INT+F 2SG.POSS deed
  pron pron vt
be bad NEG CONT+F DECL+F
                        3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
                         pron vt
                                    aux
"We are taking you and you are not behaving," they said."
54 Orabika
               okare
  o- rabika o- ka -re
  1SG.S be crazy 1SG.S DECL NEG+F
                prt
"I'm not sick."
55 Orabikara
  Orabikaraokorabikio-rabika-ra+Fo-karabik
                                   rabika.NFIN tee
  1SG.S be crazy NEG 1SG.POSS POSS be crazy
                    prt
                                   vi
                                               pron
                  ati nematamonaha
tonihine
                  ati na -himata -mona -ha
to- niha- ha -ne
CH CAUS be CONT+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
                  vt
                       aux
"I'm not sick, you are just making it up," he said."
                 tokomakibe
56 Hima
          e
          ee
                          -makI -be
                 to- ka
  let's go 1IN.S away go/come following IMMED+F
  interj pron
                 vi
"Come on, let's go."
        tiwa
tiwa
57 Tiwa
              weye omisamibe
                                                  ati
              weye o- na -misa -ma -be
                                                  ati
  2SG.O 2SG.O carry 1SG.S AUX up back IMMED+F
                                                  say
  pron
        pron vt
                     aux
nematamonaka
na -himata -mona -ka
AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
"I'm going to lift you onto my back again," he said."
              himisame
58 Fava
        weve
                                   me
                                         tokomake
  faya weye hi- na -misa -ma+M
                                   me to- ka -makI
       carry OC AUX up back
                                   3PL.S away go/come following
  conj vt
              vt
                                          77 i
          tonematamonaka
moni yana
                                          bari
     yana to- na -himata -mona -ka
                                          bari
sound start away AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                          back
    vi
            aux
                                           pn
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'He lifted him onto his back. They went on. They heard someone hitting on his back.'

59 Bari inamati hinabowematamonane

bari inamati hi- na- aboha -himata -mona -ne
back spirit OC CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
pn nm vt

'The spirit was hitting on his back.'

60 *Faya* sonematamonaka fe bari va sona -himata -mona -ka fee bari faya ya so fall FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS back ADJU conj vi pron pn prt

'He fell off his back to the ground.'

61 Ye Yome ahabaka

Yee Yome ahaba -ka (man's name) die DECL+M npropm vi

"Ye Yome has died."

62 Ye Yome tokomake ahaba hibaka mati Yee Yome mati to- ka -makI ahaba+F hibaka (man's name) 3SG.POSS.mother away go/come following die where vi npropm nf interrog

temene iteba
temene ita -hiba
grave+M sit FUT+M
pn vi

"Ye Yome has died and his mother went on ahead. Where will his grave be?"

itebanaka ahi 63 Temene hawi beri ya me ati ita -hibana -ka ahi hawi beheri ati temene ya me grave+M sit FUT+M DECL+M 3PL.S here trail side ADJU say nf πi dem pn prt pron vt

nemetemoneke

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

aux

"His grave will be right here beside the trail," they said.'

64 Maka hitimakematamonaka

maka hi- iti -makI -himata -mona -ka monster OC take out following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M nm vt

'The monster took away his soul.'

65 Maka hinabowematamonane

maka hi- na- aboha -himata -mona -ne monster OC CAUS die FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M nm vt

'The monster killed him.'

| 66 | Faya n | me , | faya | me | me | hinakamakia | | | | | me |
|----|--------|------|------|-------|-------|-------------|------|------|---------|-----------|-------|
| | faya | me | faya | me | me | hi- | to- | na- | ka | -makI+F | me |
| | so | 3PL | so | 3PL.O | 3PL.S | OC | away | CAUS | go/come | following | 3PL.S |
| | conj | pron | conj | pron | pron | vt | | | | | pron |

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hikamomatamonaka
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hi- kamo -himata -mona -ka OC bury FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vt

'They got the others, and buried him.'

67 Hotonebona me wi hine hikamomatamonaha me hi- na+M hotone -bona hi- kamo -himata -mona -ha me wii me bury FP.N+M REP+M DUP hole+M INT+M 3PL.S diq OC AUX 3PL.S OC pron vt aux vt pron

'They dug the hole for him and buried him.'

68 *Faya* kamimetemone amake ahi me -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone faya me kа ama -ke ahi 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F here dem conj pron 77 i sec

'Then they came back this way.'

69 *Me* kama kobo namimetemone me -ma+Fkobo na -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone me 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S arrive AUX back FP.N+F REP+F vi pron vi aux Siro Wari amake ya Siro Wari va

ama -ke Siro Wari ya be DECL+F (village name) ADJU vc npropm prt

'They came and arrived at Siro Wari.'

70 Maka Wari toineke ahi
Maka Wari to- ha -ne -ke ahi
(village name) CH be CONT+F DECL+F there
npropf vc dem

'Now it is Maka Wari.'

71 *Okiti* ta kamematamona ama ka iti taa ka -ma -himata -mona ama go/come back FP.N+M REP+M 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather contrast SEC prt νi sec

ahi Siro Wari ka tabora ya ahi Siro Wari ka tabora ya there (village name) POSS village ADJU npropm prt nf

'My grandfather came before the others to Siro Wari.'

72 Faya me winamawahemetemoneke fahi
faya me wina -ma -waha -hemete -mone -ke fahi
so 3PL.S live back change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F there
conj pron vi dem

'They came and lived over here.'

73 Yama hiwe ya me kamemetemoneni
yama hiwe ya me ka -ma -hemete -mone -ni
dry season ADJU 3PL.S go/come back FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
nf pro vi

'They came upstream in the dry season.'