#### Free Translation

We live in the place where Maiko killed forest monsters. This is the place where Aifa used to put *kona* poison in the water, a long time ago. His *kona* plants are here. He sang songs about the *kona*. They beat the *kona* roots. His wife burned him. <sup>55</sup> He sang songs about the *kona*. When he came back, his wife attacked him. His wife burned him.

"Are they going to eat?"

"They are going to eat," he said, singing the *kona* song. He sang the *kona* song. He was Aifa.

"E Onira, E Onira," he said, singing the *kona* song. "E Onira, E Onira, E Onira. The stingray drags its stinger on the fish wier. E Onira, E Onira. The sting-ray drags its stinger. E Onira, E Onira, E Onira, E Onira, E Onira. My younger sister doesn't know how to take the gall bladder out of the fish. The tamarin says, 'Wisibara, wisibara, wis

He had straps across his chest with brown capuchin teeth on them. They burned them, the ones who sang the *kona* song. It was Kakisira. All the women burned them.

The *kona* song was very good. The song isn't sung anymore. Nowadays we put the *kona* poison in the water without singing.

Long ago we were singing the *kona* song. Rasia said they cut down a tree, and we laughed at what he said. <sup>56</sup> They were roasted fish, they roasted the fish on racks. The fish traps were weaved. They put the fish wier in place over the entrance to the fish trap. They shot the fish with arrows as they came. The fish went into the trap. They took the trap out of the water with the fish that had gone into the entrance, many fish. They dragged it up onto the bank.

Maiko pierced the forest monster. I never saw Maiko. Maiko went out fishing. He went into the forest. His sons came after him. He was alone. That's wrong. Maiko was not many. He was just with his wife. The animal that the monster had killed was lying on the ground, but they didn't see it.

"Maiko, Maiko, I'm going to defecate," his wife said.

"Go ahead and defecate. I am still fishing."

She went. She went up the hill. A bird flew up, fetetete tetete.

"Maiko, look at the bird." She thought it was a bird.

The animal that the monster had killed was there on the ground, but she didn't see it. Then she saw it. She saw the deer. She went after him. She went after her husband.

"Maiko, there is an animal lying there on the ground," she said.

"What animal is it?" he said.

"It's a deer. The deer is lying there on the ground."

"It is dead?"

"It is dead." she said. "Something must have bitten it," she said.

"You shouldn't be afraid to eat it. We will eat it," he said. "Where is it lying? Show it," he

<sup>55</sup> This refers to one of the components of a traditional festa, i.e. the women run after the men and inflict burns on them with brands.

<sup>56</sup> As Rasia was singing, some others cut a log and the sound scared him.

said.

"Let's go take a look at it," she said.

So she took him. She took her husband there.

"The animal is lying there," she said.

"Look, the animal is lying there," he said.

"Maiko, Maiko, it was the bird that flew away that killed it," she said.

"I don't think it was the bird that killed it," he said.

"I think it did kill it. We will eat what it killed."

He found a vine to tie up the deer.<sup>57</sup> He pulled down the vine from the tree it was hanging from. He tied the deer up with the vine.

"Weave a basket for the fish. Let's go back."

His wife weaved a basket for the fish. He tied up the deer. He tied on the line to hold on the deer. He attached the line to hold the deer.

"Come on, you go on ahead," he said.

When he went to lift up the deer to his back, he couldn't. He stamped his feet on the ground, bao, bao, bao.

"Something is holding the deer," he said.

Finally it let go of the deer.

He went after his wife, who had gone, carrying the deer. His wife put the fish in the basket. He stood with the deer on his back, waiting as his wife put the fish in the basket.

"You go on ahead. Could a monster have killed it?" The deer didn't have any wound.

They went home. His wife gutted the fish. He burned the hair off the deer in the fire. He took care of the fire. He talked as he burned the hair off the deer. He cut up the deer. His wife cooked the fish. He cut up the deer, and made the rack for roasting the deer.

He also cooked part of the deer. He cooked its breast. His wife was cooking the fish.

"I'm going to take snuff."

His wife ate. They ate, eating fish. They ate fish.

Before they slept, he took snuff. Before they slept, they took snuff.

"Listen. I roasted the animal it killed, the animal it killed is on the rack."

Just as they stopped talking, it started crying. "One, one, one."

"Oh, Boriri [the name of their daughter], is that my grandson crying? The child's father didn't put the child to sleep, and he is crying," he said.

"Maiko, it's the voice of the monster whose animal we brought, that it killed," his wife said.
"Yes, that is its voice."

It came crying. It came right toward them. He got out of his hammock, and took a look. A light was coming.

"That's it," he said. "The monster whose animal I brought, which it had killed, is coming." It didn't go away. It was waiting for Maiko. He was with his wife. His wife was behind him.

It came and stood right where the animal it had killed and he had roasted was on the rack, near the door. It came and stood there.

"The cooked meat is there. I didn't eat the animal. It was not eaten. I ate fish. Eat it. I brought your animal back, but I didn't know it was yours. Go ahead and eat it."

He gave food to it as it stood there. He gave it broth to drink. He had roasted it. He gave food to it as it stood there. It ate the deer meat, the deer's ribs. He gave it broth to drink. It gave

<sup>57</sup> Whereas Yowao has used masculine agreement for the deer up to this point (the gender of the species is masculine), in this sentence and in most of the rest of the story he uses feminine agreement, indicating that the deer was a female.

meat to its mate that was standing there, for its mate to eat.

It didn't eat. It didn't leave. It stood there.

He became impatient. "I'm going to sleep. You go away. I have given you food. The meat was not eaten. It is there on the rack."

Then he gave all the meat, because it hadn't left. Its mate became sick, and it went off sick and could be heard falling over. The monster was left standing there alone. It couldn't go away.

"Aw, it won't go away. It is staying with us. I will take you to the familiar spirits."

He put his wife on his back, and took her away.

"I'm going to go take care of the monster standing in the plaza. Don't give any food to my wife. My wife has eaten. My wife ate fish. I'm going to go take care of the monster that is staying with me."

He called the familiar spirits to go with him, but he didn't use them.

When he got back, he looked at the monster. It was still standing in the same place. He planned against it. He didn't use the spirits. He didn't use his familiar spirits. He was with the familiar spirits. He sent them back.

He sucked the shaman's stone that would kill it. He rubbed the stone on a piece of firewood in the fire.

"You go on ahead home. Don't get in my way." He didn't ask his familiar spirits to help him.

Then he threw the piece of burnt firewood at it, and he hit it. He threw it from inside the house. It went tiihii. Tooo, there was the sound of fruits falling in water because of it, but there was no water.

Maiko disappeared. The monster didn't kill Maiko. Maiko was a good person to train one to be a shaman. He used to kill monsters.

"There, I hit it."

From inside the house he called the familiar spirits. "Here, help me," he said. He called for the female spirit of the *tokowisa* tree, his dead female *tokowisa* spirit, for it to come down to the ground. The female *tokowisa* spirit came down to the ground.

"Oh-oh, he messed with the monster."

"Help me."

Kisofa, it spit. It soiled itself. Barorere, it fell over.

"Aw, I called it so it would help me."

The female *tokowisa* spirit lay on the ground dead.

He called them from inside the house. "Here help me."

They spit around his house.

When the smell of the monster was almost gone, he went and got his wife. "I will go get my wife," who he had taken to the spirits. He went after his wife. "I'm going to get her." He went after her.

"Were you sleeping?"

"I'm not sleeping. We are standing here," she said.

"Come on, let's go home. I killed the monster. It died. They took it away."

Then he brought his wife back.

"Tie up your hammock again."

His wife did what he said and tied her hammock back up.

"The one who came after us has died."

Then he went to sleep with his wife. He slept with his wife, now that the monster had died.

<sup>&</sup>quot;You stay here. I'm going fishing."

He went again. He went, and shot fish with arrows. He came back carrying the fish. His wife cooked the fish. They ate.

He went again. He came upon the monster as it was hitting the water with a reed. It was hitting the water with a reed, the water that Maiko was going to hit with a reed. Koho, koho. The sound of the water could be heard.

"Oh no, is it hitting a reed on the water where I was going to fish?"

It was standing in a clear place, hitting the water with a reed.

"Hey, it's the sound of it. It will pay. I will spear it."

He took the string off his bow. He watched the monster as it was hitting the water with the reed. He was extraordinary. Maiko was really strong. He went [as a kingfisher], after taking snuff.

"Kere, kere." His voice could be heard as he came to where the monster was hitting the water with the reed. The monster was facing the other way. He slowed down and landed on a branch. It was hitting the water with the reed, turned the other way. He had rubbed his shaman's stone on the bow.

"Kere, kere," he said. He darted down. "Tiihii," he went. Maiko speared it as it stood in the water.

We are living in its place.

"Tooo," it went. "Koho, koho, koho, koho," it went, like the sound of fruits falling in water.

He came out of the water on the other side. "Kere, kere." He went away after spearing the monster. He came out on the other side.

He sat there again at the same trail as before. "There, I speared it."

He speared it. Then Maiko fished. He fished, after spearing the monster. He shot fish with bow and arrow.

He tied the ring of fish in the middle, after spearing the monster.

"There, I speared the one who was hitting my water with a reed." He went along talking. So he came back. "I speared the monster which was hitting the water with a reed," he said. "It went away. It died."

Maiko used to eat a lot.

His nephews called him. "Uncle, my son is going to sleep. We are going home."

"All right."

"Uncle, cover the collared peccary meat."

"All right."

He ate the peccary. He went there. He covered the place where the peccary meat had been. All that was left of his peccary was the head. He turned over the pot that the peccary meat had been in.

They had a feast for him. He ate everything without getting full, all by himself. He drank two pots of broth, and ate fish, too. Our stomachs can't stretch.

He went out into the forest. He ate *abami* fruits. He carried some *abami* fruits back for his wife.

"Maiko is really something. My uncle is really something. Let's have a feast for my uncle. We will see him."

They were planning against him. They cooked two kinds of food for him. They cooked two pots of broth for him. He drank the broth, and there was some left over. Then they called him. "Uncle, uncle."

"Huh?"

"Uncle, there is fish on the leaf, eat it."

"Okay, let it be there. I will take a look at it."

They offered fish to him as they had the feast for him. He ate it all. He ate all the fish.

"There are two pots of broth there."

The two pots of broth were sitting there empty. The bones of his fish were on the ground. He went and lay in his hammock with his stomach full. He had a big chest. They ate.

"You two go home, after giving me a feast. I'm going to have a feast for you, too." He was planning to have a feast for them.

"Uncle, we are going to go fishing," they said.

They went fishing. They went out to fish, and disappeared in the forest.

They appeared again, carrying fish. Their wives were lying in their hammocks, and they told them to get to work.

He cooked some taro all day long. His boiled taro was in a basket. There was taro in a pot, too. He did the same as them.

"They don't cook food for me. Why are they leaving me hungry when I am coming back?" The two of them were complaining, angry at their wives.

"Listen. Your uncle is planning against you, having a feast for you," she said, his wife. "Your uncle cooked food for you, and he is going to call you," she said.

Then he called them. They didn't want to eat any more taro. He had a feast for them. They ate taro.

"Eat all my food. That's what I did, when you had a feast for me, even though I am just one person, and you are two."

They couldn't eat all his taro. Soon after they started to eat the taro, they became full. They couldn't finish eating it. They couldn't eat it all.

"Uncle, we are full," they said.

"All right, put it away when you feel full. You will eat more later," he said.

They put the two pots of his taro up.

"And we thought he wouldn't pay us back, our uncle."

"You criticized me when you came back, saying I hadn't prepared food. I am in my hammock now," she said, his wife.

Maiko went out into the forest again. Then they moved to another place. They came to the edge of the flooded forest.

"Let's go downstream. Let's live there."

He was going to speak. He was behind the others. "Whew, you go on ahead. I'm going to catch some *siraba* fish with my hands, so I can go and roast the *siraba* fish."

The monster was in a hole. He left. "My hammock will be there on the ground." He went on top of a log. He jumped. He jumped again, right where the monster was in the hole.

The voice of the monster started up. "E e e e," said the monster.

He disappeared, he was a shaman. "Tabibibi," he said. He went away, leaving the monster behind. He was imitating a swallow.

He came down to the ground where they were standing, making a house. "Don't go back there. There is a monster in a hole. I have come here after the monster scared me."

# Interlinear Presentation

```
1 Maka
                     Maiko
             me
                                            wawaka
                                                        hihemetemone
                                                        hi- iha -hemete -mone
   maka
             me
                     Maiko
                                    me
                                            wa- waka
                                            DUP kill
                                                        OC
                                                           have FP.N+F
                                                                           REP+F
                     (man's name)
   monster
             3PL.O
                                    3PL.O
   nm
             pron
                     npropm
                                    pron
                                            vt
                                                        77 t
           tabori
me
                     ota
                             winawaineti
           tabori
                             wina -waha
                                          -ne
                                                  -tee.NOM
me
                     otaa
3PL.POSS
           place+F
                     1EX.S
                             live change CONT+F HAB
                     pron
                             vi
pron
           pn
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'We live in the place where Maiko killed forest monsters.'

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taboro
2 Kona
                             tohematamona
                                                               bote
                                                                      ama
              sasa
                                                                            na
                                                               bote
                             to- ha -himata -mona
                                                     taboro
   kona
              sa- saa
                                                                      ama
                                                                            na
                                                     place+M
   plant sp
              DUP release
                            CH be FP.N+M REP+M
                                                               old
                                                                      be
                                                                            AUX
                                                     pn
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              vt
                             VC.
                                                                      VC
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tohe
           Aifa
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to- ha+M
           Aifa
                              Aifa
                                             kona
                                                        sa- saa
CH AUX
           (man's name)
                              (man's name)
                                             plant sp
                                                        DUP release
aux
           npropm
                              npropm
                                             nm
                                                        vt
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                            toarematamonaha
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   nofa
              -raba
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AUX recently a bit
                      AUX
                            CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP
                      aux
                            aux
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'This is the place where Aifa used to put *kona* poison in the water, a long time ago.'

3	Hinaka	kona	watati
	hinaka	kona	wata -tee.NOM
	3SG.POSS	plant sp	grow HAB
	pron	nm	vi

'His kona plants are here.'

4	Kona	ı	tai		hiri	nawa	ihe	ebana				kona		me	baro
	kona	a	tal	ni	hiri	na	-	waha	-hi	bana		kona		me	baro
	plar	nt sp	SO	ng about	sing	AUX	C	hange	FUI	T+M		plan	t sp	3PL.S	beat
	nm		pn		vt	aux						nm		pron	vt
na		mati	,	fati		sari		hineb	anoh	0				kona	
na+	ŀF	mati		fati		sar	i	hi-	na	-hiba	-n	10	-ho	kona	
ΑUΣ	ζ	3PL.S		3SG.POSS	.wife	bur	n	OC	AUX	FUT+M	ΙP	N+M	DUP	plant	sp
aux	ζ	pron		nf		vt		aux						nm	
ene			tai		hiri	nari									
ehe	ene		ta	hi	hiri	na	-	haari							
vic	ctim	of+M	so	ng about	sing	AUX	I	P.E+M	I						
pn			pn		vt	aux									

'He sang songs about the *kona*. They beat the *kona* roots. His wife burned him. He sang songs about the *kona*.'

5	Kona	ta	ıi		hiri	ne	kame		fati
	kona	t	ahi		hiri	na+M	ka	-ma+M	fati
	plant	sp s	ong	about	sing	AUX	go/come	back	3SG.POSS.wife
	nm	р	n		vt	aux	vi		nf
aah	i		hin	ematam	onaha				
a-	ahi		hi.	- na	-himata	-mona	-ha		
DU	e mess	with	OC	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DUP		
vt			au	X					

'He sang songs about the kona. When he came back, his wife attacked him.'

6 Fati sari hinematamonakana ahi sari hi- na -himata -mona -ka fati -na ahi burn OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3SG.POSS.wife then nf aux dem 'His wife burned him.' 7 Fati sari hine Me tafaba me ama hi- na+M fati sari me tafa -haba me ama 3SG.POSS.wife burn OC AUX 3PL.S eat FUT+F 3PL.S SEC vt aux pron vi sec pron 'His wife burned him. "Are they going to eat?"" 8 *Me* tafahaba ati nematamonahane me amani ama -ni ati na -himata -mona -ha -ne me tafa -haba me 3PL.S SEC BKG+F AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M 3PL.S eat FUT+F say pron vi pron sec vt aux kona tahi hiri nari kona tahi hiri na -haari plant sp song about sing AUX IP.E+M vt aux pn "They are going to eat," he said, singing the kona song." Kona tahi hiri ne toematamona ino nana tahi hiri to- ha -himata -mona kona na+M na- na ino DUP AUX CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M plant sp song about sina AUX name+M vt aux aux aux pn pn Aifa mati amane ama -ne Aifa mati (man's name) 3PL he BKG+M pron npropm 'He sang the kona song. He was Aifa.' 10 Ee Onira E Onira ati nematamonaka kona Ee Onira Ee Onira na -himata -mona -ka ati kona AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M (name of song) (name of song) say plant sp npropf npropf vt aux tai hiri nari tahi hiri na -haari song about sing AUX IP.E+M vt aux "E Onira, E Onira," he said, singing the kona song." 11 *E Onira* E Onira E Onira Ee Onira Ee Onira Ee Onira (name of song) (name of song) (name of song) npropf npropf npropf "E Onira, E Onira, E Onira." 12 *Aba* bote katakana horo kanimonehe ka- na.NOM+F -mone -he aba bote katakana horo fish COMIT AUX REP+F DUP sting-ray stinger drag nf vt aux kanimonehe na.NOM+F -mone -he COMIT AUX REP+F DUP

"The sting-ray drags its stinger on the fish wier."

13 Ee Onira E Onira Ee Onira Ee Onira (name of song) (name of song) npropf npropf "E Onira, E Onira," 14 *Aba* bote katakana horo kanimonehe aba bote katakana horo ka- na.NOM+F -mone -he fish sting-ray stinger drag COMIT AUX REP+F DUP nf vt aux kanimonehe horo kanimonehe ka- na.NOM+F -mone -he ka- na.NOM+F -mone -he horo COMIT AUX REP+F DUP COMIT AUX REP+F DUP drag aux vt aux kanimonehe ka- na.NOM+F -mone -he COMIT AUX REP+F DUP "The sting-ray drags its stinger." 15 Ee Onira E Onira E Onira E Onira Ee Onira Ee Onira Ee Onira Ee Onira (name of song) (name of song) (name of song) (name of song) npropf npropf npropf npropf "E Onira, E Onira, E Onira, E Onira." 16 *Aba* yifatari iti okasima vifatari iti.NFIN ka asima aha  $\circ$ 1SG.POSS POSS younger sister fish gall bladder take out pn nf nm vt watorimonehe watorimonehe watorimonehe wato -ra.NOM+F -mone -he wato -ra.NOM+F -mone -he wato -ra.NOM+F -mone -he REP+F DUP know NEG REP+F DUP know NEG REP+F DUP know NEG vt. vt. watorimonehe wato -ra.NOM+F -mone -he know NEG REP+F DUP "My younger sister doesn't know how to take the gall bladder out of the fish." 17 **Bani** wisi ati wisibara wisibara wisibara wisibara bani wisi ati wisibara wisibara wisibara wisibara animal tamarin voice sound sound nm pn "The tamarin says, 'Wisibara, wisibara, wisibara, wisibara."" kiso 18 Awa wakosemete ini bani ya -kosa -hemete awa waa ini ya bani kiso tree stand middle FP.N+F branch+F white-fronted capuchin ADJU animal nf vi prt nm nf ati haomonehe ati hao -mone -he voice (call of white-fronted capuchin) REP+F DUP sound pn

haomonehe

hao -mone -he (call of white-fronted capuchin) REP+F DUP sound

haomonehe

hao -mone -he (call of white-fronted capuchin) REP+F DUP sound

haomonehe

hao -mone -he (call of white-fronted capuchin) REP+F DUP

"The white-fronted capuchin on the branch of the tree in the clearing says, 'Hao, hao, hao, hao.""

19 **Bani** wisi wisibara wisibara wisibara wisibara ati bani wisi ati wisibara wisibara wisibara wisibara animal tamarin voice sound sound sound sound nm pn

"The tamarin says, 'Wisibara, wisibara, wisibara, wisibara, wisibara.""

20 Yowi ino sana kanahari yowi kaino sana na brown capuchin tooth+M carry strapped on shoulder COMIT AUX IP.E+M pn vt aux

ahi

ahi then

dem

'He had straps across his chest with brown capuchin teeth on them.'

21 *Me* hinamaroke me sari kona tai me hi- na -hamaro -ke kona tahi me me sari me AUX FP.E+F DECL+F 3PL.O OC 3PL.S 3PL.S burn plant sp song about pron pron vt aux nm pn pron

hiri na mati
hiri na+F mati
sing AUX 3PL.S
vt aux pron

'They burned them, the ones who sang the kona song.'

22 **Kona** tai hiri sari me na me me kona tahi me hiri na+F me me sari plant sp song about 3PL.S sing AUX 3PL.POSS 3PL.S burn pron vt aux pron pron pn

hinamaroni

hi- na -hamaro -ni OC AUX FP.E+F BKG+F

'They burned the ones who sang the kona song.'

23 Kakisira Kakisiramaro amake

Kakisira Kakisira -maro ama -ke
(woman's name) (woman's name) FP.E+F be DECL+F
npropf npropf vc

'It was Kakisira.'

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\begin{array}{cccc} \textit{Me fanawi} & \textit{nafi} & , & \textit{me} \\ \text{me fanawi} & \text{nafi} & & \text{me} \end{array}
24 Me fanawi
                                          me
                                                     sari
                                                              hina
                                                                            me
                                                                                           kona
                                                     sari hi- na+F
                                          me
                                                                             me
                                                                                           kona
   women
                               3PL.O 3PL.S burn OC AUX
                   all
                                                                                           plant sp
                                                                             3PL.O
                              pron pron vt
                   pn
                                                              aux
                                                                             pron
                                                                                           nm
                                                             amane
tai
                tatamina
                                    toemari
tahi ta- tamina to- ha -himari
song about DUP be good CH AUX FP.E+M
                                                             ama -ne
                                                             SEC BKG+M
                 vi
                                    aux
pn
                                                             sec
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'All the women burned them. The kona song was very good.'

25 Tai hiri namatere amaka
tahi hiri na -ma -tee -ra+M ama -ka
song about sing AUX back HAB NEG SEC DECL+M
pn result aux sec

'The song isn't sung anymore.'

26 Aba me hinita ota sa
aba me hinita otaa saa
fish 3PL.POSS alone 1EX.S shoot with arrow
nm pron pn pron vt

nawahineti

na -waha -ne -tee.NOM AUX change CONT+F HAB

'Nowadays we put the kona poison in the water without singing.'

27 <b>Kon</b>	а	tai	ota	h	iiri	na ,	Rasia		ewene	me
kon	a	tahi	ota	a h	niri	na+F	Rasia		ewene	me
pla	nt sp	song abo	ut 1EX	.S s	sing	AUX	(man's	name)	$\verb stick+M $	3PL.S
nm		pn	pro	n v	7t	aux	npropm		pn	pron
ka	hinemata	ımona		ati	ne	ati	ota	haha	kana	
kaa	hi- na	-himata	a -mona	ati	na+M	1 ati	otaa	haahaa	ka-	na
chop	OC AU	X FP.N+M	REP+M	say	AUX	voice	1EX.S	laugh	COMIT	AUX
vt	aux			vt	aux	pn	pron	vi	aux	
toimaro			amake		abo	a me	kahi		, aba	me
$\omega murv$										
	a.NOM+F	-maro	ama -ke	)	, ab	a me	kaha	.NFIN	aba	me
		-maro FP.E+F	ama -ke	e CL+F	, ab fi			.NFIN oasted	aba fish	me 3PL.O
to- ha			ama -ke			sh 3PL.	S be t			
to- ha			ama -ke be DEC	CL+F	fi	sh 3PL.	S be t		fish	3PL.0
to- ha CH AU aux	JX	FP.E+F	ama -ke be DEC vc <i>nabani</i>	CL+F	fi nm	sh 3PL. pron	S be t		fish	3PL.0
to- ha CH AU aux me	JX <i>tabasi</i> tabas	FP.E+F	ama -ke be DEC vc nabani na -	CL+F	fi nm -ni	sh 3PL. pron <i>mati</i> mati	S be t		fish	3PL.0
to- ha CH AU aux me me	JX <i>tabasi</i> tabas	FP.E+F	ama -ke be DEC vc nabani na -	CL+F	fi nm -ni	sh 3PL. pron <i>mati</i> mati	S be t		fish	3PL.0

'We were singing the *kona* song. Rasia said they cut down a tree, and we laughed at what he said. They were roasted fish, they roasted the fish on racks.'

28 Wawasi wa- wasi DUP get caught nf	<pre>wawasi wa- wasi DUP get caught nf</pre>	kowa serima kowa+F serima weave fish result nf	na 's wier f	<i>e<b>rima</b> erima</i> ish wier f
<pre>ware waa -rI stand raised surface vi</pre>	, wawasi wa- wasi DUP get caug nf	, <b>namiti</b> namiti ht neck pn	<i>bari</i> bari outer sur pn	ya ya face ADJU prt
serima waware		toamaro	amake	me
serima wa- waa	-rI	to- ha -hama	ro ama -k	e me
fish wier DUP stand	raised surface	CH AUX FP.E+	F SEC DE	CL+F 3PL.POSS
nf vi		aux	sec	pron

ihi aba me kama me me ihi aba me ka -ma+F me me because of+F fish 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.O 3PL.S post pron vi nm pron pron tisa mati na tisa na+F mati shoot with arrow AUX 3PL.S vt aux pron

'The fish traps were weaved. They put the fish wier in place over the entrance to the fish trap. They shot the fish with arrows as they came.'

29 *Aba* tokiyoma wawasi hoti aba me ya aba me to- ka -voma+F wa- wasi hoti aba ya ADJU away go/come through fish fish 3PL.S DUP get caught hole+F vi nf nm nm pron pn prt tokiyoma kayabamaro me me me me toka -yoma+F me me kayaba -hamaro me away go/come through 3PL.O 3PL.S COMIT take out FP.E+F 3PL.S pron vi pron pron vt pron amani wawasi hoti va aba tamabote mati wa- wasi aba ama -ni hoti ya tama -bote mati DUP get caught hole+F ADJU fish 3PL be many very pn prt nm adj pron

'The fish went into the trap. They took the trap out of the water with the fish that had gone into the entrance, many fish.'

30 *Me* ahi horo hikanamaro me hi- kahoro -hamaro ahi me me na 3PL.S drag OC COMIT AUX FP.E+F t.hen 3 PT. O pron vt aux dem

'They dragged it up onto the bank.'

31 Maiko Maiko maka itabisematamona Maiko Maiko maka ita -bisa -himata -mona (man's name) pierce also FP.N+M (man's name) monster REP+M npropm nm vt

amaka
ama -ka haari
SEC DECL+M that one+M
sec dem

'Maiko pierced the forest monster.'

32 Maiko aawa ohemata
Maiko a- awa o- to- ha -himata
(man's name) DUP see 1SG.S CH AUX FP.N+M
npropm vt aux

'I never saw Maiko.'

33 Maiko fa koro nebona toke faha Maiko koro na -hibona t.oka+M (man's name) water AUX INT+M away go/come throw something on npropm nf aux 77 i biti toke fawa tonakosawite me fawa to- na -kosa -witI biti ka+M me disappear away AUX middle out 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S away go/come vi aux nm pron

kamakia tamarematamonaha me ka -makI+F me tama -ra -himata -mona -ha be many NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP go/come following 3PL.S pron 'Maiko went out fishing. He went into the forest. His sons came after him. He was alone.'

34 *Towe* amari

ama -ra.NOM+F towe bad be NEG

adj VC 'That's wrong.'

35 Maiko tamarematamonahane

-ra -himata -mona -ha -ne Maiko tama (man's name) be many NEG FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M npropm vi

'Maiko was not many.'

36 *Fati* yokana va famematamonaha fati yokana fama

-himata -mona -ha ya 3SG.POSS.wife true ADJU be with FP.N+M REP+M DUP adj prt

'He was just with his wife.'

37 *Fati* fame maka va ene fati fama+M maka ehene ya 3SG.POSS.wife ADJU be with monster victim of+M vi prt nm pn

Maiko Maiko homeno mi -hino Maiko Maiko mii homa (man's name) lie on ground IP.N+M (man's name) defecate npropm npropm vi

omatibeya fati ati nemetemonehe na -mata -be -ya fati ati na -hemete -mone -he 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F now 3SG.POSS.wife AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP say nf vt aux

'He was with his wife. The animal that the monster had killed was lying on the ground, but they didn't see it. "Maiko, Maiko, I'm going to defecate," his wife said.'

38 *Mi* tina mii tina 2SG.S AUX defecate aux

"Go ahead and defecate."

39 *Fa* koro osa 0 faha koro  $\circ$ na -saa  $\circ$ water throw something on 1SG.S AUX still 1SG.S nf vt aux prt

"I am still fishing."

40 *Faya* tokemetemoneke fahi faya to- ka -hemete -mone -ke fahi away go/come FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then conj νi dem

'She went.'

41 Tokomisawite atami tokomisawite ate va to- ka -misa -witI atami ate ya to- ka -misa -witI away go/come up out slope bank+F ADJU away qo/come up nf vi vi pn prt yama fetetete amake vana nemetemone

yama yana na -hemete -mone ama -ke fetetete
thing start AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F (noise of wings flapping)
nf vi aux sec sound

tetete

tetete

sound

'She went up the hill. A bird flew up, fetetete tetete.'

42 Maiko bani bani tiwahi ati tiawa -hi Maiko bani bani ati 2SG.S see IMP+F (man's name) animal animal say npropm nm nm vt vt

nemetemoneheni bani banimonaha vama ihi na -hemete -mone -he -ni bani bani -mona -ha yama ihi AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F animal animal REP+M DUP thing victim of+F aux nm nm nf pn

homini
homa.NOM+F -ni ya
lie on ground IP.N+F ADJU
vi prt

"Maiko, look at the bird." She thought it was a bird. The animal that the monster had killed was there on the ground, but she didn't see it.'

43 Faya hiwematamonaka

faya hi- awa -himata -mona -ka so OC see FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M conj vt

'Then she saw it.'

44 Bato awemetemoneni

bato awa -hemete -mone -ni
deer see FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
nm vt

'She saw the deer.'

45 Hinakamematamona

hi- to- na- ka -ma -himata -mona OC away CAUS go/come back FP.N+M REP+M vt

'She went after him.'

46 Maki tonakamemetemoneheni

maki to- na- ka -ma -hemete -mone -he -ni 3SG.POSS.husband away CAUS go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F nm vt

'She went after her husband.'

47 Maki tonakama Maiko bani maki to- naka -ma+FMaiko bani 3SG.POSS.husband away CAUS go/come back (man's name) animal npropm nm

home ahi
homa.NOM+M ahi
lie on ground there
vi dem

'She went after her husband. "Maiko, there is an animal lying on the ground there."

yamani ati 48 *Bani* home nemetemonehe homa.NOM+M ati bani yamani na -hemete -mone -he animal lie on ground telling say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP vt aux

"There is an animal lying there on the ground," she said."

49 Himata bani amaraya ati nematamonaha himata bani ama -ra -ya ati na -himata -mona -ha AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP what? animal be CQ+M now say interrog nm VC vt aux

"What animal is it?" he said.'

50 Bato amane
bato ama -ne
deer be BKG+M
nm vc
"'It's a deer."'

51 Bato home ahi
bato homa.NOM+M ahi
deer lie on ground there
nm vi dem
""The deer is lying there on the ground.""

52 Abe awa
ahaba+M awa
die seem+M
vi sec

"It is dead?"

53 Abarene ati nemetemonehe
ahaba -hare -ne ati na -hemete -mone -he
die IP.E+M BKG+M say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP
vi vt aux

"It is dead." she said.'

54 Yama bato yama wai hinemona onaharene hi- na -himona yama yama ati obato wai na -hare -ne thing thing deer bite OC AUX REP+M say 1SG.S AUX IP.E+M BKG+M nm nf vt aux

ati nemetemonehe
ati na -hemete -mone -he
say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP
vt aux

"Something must have bitten it," she said.'

55 Tikanakome
ti- ka- na- komeha kaba -hiba
2SG.S COMIT CAUS be fearsome eat FUT+M
vt result

"You shouldn't be afraid to eat it."

nematamonaka

ati na -himata -mona -ka

ati

56 Kabehibanane

kaba -hibana -ne

eat FUT+M BKG+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vt aux "We will eat it," he said.' 57 Hibaka homara hibaka homa -ra where lie on ground CQ+M interrog vi "Where is it lying?" 58 *Yofi* tikanaho ati nematamonaha ti- ka- na -ho ati na -himata -mona -ha yofi show 2SG.S COMIT AUX IMP+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP aux vt aux "Show it," he said.' etowamamatahoatieeto- awa -ma -mata-ho ati 59 **E** e 1IN.S 1IN.S away see back short time DUP say pron pron vt nemetemoneheni na -hemete -mone -he -ni AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F "Let's go take a look at it," she said.' 60 *Faya* hekamematamonaka fahi faya hi- to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka fahi OC away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then conj vt dem 'So she took him.' 61 *Maki* towakamemetemoneheni to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone -he -ni 3SG.POSS.husband away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F 'She took her husband there.' 62 Maki towakama maki to- ka- ka -ma+F maki 3SG.POSS.husband away COMIT go/come back 3SG.POSS.husband nm vt nm towakama
to- ka- ka -ma+F bani homa.CONT+M naarr
ac/come back animal lie on ground that one+M say
wi dem vt nemetemonehe na -hemete -mone -he AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP

'She took her husband. "The animal is lying there," she said.'

63 *Bani* homari ha ati nematamonaka na -himata -mona -ka bani homa -haari haa ati AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M animal lie on ground look+M DEM say dem vt aux "Look, the animal is lying there," he said.' 64 Bani homari hari haari bani homa -haari animal lie on ground look+M that one+M vi dem "Look, the animal is lying there." 65 Bani homari hari ati nematamonaka na -himata -mona -ka bani homa -haari haari ati lie on ground look+M AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M animal that one+M say dem vt aux "Look, the animal is lying there," he said.' 66 Maiko Maiko yana ihi ahi yama na ama Maiko Maiko ihi ahi yama yana na+F (man's name) (man's name) thing start AUX victim of+F then npropm vi aux dem npropm pn nemetemoneheni na -hemete -mone -he -ni sav AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F aux "Maiko, Maiko, it was the bird that flew away that killed it," she said." 67 *Efe* nabana ati ahi ene ama kane efe ehene na+M -bana -kane ahi ama ati na AUX ?+M this+M victim of+M be AUX FUT then say VC aux vt dem pn aux "I don't think it was the bird that killed it," he said.' 68 *Efe* ene toe awa fari efe ehene to- ha+M awa faari this+M victim of+M CH be seem+M that one+M VC sec dem "I think it did kill it." 69 *Ene* kabebanane ehene kaba -hibana -ne victim of+M eat FUT+M result "We will eat what it killed." 70 **Bato** matibone wasikane ahi mati -bone wasi -kane bato ahi deer line+F INT+F find ?+M then

71	Mato	tore	nise	-risa+M	,	mato	wete	nema	tamona		ahi
	mato	tore	na	-risa+M		mato	wete	na	-himata	-mona	ahi
	vine	pull	AUX	down		vine	tie	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	then
	nf	vt	aux			nf	vt	aux			dem

'He pulled down the vine. He tied the deer up with the vine.'

nf pn vt
'He found a vine to tie up the deer.'

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72 Bato wete nematamonaka ahi
bato wete na -himata -mona -ka ahi
deer tie AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
nf vt aux dem
```

'He tied up the deer.'

73 *Aba* wiyeba tekowa me wiye tiaba me -ba kakowa fish 3PL.POSS container+F FUT 2SG.S COMIT weave pron vt pn

"Weave a basket for the fish."

#### 74 E towakamibe

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

"Let's go back."

75 Aba me wiyebone fati kowanati
aba me wiye -bone fati kowa -nati
fish 3PL.POSS container+F INT+F 3SG.POSS.wife weave only one
nm pron pn nf vt

#### toemetemone

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

'His wife weaved a basket for the fish.'

76 *Faya* nawatakane ahi bato wete ne bato mati na- wata bato -kane na+M mati ahi faya bato wete AUX CAUS be located ?+M line+F then deer tie deer conj nf vt aux nf dem pn

'He tied up the deer. He tied on the line to hold on the deer.'

77	Bato	mati	<i>nawate</i> na- wata+M	bato	mati	nawate	
	bato	mati	na- wata+M	bato	mati	na- wata+M	
	deer	line+F	CAUS be located	deer	line+F	CAUS be located	
	nf	pn	vt	nf	pn	vt	
TT:		4 •	4 1		49		

Himataitiamahiatihimataiti-to-ha -ma -hiatilet's gobe ahead2SG.S CHAUX back IMP+Fsayinterjviauxvt

nematamonahane namisebona bato weye yama na -himata -mona -ha -ne bato weye na -misa -hibona yama deer AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M carry AUX up INT+M thing aux nf vt nf aux

#### hikasawaribanoho

hi- ka- sawari -hiba -no -ho OC COMIT frustrate FUT+M IP.N+M DUP

'He attached the line to hold the deer. "Come on, you go on ahead," he said. When he went to lift up the deer to his back, he couldn't.'

78 *Bao* nematamona ahi bao na -himata -mona bao ahi bao AUX FP.N+M REP+M (sound of feet hitting ground) come down then aux dem sound bao bao bao bao (sound of feet hitting ground) (sound of feet hitting ground) 'He stamped his feet on the ground, bao, bao, bao.' 79 **Owa** tama kabana t.ama ka- na+M -bana owa 1SG.O hold onto COMIT AUX FUT pron vt allx "Something is holding the deer." 80 *Owa* tama ati nematamona ahi owa tama kana+M -bana ati na -himata -mona ahi 1SG.O hold onto COMIT AUX FUT say AUX FP.N+M REP+M then vt aux vt aux dem "Something is holding the deer," he said.' 81 *Fava* he tokasematamonaka fahi sa to- ka- na -kosa -himata -mona -ka fahi faya hee saa 3SG.0 CH COMIT AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then release conj pron vt aux dem 'Finally it let go.' 82 *Bato* tosematamonane sa to- na -kosa -himata -mona -ne hato saa CH AUX middle FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M deer release nf vt aux 'It let go of the deer.' 83 *Bato* sa tose sa kabote nematamona bato to- na -kosa+M saa na -kabote na -himata -mona CH AUX middle deer release release AUX quickly AUX FP.N+M REP+M nf vt aux antip aux aux ahi ahi then dem 'It let go of the deer. It let go.'

84 <i>Bato</i>	weye	ni		tokomo	akematamor	fati			
bato	weye	na.NF	ΊN	to-	ka	-makI	-himata	-mona	fati
deer	carry	AUX		away	go/come	following	FP.N+M	REP+M	3SG.POSS.wife
nf	vt	aux		vi					nf
tokoma		n	ıi	ya					
to- ka	-ma	a+F n	ni	ya					
away go/d	come ba	ck t	0	ADJU					
vi		р	ort	prt					

'He went after his wife, who had gone, carrying the deer.'

85 *Fati* aba me te nemetemone tee fati aba me na -hemete -mone ahi fish 3PL.O put inside AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3SG.POSS.wife then nm pron vt aux 'His wife put the fish in the basket.'

noki 86 *Fati* aba me te na nρ tee fati aba me na+F noki na+M 3SG.POSS.wife fish 3PL.O put inside AUX wait for AUX pron vt nf vt nm aux aux

wematamona bato weye ni waa -himata -mona na.NFIN bato weye carry AUX stand FP.N+M REP+M deer vi nf vt aux

'He stood with the deer on his back, waiting as his wife put the fish in the basket.'

87 *Tai* tiama tai ti- to- ha -ma be ahead 2SG.S CH AUX back aux

88 Yama ihi awine toha ihi to- ha+F vama thing victim of+F CH be seem+F

VC

pn "Could a monster have killed it?"

"You go on ahead."

hihiya ni 89 *Bato* watarematamonaka hi- hiya na.NFIN wata -ra -himata -mona -ka bato DUP be hurt AUX exist NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M deer vi aux 77 i

sec

'The deer didn't have any wound.'

90 *Me* towakamemetemone to- ka- ka -ma -hemete -mone 3PL.S away COMIT go/come back FP.N+F REP+F then pron

'They went home.'

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

nabisemetemoneheni

na -bisa -hemete -mone -he -ni AUX also FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F

'His wife gutted the fish.'

92 *Bato* tokehimatamona va bato toka -himata -mona yifo witi ya deer partially burn FP.N+M REP+M brand ADJU vt nf

'He burned the hair off the deer in the fire.'

yifo awiha , bato hato 93 *Yifo* toke bato bato toka+M bato toka+M fire take care of deer partially burn deer partially burn nf vt vt nm nm ati saimatamona ahi bato bobi sai -himata -mona ati ahi bato bobi voice be heard FP.N+M REP+M slit then deer pn vi dem nm nawahebanoho na -waha -hiba -no -ho AUX change FUT+M IP.N+M DUP

'He took care of the fire. He talked as he burned the hair off the deer. He cut up the deer.'

94 *Fati* aba me kawarinati fati aba me ka- waa -rI -nati 3SG.POSS.wife fish 3PL.O COMIT cook raised surface only one nf nm pron vt

toemetemone

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

'His wife cooked the fish.'

95 *Fati* aba kawaria bato hohi me ne ka- waa -rI+F fati aba bato bobi me na+M 3SG.POSS.wife fish 3PL.O COMIT cook raised surface deer slit AUX nm pron vt nf 77 t allx

bato tanebone yama nawahematamona tane -bone yama na -waha -himata -mona deer grill+F INT+F make AUX change FP.N+M REP+M vt aux pn

'His wife cooked the fish. He cut up the deer, and made the rack for roasting the deer.'

96 *Bato* tanebone yama ne bato bato tane -bone yama na+M deer grill+F INT+F make AUX deer pn vt. aux

kawarimatamona

ka- waa -rI -himata -mona COMIT cook raised surface FP.N+M REP+M

'He made the rack for roasting the deer. He cooked the deer.'

97 **Baki** hikawaremetemone baki -hemete -mone baki hi- ka- waa -rI baki chest+F OC COMIT cook raised surface FP.N+F REP+F chest+F

'He cooked its breast.'

98 *Fati* aba kawaribisa Sina me fati aba me ka- waa -rI -bisa+F sina 3SG.POSS.wife fish 3PL.O COMIT cook raised surface also snuff nm pron

hisi omatibe

hisi o- na -mata -be sniff 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F

vt aux

'His wife was cooking the fish. "I'm going to take snuff."

99 Fati tafehemetemoneke

fati tafa -hemete -mone -ke 3SG.POSS.wife eat FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F nf vi

'His wife ate.'

aba 100 *Me* tafehemetemone *me* me kaba mati me tafa -hemete -mone aba me kaba+F mati eat 3PL.S 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F fish 3PL.O 3PL.S pron vi nm pron pron vt pron

'They ate, eating fish.'

101 Aba me me kabemetemoneni

aba me me kaba -hemete -mone -ni fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F nm pron pron vt

'They ate fish.'

102 *Aba* kaba sina me me me me amo nabone kaba+F me aba me amo na -habone sina me me fish 3PL.O 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL.S sleep AUX INT+F snuff nm pron pron vt pron pron vi aux

'They ate fish. Before they slept, he took snuff.'

103 Sina hisi nawahematamonaka

sina hisi na -waha -himata -mona -ka snuff sniff AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M

nf vt aux

'He took snuff.'

104 Sina hisi ne sina hisi na+M sina hisi na -himata -mona -ha snuff sniff AUX snuff sniff AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP nf vt aux nf vt aux

'He took snuff.'

105 *Me* nabone me sina hisi amo me na me na -habone me amo sina me hisi na+F me me 3PL.S sleep AUX INT+F 3PL snuff 3PL.S sniff AUX 3PL.S pron vi aux pron nf pron vt aux pron

Yama tikamita

yama ti- ka- mita thing 2SG.S COMIT hear

nf vt

'Before they slept, they took snuff. "Listen."

```
106 Yama
                           tabasi
                                              ona
    vama
            ihi
                           tabasi
                                              0-
                                                     na+F
                                                            ihi
    thing
            victim of+F
                           roast on grill
                                              1SG.S AUX
                                                            victim of+F
    nf
                                              aux
            pn
                                                            pn
kawine
                       ha
ka- waa
              -ne
                       haa
COMIT stand CONT+F
                       DEM
vi
"I roasted the animal it killed, the animal it killed is on the rack."
107 Hiba
                        hiba
                                                  ati
                                                          fafawa
                  me
                                      me
                        hiba
                                                          fa- fawa
    hiba
                  me
                                      me
                                                  ati
                                      3PL.POSS
                                                          DUP disappear
    soon after
                  3PL
                      soon after
                                                  voice
                                                  pn
                                                          vi
    conj
                  pron conj
                                      pron
                 ni
                             ya
                                    ohi
                                          ni
ka-
       na.LIST
                 na.NOM+F
                             ya
                                    ohi
                                          na.NFIN
COMIT AUX
                 AUX
                             ADJU
                                    cry
                                          AUX
aux
                 aux
                             prt
                                    vi
                                          aux
fotomakematamonaka
foto -makI
                   -himata -mona -ka
appear following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
'Just as they stopped talking, it started crying.'
108 One
                             one
                                                      one
    one
                             one
                                                      one
    (sound of crying)
                             (sound of crying)
                                                       (sound of crying)
    sound
                             sound
                                                      sound
"One, one, one."
109 Aa
               Boriri
                                  okanoti
                                                              ohi
                                                                    ni
                                                                               awa
               Boriri
    aa
                                  \circ
                                            ka
                                                  noti
                                                              ohi
                                                                    na.NFIN
                                                                               awa
                                  1SG.POSS POSS grandson
               (woman's name)
    aha
                                                              cry
                                                                    AUX
                                                                               seem+M
    interj
               npropf
                                                              vi
                                                                    aux
                                                                               sec
"Oh, Boriri, is that my grandson crying?"
110 Inamate
              amo
                       nirahi
                                              ene
                                                             ohi
                                                                   naba
                       niha- na
    inamate
              amo
                                  -ra+M
                                              ehene
                                                             ohi
                                                                   na nahaba.CONT+M
    child
              sleep
                       CAUS AUX NEG
                                              result of+M
                                                             cry
                                                                   AUX at night
                       aux
                                              pn
                                                             vi
                                                                   aux
ati
     nematamona
ati
     na -himata -mona
say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
      aux
"He [his father] didn't put the child to sleep, and he is crying," he said."
111 Maiko
                            ihi
                                                    kakama
                    yama
                                            e
                                                                             ati
    Maiko
                            ihi
                                                    ka- ka
                    yama
                                                                    -ma+F
                                                                             ati
                                            ee
                            victim of+F
                                            1IN.S
                                                    COMIT go/come back
    (man's name)
                    thing
                                                                             voice
                    nf
    npropm
                            pn
                                            pron
toha
           awineni
                            fati
                                              ati
                                                   nemetemonehe
to- ha+F
           awine
                    -ni
                            fati
                                              ati
                                                   na -hemete -mone -he
            seem+F BKG+F
                                                   AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP
CH be
                            3SG.POSS.wife
                                              say
                            nf
                                              vt
"Maiko, it's the voice of the monster whose animal we brought, that it killed," his wife said."
```

```
112 Efe
            ati
                    ama
                          nabana
                          na+M -bana
    efe
            ati
                    ama
                          AUX FUT
   this+M
            voice
                    be
   dem
            pn
                          aux
                    VC.
"Yes, that is its voice."
             faya
113 Fava
                    oi
                          ni
                                    kakamakematamona
                                                                               ahi
                          na.NFIN
                                    ka- ka -makI
                                                              -himata -mona
   faya
             faya
                    ohi
                                                                               ahi
                    cry
   so
             so
                          AUX
                                    COMIT go/come following FP.N+M REP+M
                                                                               then
             conj
                    vi
                                                                               dem
   coni
                          aux
                                    νi
       hiyama
                         tokarabanihi
yama
                         to- ka
yama
       hiyama
                                                          -hi
                                        -ra -haba -ni
thing somewhere else
                         away go/come NEG FUT+F IP.N+F DUP
       adv
                         vi
'It came crying. It came right toward them.'
114 Kisakabote
                                                  nematamona
                                                                       ahi
                                yama
                                        aawa
            -risa -kabote
                                yama
                                        a- awa
                                                  na -himata -mona
                                                                        ahi
   go/come down quickly
                                thing
                                        DUP see
                                                  AUX FP.N+M REP+M
                                                                       then
                                nf
                                        vt
                                                  aux
                                                                        dem
'He got out of his hammock, and took a look.'
115 Yama
           ove
                     kakamakemetemone
                                                                 amani
                     ka- ka
                                    -makI
                                                -hemete -mone
   vama
           ove
                                                                 ama -ni
                     COMIT go/come following FP.N+F
   thing
           light+F
                                                         REP+F
                                                                 SEC BKG+F
                     vi
                                                                 sec
           pn
'A light was coming.'
                                                    Ha
116 Yama
           oye
                     kakamake
                                                          yama
                                                                  ama
                     ka- ka
                                     -makI
                                                    haa
   yama
           oye
                                                          yama
                                                                  ama
                     COMIT go/come following
                                                    DEM
   thing
           light+F
                                                          thing
                                                                  be
                     vi
                                                    dem
                                                          nf
           pn
                                                                  VC.
                       ati
                             kane
                                         ahi
                             na -kane
na.NOM+F -ni
                 -hi
                       ati
                                         ahi
                             AUX ?+M
         IP.N+F DUP
AUX
                       say
                                         then
                       vt
                             aux
                                         dem
'The light was coming. "That's it," he said.'
117 Yama
           ihi
                          owakama
   yama
           ihi
                          o- ka-
                                       ka
   thing
           victim of+F
                          1SG.S COMIT go/come back
           ng
                          vt
kamakineni
                                      tokomebonaha
   -makI
                   -ne
                           -ni
                                      to- ka
                                                     -ma -hibona -ha
go/come following CONT+F BKG+F
                                      away go/come back INT+M
                                      vi
"The monster whose animal I brought, which it had killed, is coming." It didn't go away."
118 Tokomarematamonakana
                                                              Maiko
               -ma -ra -himata -mona -ka
                                                              Maiko
                                                   -na
    away go/come back NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M IRR+M
                                                               (man's name)
                                                              npropm
noki
           kanamakehari
noki
           ka- na -makI
                                 -haari
           COMIT AUX following IP.E+M
'It didn't go away. It was waiting for Maiko.'
```

119	Fati	famematan	nona	ona fati				
	fati	fama	-himata	-mona	fati	ya		
	3SG.POSS.wife	be with	FP.N+M	REP+M	3SG.POSS.wife	ADJU		
	nf	vi			nf	prt		
'He	was with his wife.'							

120 Fati yotohemete awineni

fati yoto -hemete awine -ni 3SG.POSS.wife follow FP.N+F seem+F BKG+F nf vi sec

'His wife was behind him.'

121 Fare ene tabasi hine ene fare ehene tabasi hi- na+M ehene same+M victim of+M roast on grill OC AUX victim of+M dem pn vt aux pn

kaweyokanawamakekaneahinokobiyaka-waa.NOM+Myokanawaa-makI-kaneahinokobiyaCOMIT standtruestand following?+MthendoorADJUviadjvidemnfprt

'It came and stood right where the animal it had killed and he had roasted was on the rack, near the door.'

122 Wamake Bani kawarine ha
waa -makI bani ka- waa -rI -ne haa
stand following animal COMIT cook raised surface CONT+F DEM
vi nm result dem

'It came and stood there. "The cooked meat is there."

123 Bani okobarahara

bani o- kaba -ra -hara animal 1SG.S eat NEG IP.E+F

"I didn't eat the animal."

124 Kabararani

kaba -ra -hara -ni
eat NEG IP.E+F BKG+F
result

"It was not eaten."

125 Aba me okobara o aba me o- kaba -hara ofish 3PL.O 1SG.S eat IP.E+F 1SG.S nm pron vt prt

"I ate fish."

126 *Tikaba* 

ti- kaba 2SG.S eat vt.

"Eat it."

127 Tika , banino owakame ama
ti- ka bani -no o- ka- ka -ma+M ama
2SG.POSS POSS animal IP.N+M 1SG.S COMIT go/come back SEC
prt nm vt sec

"I brought your animal back, but I didn't know it was yours."

```
128 Tikabamaki
```

ti- kaba -makI 2SG.S eat following vt.

"Go ahead and eat it."

129 *Yama* natafakane yama waharo yama yama na- tafa -kane waa -haaro thing CAUS eat ?+M thing stand IP.E+F nf vt nf vi

'He gave food to it as it stood there.'

130 *Sari* hinafawa sari ya hikane ahi sahari sahari ya hi- nafawa hi- -kane ahi OC ?+M broth broth ADJU OC CAUS drink then nf nf prt vt prt dem

'He gave it broth to drink.'

131	We	tabasi	hineno	wehi	hinatafematamona
	waa+M	tabasi	hi- na -hino	waa+M	hi- na- tafa -himata -mona
	stand	roast on grill	OC AUX IP.N+M	stand	OC CAUS eat FP.N+M REP+M
	vi	vt	aux	vi	vt

ahi

ahi then

dem

'He had roasted it. He gave food to it as it stood there.'

132 *Bato* baki kabematamona bato kaba -himata -mona bato bato baki deer eat FP.N+M REP+M chest+F deer nf vt nf pn

'It ate the deer meat, the deer's ribs.'

133			hinafawe		fati	•	fati
	sahari	ya	hi- na-	fawa+M	fati		fati
	broth	ADJU	OC CAUS	drink	3SG.POSS.wife		3SG.POSS.wife
	nf	prt	vt		nf		nf

wamakehani ni bani toname bani ya tata to- na waa -makI -hani ni уа bani taa- taa -ma+M bani stand following IP.N+F ADJU DUP give animal to animal away AUX back prt prt vi nm vt aux nm

nf vt

'He gave it broth to drink. It gave meat to its mate that was standing there, for its mate to eat.'

134 Tafaremata awaka
tafa -ra -himata awa -ka
eat NEG FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M

vi sec

'It didn't eat.'

135	Tokom	ıare			we	ehene	•	ene	
	to-	ka	-ma	-ra+M	waa+M	ehene	,	ehene	
	away	go/come	back	NEG	stand	because of+	M	because	of+M
	vi				vi	post		post	
7	•	4							

biyamisematamonane

biya -misa -himata -mona -ne be angry up FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M vi

'It didn't leave. It stood there. He became impatient.'

136	Amo	onabone	ę	ama	0	
	amo	0-	na	-habone	ama	0-
	sleep	1SG.S	AUX	INT+F	SEC	1SG.S
	vi	aux			sec	prt

137 Tikamiya

"I'm going to sleep."

ti- to- ka -ma -yahi 2SG.S away go/come back DIST.IMP+F vi

"You go away."

138 Tiwa onatafi
tiwa o- na- tafa.NOM+F
2SG.O 1SG.S CAUS eat
pron vt

"I have given you food."

139 Kabarahare

kaba -ra -hare
eat NEG IP.E+M
result

"[The meat] was not eaten."

140 Kawaha

ka- waa.CONT+M
COMIT stand
vi

"It is there on the rack."

141Baninafitanawahematamonaahibaninafitaana -waha -himata -monaahianimalallgiveAUX changeFP.N+MREP+Mthennmpnvtauxdem

tokomaramako

to- ka -ma -ra -mako away go/come back NEG for this reason+M vi

'Then he gave all the meat, because it hadn't left.'

142	Fati	kome	wasihani	
	fati	kome	wasi	-hani
	3SG.POSS.wife	sickness+F	make sick	IP.N+F
	nf	ng	vt	

	ka- ka		-ma -hani back IP.N+F	<i>moni</i> moni sound pn	<pre>bao bao come down vi</pre>		e -hemete -mone FP.N+F REP+F
dem	e became	sick, and i	it went off sick a	and could b	e heard fallin	g over.'	
143 Mo mon son pn	o <b>ni ba</b> o ni ba und co vi	o me down	<i>nisemetemon</i> na -risa	<i>eke</i> -hemete	-mone -ke	<i>ahi</i> e ahi	<pre>fati fati 3SG.POSS.wife nf</pre>
nm	ki G.POSS.		ta taa contrast prt :here alone.'	to- waa	natamonane -kosa nd middle	-himata -mo FP.N+M REP	na -ne P+M BKG+M
nm	ki G.POSS.	husband	towakose to- waa CH stand vi	-kosa+M middle	away go/ vi	-ma.NF	watore IN wato -ra+M know NEG vt
post  tokomara  to- k  away g  vi	sa go/come	int -ma -r back NE	pression of erj an ca -haba an GG FUT+F SE se chere. It couldn'	<b>na</b> . na EC ec	nf	aa ng	
nf	ma er ing 1I	a ka N.O CO on vt	MIT live	M+F			
147 <i>Tiw</i> tiv 250 pro	wa o- G.O 1S	G.S awa		-ma come sho			me me liar spirit 3PL pron
ni to prt	ake you to	o the famil	liar spirits.'''				
148 <i>Fat</i> fat 380 nf			ati SG.POSS.wife	weye weye e carry vt	<i>namise</i> na -mis AUX up aux		OSS.wife

towakakaneahito-ka-ka-kaneahiawayCOMITgo/come?+Mthenvtthendem

'He put his wife on his back, and took her away.'

149 *Fawa* rebona ni Yama wa ya na -ra -hibona yama ni ya waa+F disappear AUX NEG INT+M to ADJU thing stand vi nf aux prt prt

owamamatibe

o- to- awa -ma -mata -be 1SG.S away see back short time IMMED+F

"I'm going to go take care of the monster standing in the plaza."

150 *Oko* yibote te 0ka yibote tee na- tafa -ra -yahi 1SG.POSS POSS wife 2PL.S CAUS eat NEG DIST.IMP+F nf pron vt "Don't give any food to my wife."

ama

ama

151 Oko yibote tafa
o- ka yibote tafa+F
1SG.POSS POSS wife eat

1SG.POSS POSS wife eat SEC prt nf vi sec

"My wife has eaten."

152 *Oko* aba amani yibote kaba me ka yibote ama -ni  $\circ$ aba me kaba+F SEC BKG+F 1SG.POSS POSS wife fish 3PL.O eat prt nf nm pron vt sec

"My wife ate fish."

153 Oko yibote te natafariyahi
o- ka yibote tee na- tafa-ra-yahi
1SG.POSS POSS wife 2PL.S CAUS eat NEG DIST.IMP+F
prt nf pron vt

"Don't give any food to my wife."

154 *Yama* owa kawa owamamatibe yama owa kawaa o- to- awa -ma -mata -be 1SG.O COMIT stand 1SG.S away see back short time IMMED+F thing pron vt vt

"I'm going to go take care of the monster that is staying with me."

155 *Toni* ahi hima namakane mera toni toni hima na -ma -kane ahi toni mera 3PL.O call to go AUX back ?+M then familiar spirit familiar spirit pron vt dem aux

me iharebanoho

me iha -ra -hiba -no -ho 3PL.O put NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DUP

'He called the familiar spirits to go with him, but he didn't use them.'

faya kame faya ka -ma.N so go/come back conj vi  kiki namakane ki- kii na -ma -kan DUP look AUX back ?+M vi aux 'When he got back, he looked a	ADJU prt ahi . ne ahi then dem	, kame ka go/come vi	-ma.NOM+M	ya yama ya yama ADJU thing prt nf
fare waa.NOM wa same+M stand st dem vi vi	and ?+M	ahi . ahi then dem		
'It was still standing in the sam	e place.'			
158 Wehimatamonane waa -himata -mona stand FP.N+M REP+M vi				
hikawebanoho		toni		me
hi- ka- na -waha -h OC COMIT AUX change FU		-ho toni	iar spirit	me 3PL.O
aux	)	nm	Idi Spilic	pron
put NEG FUT+M IP.N+M DU		T - 313 - 11 11-		
'It was standing there. He plani	ned against it. I	He dian't use th	e spirits.	
Pian	<u> </u>			
159 <i>Hinaka toni</i> hinaka toni 3SG.POSS familiar	<i>mer</i> mer spirit 3PI	ra iha-hi o put FP.	onaha .mata -mona N+M REP+M	
159 <i>Hinaka toni</i> hinaka toni	mer mer spirit 3PI pro	ra iha-hi o put FP.	.mata -mona	
159 Hinaka toni hinaka toni 3SG.POSS familiar pron nm 'He didn't use his familiar spirit  160 Toni me toni me familiar spirit 3P	mer mer spirit 3PI pro ts.' ya ta ya ta	ta iha -hi L.O put FP. on vt  bahi aba+M e together	.mata -mona	DUP  mera  mera
159 Hinaka toni hinaka toni 3SG.POSS familiar pron nm 'He didn't use his familiar spirit  160 Toni me toni me familiar spirit 3P nm pr  toyosemematamonaka	mer mer spirit 3PI prots.'  ya ta ya ta L ADJU be on prt v:	ta iha -hi L.O put FP. con vt  bahi aba+M e together i	mata -mona N+M REP+M  toni toni familiar sp	DUP  mera mera oirit 3PL.0
159 Hinaka toni hinaka toni 3SG.POSS familiar pron nm 'He didn't use his familiar spirit  160 Toni me toni me familiar spirit 3P nm pr  toyosemematamonaka	mer mer spirit 3PI prots.'  ya ta ya ta L ADJU be on prt vi	ta iha -hi L.O put FP. con vt  bahi aba+M e together i . ka	mata -mona N+M REP+M  toni toni familiar sp	DUP  mera mera oirit 3PL.0
159 Hinaka toni hinaka toni 3SG.POSS familiar pron nm  'He didn't use his familiar spirit  160 Toni me toni me familiar spirit 3P nm pr  toyosemematamonaka to- yose -ma -hima away command back FP.N-	mer mer spirit 3PI prots.'  ya ta ya ta ADJU be on prt viata -mona -	ta iha -hi L.O put FP. con vt  bahi aba+M e together i ka ECL+M	mata -mona N+M REP+M  toni toni familiar sp	DUP  mera mera oirit 3PL.0
159 Hinaka toni hinaka toni 3SG.POSS familiar pron nm  'He didn't use his familiar spirit  160 Toni me toni me familiar spirit 3P nm pr  toyosemematamonaka to- yose -ma -hima away command back FP.N-vt 'He was with the familiar spirits	mer mer spirit 3PI prots.'  ya ta ya ta ya ta L ADJU be on prt v:  ata -monaM REP+M D  s. He sent them	ta iha -hi L.O put FP.  bahi aba+M e together i . ka ECL+M	mata -mona N+M REP+M  toni toni familiar sp	DUP  mera mera oirit 3PL.0
159 Hinaka toni hinaka toni 3SG.POSS familiar pron nm  'He didn't use his familiar spirit  160 Toni me toni me familiar spirit 3P nm pr  toyosemematamonaka to- yose -ma -hima away command back FP.N- vt 'He was with the familiar spirits  161 Taibona toma tahi -bona toma killer INT+M suck	mer mer spirit 3PI pro ts.'  ya ta ya ta Ya ta L ADJU be on prt vi ata -monaM REP+M D  s. He sent them hinematamon hi- na -l OC AUX Fi	ta iha -hi L.O put FP.  bahi aba+M e together i . ka ECL+M n back.'	mata -mona N+M REP+M  toni toni familiar sp nm  ahi a ahi d then	DUP  mera mera oirit 3PL.0
159 Hinaka toni hinaka toni 3SG.POSS familiar pron nm  'He didn't use his familiar spirit  160 Toni me toni me familiar spirit 3P nm pr  toyosemematamonaka to- yose -ma -hima away command back FP.N- vt 'He was with the familiar spirits  161 Taibona toma tahi -bona toma	mer mer spirit 3PI prots.'  ya ta ya ta ya ta L ADJU be on prt vieta -mona	ta iha -hi L.O put FP. con vt  bahi aba+M e together i ka ECL+M n back.'  a P.N+M REP+M	mata -mona N+M REP+M  toni toni familiar sp nm  ahi ahi	DUP  mera mera oirit 3PL.0

nf nf

vt

'He rubbed the stone on a piece of firewood in the fire.'

dem prt

```
163 Te
           tai
                      toama
           tai
                      to- ha -ma
    tee
                      CH AUX back
    2PL.S be ahead
           vi
                      aux
"You go on ahead home."
164 Owa
                   natoriya
           te
    owa
           tee
                   nahato -ra -yahi
    1SG.O 2PL.S occupy NEG DIST.IMP+F
    pron
         pron vt
"Don't get in my way."
165 Hinaka
                                         kabanematamonaha
              toni
                                 mera
    hinaka
              toni
                                         ka- habana -himata -mona -ha
                                 mera
    3SG.POSS familiar spirit
                                 3PL.O
                                         COMIT order FP.N+M REP+M DUP
              nm
                                 pron
                                         vt
'He didn't ask his familiar spirits to help him.'
166 Faya
          hikinarematamonaka
                                                            fahi
                                                                      vifo witi
          hi- kina -rI
                                    -himata -mona -ka
                                                             fahi
                                                                      yifo witi
          OC hit raised surface FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                                            then
                                                                      brand
                                                             dem
    conj
ya
va
ADJU
'Then he threw the piece of burnt firewood at it, and he hit it.'
167 Bana
                                                         tiihii
         yama
                          vobe
                                    toro
                  yama
                                               va
                                    toro
                                                ya
                                                         tiihii
                          yobe
   bana
         yama
                  yama
    sound thing thing house
                                    inside+M ADJU
                                                         (sound of hitting)
          nf
                  nf
                         nm
                                               prt
                                                         sound
                                    pn
             kane
                         ahi
                 -kane
moni
             na
                         ahi
make sound AUX ?+M
                         then
             aux
                         dem
'He threw it from inside the house. It went tiihii.'
168 Tooo
                           fa
                                   amari
                                                   ya
                                                             awa
                                                                    boni
                                                                              moni
                            faha
                                   ama -ra.NOM+F
                                                   ya
                                                             awa
                                                                    boni
                                                                              moni
    (sound of explosion)
                           water be NEG
                                                    ADJU
                                                             tree
                                                                    fruit+F
                                                                              sound
                                                    prt
    sound
                           nf
                                   VC
                                                             nf
                                                                    pn
saihemetemone
                          ama
                               ahi
                                         ehene
sai -hemete -mone
                          ama
                               ahi
                                         ehene
be heard FP.N+F REP+F
                          SEC
                               then
                                         because of+M
                          sec
                               dem
                                         post
'Tooo, there was the sound of fruits falling in water because of it, but there was no water.'
169 Maiko
                   fawa
                               nematamonaka
                                                           fahi
   Maiko
                               na -himata -mona -ka
                                                            fahi
                   fawa
                   disappear AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
    (man's name)
    npropm
                   vi
                               aux
```

'Maiko disappeared.'

170 *Maka* ene tohematamonaha

*ene* ehene maka ehene to- ha -himata -mona -ha monster victim of+M CH be FP.N+M REP+M DUP pn VC

'The monster didn't kill him.'

Maiko 171 *Maka* ehene tohematamona to- ha -himata -mona maka ehene Maiko monster victim of+M CH be FP.N+M REP+M (man's name) pn nm VC npropm

'The monster didn't kill Maiko.'

172 *Maiko* afo ni era towe na Maiko era afo na.NFIN towe na (man's name) 1IN.O blow snuff into AUX AUX npropm pron vt aux aux

toaremata

to- ha -ra -himata CH AUX NEG FP.N+M

'Maiko was a good person to train one to be a shaman.'

173 *Maka* mera wawaka toemata wa- waka to- ha -himata maka mera monster 3PL.O DUP kill CH AUX FP.N+M pron vt aux

'He used to kill monsters.'

174 Kinarihina

kina -rI -hina hit raised surface ?+M result

"There, I hit it."

, fare 175 *Fati* fove *ya* ha nawahebana fati fare foya.NOM+M
3SG.POSS.wife same+M be inside
nf na -waha foya.NOM+M ya haa ADJU call AUX change FUT+M dem vi prt vt aux

toni mera ha nari toni mera haa na -haari familiar spirit 3PL.O call AUX IP.E+M pron vt aux

'From inside the house he called the familiar spirits.'

, owa 176 *Aya* kasomamatahi ati ahi te. kane ka- soma -mata -hi tee owa ati na -kane ahi aya here 1SG.O 2PL.S COMIT help short time IMP+F say AUX ?+M then interj pron pron vt vt aux

"Here, help me," he said.'

177 Tokowisa ati ahi hinaka abono fana kane tokowisa ati tokowisa abono fana na -kane ahi hinaka tokowisa spirit female call for AUX ?+M then 3SG.POSS tree sp tree sp nf pn nf vt. aux dem pron nf

abono	fana	abohi	bao	nisahabanihi	
abono	fana	abohi	bao	na -risa -haba -ni -hi	Ĺ
spirit	female	dead body	come down	AUX down FUT+F IP.N+F DUE	2
nn	nf	nn	77 i	allx	

'He called for the female spirit of the *tokowisa* tree, his dead female *tokowisa* spirit, for it to come down to the ground.'

178	Tokowisa	abono	fana	bao	nakekani	ahi
	tokowisa	abono	fana	bao	na -kI -	·kani ahi
	tree sp	spirit	female	come down	AUX coming ?	+F then
	nf	pn	nf	vi	aux	dem

'The female tokowisa spirit came down to the ground.'

179	Yama	ai	neno	ati	amane	ati	kani	ahi
	yama	ahi	na -hino	ati	ama -ne	ati	na -kani	ahi
	thing	mess with	AUX IP.N+M	voice	be BKG+M	say	AUX ?+F	then
	nf	vt	aux	pn	VC	vt	aux	dem

"Oh-oh, he messed with the monster."

180 *Owa* tikasomahi tika-

soma -hi 1SG.O 2SG.S COMIT help IMP+F

pron

"Help me."

181 *Kisofa* ahi firo kani hine yama mi kana.NOM+F ahi kisofa yama firo hine mii thing spit COMIT AUX then 3.REFL defecate on sound nf vt dem aux pron vt

nabanihi

na -haba -ni -hi AUX FUT+F IP.N+F DUP

'Kisofa, it spit. It soiled itself.'

182 Barorere sonakani ahi barorere sona -kani ahi fall ?+F then sound

'Barorere, it fell over.'

183 *Aa* owa kasomabone ha ona ka- soma -habone owa haa 0na+F (expression of displeasure) 1SG.O COMIT help INT+F call 1SG.S AUX interj pron vt vt aux

ama

ama SEC

"Aw, I called it so it would help me."

184	Tokowisa	abono	fana	homakani		ahi	abaro	
	tokowisa	abono	fana	homa -	-kani	ahi	ahaba	-haaro
	tree sp	spirit	female	lie on ground ?	?+F	then	die	IP.E+F
	nf	pn	nf	vi		dem	vi	

'The female tokowisa spirit lay on the ground dead.'

```
185 Mera
           ha
                  kane
                              foyahari
                  na -kane
   mera
           haa
                              foya
                                          -haari
                  AUX ?+M
   3PL.O
           call
                              be inside IP.E+M
   pron
           vt
                  aux
                              vi
'He called them from inside the house.'
186 Ava
           owa
                   te
                           kasomamatahi
                           ka- soma -mata
                                                   -hi
   aya
           owa
                   tee
   here
           1SG.O
                   2PL.S
                           COMIT help short time IMP+F
   interj pron
                   pron
                           v/t
"Here help me."
187 Taboro
                     firo
                            hikane
                                             waha
                                                    ahi
             me
                            hi- na -kane
   taboro
             me
                     firo
                                             waha
                                                    ahi
                            OC AUX ?+M
   place+M
             3PL.S
                    spit
                                             now
                                                    then
             pron
                     vt
                            aux
                                             prt
                                                    dem
'They spit around his house.'
188 Taboro
                     firo
                            hinematamona
                                                      ahi
             me
   taboro
                     firo
                            hi- na -himata -mona
                                                      ahi
             me
   place+M
             3PL.S
                     spit
                            OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M
                                                      then
             pron
                     vt
                            aux
                                                      dem
'They spit around his house.'
189 Taboro
                            hine
             me
                     firo
                                          maka
                                                              fawa
                                                    mao
   taboro
                     firo
                            hi- na+M
                                          maka
                                                               fawa
             me
                                                    maho
                            OC AUX
   place+M
             3PL.S
                     spit
                                          monster
                                                    smell+M
                                                              disappear
                     vt
             pron
                            aux
                                          nm
                                                    pn
tonakose
                             fati
                       ya
        -kosa.NOM+M
                              fati
to- na
                      ya
CH AUX middle
                              3SG.POSS.wife
                       ADJU
                       prt
                              nf
aux
totimematamonahane
to- iti -ma -himata -mona -ha -ne
away pick up back FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M
'They spit around his house. When the smell of the monster was almost gone, he went and got his wife.'
190 Oko
                    vibote
                             onakamamatibe
                             o- to- na- ka
             ka
                    yibote
                                                        -ma -mata
                                                                          -be
   1SG.POSS POSS
                    wife
                             1SG.S away CAUS go/come back short time IMMED+F
                    nf
                             vt
toni
                        ni
                             hekaro
                  me
toni
                        ni
                            hi- to- ka-
                                           ka
                                                      -haaro
                  me
familiar spirit
                  3PL
                        to
                            OC away COMIT go/come IP.E+F
                  pron prt vt
"I will go get my wife," who he had taken to the spirits.'
191 Fati
                                                      ahi
                    tonakamakane
                                        -ma -kane
    fati
                                                      ahi
                    to- na- ka
    3SG.POSS.wife
                   away CAUS go/come back ?+M
                                                      then
```

'He went after his wife.'

dem

#### 192 **Onakamamatibe**

o- to- na- ka -ma -mata -be 1SG.S away CAUS go/come back short time IMMED+F

"I'm going to get her."

ti 193 Hinakama ri  $\boldsymbol{E}$ amo **E** ee hi- to- na- ka -ma+F , na -ri tiamo OC away CAUS go/come back (question) AUX CQ+F sleep 2SG.S vi aux vi prt

'He went after her. "Were you sleeping?"'

#### 194 *Amo* orini

amo o- na -ra -ni sleep 1SG.S AUX NEG BKG+F vi aux

"I'm not sleeping."

Otanahoniatikaniotaanaho-niatina-kani 195 *Ota* ahi 1EX.S stand BKG+F say AUX ?+F then pron vi vt aux

"We are standing here," she said.'

#### 196 *Hima* e

e towakama
ee to- ka- ka -ma hima let's go 1IN.S away COMIT go/come back interj pron vi

"Come on, let's go home."

#### 197 **Yama** onahabihara

o- na- ahaba -hara yama thing 1SG.S CAUS die IP.E+F nf vt

"I killed the monster."

#### 198 Ahabara

ahaba -hara die IP.E+F vi

"It died."

199 *Me* hekama awine hi- to- ka- ka -ma+F awine me 3PL.S OC away COMIT go/come back seem+F pron vt

"They took it away."

200 Faya fati kakamematamonaka fahi faya fati ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ka fahi so 3SG.POSS.wife COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then conj nf vt

'Then he brought his wife back.'

201 <i>Fati</i>	kakame		, Yifo	tikahomo		
fati 3SG.POSS.wife	ka- ka COMIT go/	-ma+M	yifo hammock		kaho -m tie ba	
nf	vt	come back	nm	vt	cic ba	CK
'He brought his wife bac	ck. "Tie up you	r hammock aga	in.'''			
202 <i>Fati</i>	<i>y y</i>	sere namaki		fare	ati	ehene
fati 3SG.POSS.wife	-		ma -kani ack ?+F	fare same+M	ati voice	ehene because of+M
nf		vt aux	ach . I	dem	pn	post
'His wife did what he sa	id and tied her	hammock back	up.'			
203 Abarene	era	nakamakeh	ino			
ahaba -hare -		na- ka	-makI			
die IP.E+M E vi	BKG+M 1IN. pron	<del>-</del>	come follo	wing IP.N	I+M	
"The one who came afte	-					
204 Faya fati	fame	e amo	nawahemat	amona		fahi .
faya fati so 3SG.POSS	fam S.wife be	a+M amo	na -wah		ta -mona	
conj nf	vi vi	with sleep vi	aux	ge FP.N+M	1 REP+M	I then dem
'Then he went to sleep w	vith his wife.'					
205 <i>Fati</i>	amo kav	vahematamonak	ana			maka
fati	amo ka		ha -himata			na maka
3SG.POSS.wife	vi au	MIT AUX cha x	nge FP.N+M	REP+M L	ECL+M	monster nm
abawahe ran	na .					
ahaba -waha+M ram die change un	ma usual					
vi pr						
'He slept with his wife, r	now that the m	onster had died	l. <b>'</b>			
206 <b>Iita karan</b>	na	tiya				
	-karahama		-yahi			
DUP stay AUX vi aux	only do	2SG.S AUX aux	DISI.IMP+F			
"You stay here."						
207 <b>Fa</b> koro		omatibe				
faha koro		o- na		-be	_	
water throw s nf vt	something or	n ISG.S AU. aux	X short tir	me IMMED+	F'	
"I'm going fishing."						
208 Faya tokatasema	tamonaka			fahi .		
faya to- ka		-himata -m	ona -ka	fahi .		
so away go/ conj vi	come again	FP.N+M RE	P+M DECL+M	then dem		
'He went again.'				aeili		
209 Tokatase		aba me	tisa		ne	aba me
to- ka -	-tasa+M ,	aba me	tisa		na+M	aba me
away go/come a vi	ngain	fish 3PL.0		ith arrow	AUX aux	fish 3PL.0 nm pron
v ±		TIII PIOII	v C		uun	TIME PLOII

weye	ni	kame		. 1	fati		aba	me			
weye	na.NFIN	ka	-ma+M	, i	fati		aba	me			
carry	AUX	go/come	back		3SG.POS	S.wife	fisl	n 3PL.O			
vt	aux	vi		1	nf		nm	pron			
kawaria			,	me	tafam	atemetem	oneke				
ka-	waa -rI+I	?	,	me	tafa	-mata		-hemete	-mone	-ke	
COMIT	cook raise	ed surfac	ce	3PL.S	eat	short	time	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	
vt				pron	vi						
_				_	_					_	_

'He went, and shot fish with arrows. He came back carrying the fish. His wife cooked the fish. They ate.'

210 *Faya* tokatasematamonaka fahi maka to- ka -tasa -himata -mona -ka maka faya fahi away go/come again FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M so then monster conj vi dem nm towasiwitibanoho tasa koho nari to- wasi -witI -hiba -no -ho tasa faha koho na -haari away find out FUT+M IP.N+M DUP again water hit AUX IP.E+M vt prt nf vt aux

'He went again. He came upon the monster as it was hitting the water with a reed.'

211	Maiko	fa	koho	nebona	ka	fa	koho
	Maiko	faha	koho	na -hibona	ka	faha	koho
	(man's name)	water	hit	AUX INT+M	which	water	hit
	npropm	nf	vt	aux	prt	nf	vt

nematamonane

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

'It was hitting the water with a reed, the water that Maiko was going to hit with a reed.'

212	Koho	koho	fa	moni
	koho	koho	faha	moni
	(sound of something hitting) sound	(sound of something hitting) sound	water nf	sound pn

saihemetemoneamanisai-hemete-moneama-nibe heardFP.N+FREP+FSECBKG+Fvisec

'Koho, koho. The sound of the water could be heard.'

213	213 <i>Aa</i>				oko		fa	koro			
	aa				0-	ka	faha	koro			
	(expression of displeasure)				1SG.POS	SS POSS	water	throw	something	on	
	interj				prt		nf	vt			
onabone			koho	ne	awa	?					
0-	na	-habone	koho	na+M	awa						
1SG	.S AU	X INT+F	hit	AUX	seem+M						
aux			vt	aux	sec						

"Oh no, is it hitting a reed on the water where I was going to fish?"

214	Wakose	matamona		ahi	fa	koho	nari		
	waa	-kosa	-himata	-mona	ahi	faha	koho	na	-haari
	stand	middle	FP.N+M	REP+M	then	water	hit	AUX	IP.E+M
	vi				dem	nf	vt	aux	

'It was standing in a clear place, hitting the water with a reed.'

215 *Hee* 

hee

hev

moni

interj pn

"Hey, it's the sound of it."

moni

sound be

ama

ama

VC

nano

aux

na.NOM+M -no

AUX IP.N+M

216 *Maki* tina maki tina 2SG.S AUX pay vi aux "It will pay." 217 Otamata o- ita -mata 1SG.S pierce short time "I will spear it." 218 *Titisa* miti tonihakane ahi ti- tisa miti to- niha- na -kane ahi DUP shoot with arrow get loose CH CAUS AUX ?+M then vi aux 'He took the string off his bow.' 219 *Maka* faha koho ki ne nematamonaha faha na -himata -mona -ha maka koho na+M kii look at AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP monster water hit AUX nf vt aux vt aux 'He watched the monster as it was hitting the water with the reed.' 220 *Efe* ama ti ama tiefe 2SG.S this+M be vc prt dem 'He was extraordinary.' 221 *Maiko* kakasiro toematamona tamine to- ha -himata -mona CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M Maiko ka- kasiro tamine ama -ne (man's name) DUP persist news about be BKG+M npropm aux 'Maiko was really strong.' 222 Tokakane sina hisi nakehari ahi to- ka -kane na -kI sina hisi -haari away go/come ?+M snuff sniff AUX coming IP.E+M then nf vt aux 'He went, after taking snuff.' 223 *Kere* kere ati kere kere ati (call of kingfisher) (call of kingfisher) voice sound sound kamematamonaka maka fa koho ne ya ka -ma -himata -mona -ka maka faha koho na+M waa.NOM ya go/come back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M monster water hit AUX stand ADJU νi nm nf vt aux vt prt

ahi maka tonokowiti ahi rama to- noko -witI+M ahi maka rama ahi away point out then monster unusual then dem prt dem nm

"Kere, kere." His voice could be heard as he came to where the monster was hitting the water with the reed. The monster was facing the other way.'

224 Fofofofo wakai kane ahi fa koho ne fofofofo wakai na -kane ahi faha koho na+M(sound of hitting) AUX ?+M then water hit AUX sound dem nf vt aux aux

tonokowameramaahito-noko-waha-ma+Mramaahiawaypointchangebackunusualthenviprtdem

'He slowed down and landed on a branch. It was hitting the water with the reed, turned the other way.'

225 Titisa nakoro rama ahi
ti- tisa na- koro+M rama ahi
DUP shoot with arrow CAUS be loose unusual then
nf vt prt dem

'He had rubbed his shaman's stone on the bow.'

226 **Titisa** nakoro , **Kere**ti- tisa na- koro+M kere

DUP shoot with arrow CAUS be loose (call of kingfisher)

nf vt sound

ati kere nematamona ahi sohi towiti kere ati na -himata -mona ahi sohi to--witI+M na (call of kingfisher) away AUX out AUX FP.N+M REP+M then dart say sound vt aux dem 77 i aux

rama ahi
rama ahi
unusual then
prt dem

'He had rubbed his shaman's stone on the bow. "Kere, kere," he said. He darted down.'

227 Tiihii moni tonematamona ahi ya moni to- na -himata -mona ahi ya (sound of hitting) make sound CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then ADJU sound vt aux dem prt

"Tiihii," he went.'

228 Yama fa Maiko hitemetemone tabori wa yama faha waa+F Maiko hi- ita -hemete -mone tabori stand pierce FP.N+F place+F thing water (man's name) OC REP+F nf nf vi pn npropm v+.

e nanao toine narawi to- ha na -rawa.NOM+F ee na- naho -ne AUX F.PL 1IN.S CAUS stay CH AUX CONT+F ADJU pron vi aux

'Maiko speared it as it stood in the water. We are living in its place.'

229 *Tooo* moni nematamona ahi va tooo moni na -himata -mona ahi va (sound of explosion) sound AUX FP.N+M REP+M then ADJU pn aux dem prt

"Tooo," it went.'

230 Koho koho koho

(sound of something hitting) (sound of something hitting)

sound sound

koho koho boni awa boni koho koho awa (sound of something hitting) (sound of something hitting) tree fruit+F nf sound sound pn

moninemetemoneamaahimonina -hemete -moneamaahimake soundAUX FP.N+F REP+FSEC thenvtauxsec dem

"Koho, koho, koho," it went, like the sound of fruits falling in water."

231 Tasi towitikane ahi
tasi to- na -witI -kane ahi
emerge away AUX out ?+M then
vi aux dem

'He came out of the water on the other side.'

232 *Kere* kere tokomakane ahi kere to- ka -ma -kane ahi kere (call of kingfisher) (call of kingfisher) away qo/come back ?+M then sound sound vi dem

maka itahari

maka ita -haari
monster pierce IP.E+M
nm vt

"Kere, kere." He went away after spearing the monster.'

233 Tofotowamakane to- foto -waha -ma -kane ahi away appear change back ?+M then vi dem

'He came out on the other side.'

234 Towitawamakane to- ita -waha -ma -kane fare hawine ya away sit change back ?+M same+M trail+M ADJU vi dem pn prt

'He sat there again at the same trail as before.'

235 Itehina

ita -hina
pierce ?+M
result

"There, I speared it."

236 Hitehimatamonaka

hi- ita -himata -mona -ka OC pierce FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vt

'He speared it.'

237 *Fava* fa koro nawahakane ahi faya faha koro na -waha -kane ahi AUX change ?+M so water throw something on then conj nf vt aux dem

'Then Maiko fished.'

238 *Fa* koro nawahematamona ahi maka faha koro na -waha -himata -mona ahi maka throw something on water AUX change FP.N+M REP+M then monster nf dem aux nm

itahari

ita -haari pierce IP.E+M

vt

'He fished, after spearing the monster.'

239 *Fa* koro aba tisa ne me faha koro na+M aba me tisa water throw something on AUX fish 3PL.O shoot with arrow nf nm pron

nawahematamonahane

na -waha -himata -mona -ha -ne AUX change FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M aux

'He fished. He shot fish with bow and arrow.'

dem

nm

240 Aba aba soki mρ tisa nawahe me aha tisa na -waha+M soki me aha me 3PL.0 tie up fish shoot with arrow AUX change fish 3PL.O pron vt pron aux nm vt. itahari nakosakane ahi maka na -kosa -kane -haari ahi maka ita AUX middle ?+M pierce IP.E+M then monster

'He shot fish with bow and arrow. He tied the ring of fish in the middle, after spearing the monster.'

vt.

241 *Oko* fa koho neno otine oni ka faha koho na -hino 0ita -ne 0ni 1SG.POSS POSS water hit AUX IP.N+M 1SG.S pierce CONT+F 1SG.S BKG+F nf vt aux

owatino

owatino

exclamation

interj

"There, I speared the one who was hitting my water with a reed."

242 Hihiyara tosi kane ahi
hi- hiyara to- na -sii na -kane ahi
OC speak CH AUX slowly along the way AUX ?+M then
vi aux dem

'He went along talking.'

243 Faya kamematamona fahi
faya ka -ma -himata -mona fahi
so go/come back FP.N+M REP+M then
conj vi dem

'So he came back.'

244	Yama	fa	koho	nani	otini		ati	kane	ahi
	yama	faha	koho	na -hani	o- ita	-ni	ati	na -kane	ahi
	thing	water	hit	AUX IP.N+F	1SG.S pierce	BKG+F	say	AUX ?+M	then
	nf	nf	vt	aux	vt		vt	aux	dem

"I speared the monster which was hitting the water with a reed," he said.'

245 Towakami ahi
to- ka- ka -ma.NOM+F ahi
away COMIT go/come back there
vi dem

"It went away."

246 Ahaba awine
ahaba+F awine
die seem+F
vi sec

"It died."

247 *Yama* tafe iisi na toemetemone ini i- isi tafe to- ha -hemete -mone CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F yama na ini thing food+F DUP be small AUX name+F nf pn vi aux aux amani Maiko

ama -ni Maiko
be BKG+F (man's name)
vc npropm

'Maiko used to eat a lot.'

248 Maiko tefe iisi na toarematamona

Maiko tefe i- isi na to- ha -ra -himata -mona
(man's name) food+M DUP be small AUX CH AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M
npropm pn vi aux aux

amaka

ama -ka SEC DECL+M sec

'Maiko used to eat a lot.'

249 *Biti* ha hine Abise abise okatao me amo biti hi- na+M haa abise abise okatao me 3SG.POSS.son 3PL.S call OC AUX uncle uncle my son sleep vt pron aux nm nm nm

nabona

na.NOM+M -bona AUX INT+M

aux

'His nephews called him. "Uncle, my son is going to sleep."

250 Ota tokibonehe
otaa to- ka.NOM+F -bone -he
1EX.S away go/come INT+F DUP
pron vi

"We are going home."

```
251 Ee
    yes
    interj
"All right."
252 Abise
                                kobaya
                                                    yoto
            kobaya
                                kobaya
    abise
            kobaya
                                                    yoto
    uncle
            collared peccary
                                collared peccary
                                                    cover
    nm
                                                    vt
tikiyahi
ti- ka-
             na -yahi
2SG.S COMIT AUX DIST.IMP+F
aux
"Uncle, cover the collared peccary meat."
253 Ee
    ee
    yes
    interj
"All right."
254 Kobaya
                        kabematamona
                                              ahi
    kobaya
                        kaba -himata -mona
                                              ahi
                        eat FP.N+M REP+M
                                              then
    collared peccary
                        vt
                                               dem
'He ate the peccary.'
255 Kobaya
                                    kobaya
                        kabe
                                                        kabe
    kobaya
                        kaba+M
                                    kobaya
                                                        kaba+M
                                    collared peccary
    collared peccary
                        eat
                                                        eat
                        vt
                                                        vt
tokomakewematamonane
                         -waha -himata -mona -ne
to- ka
           -makI
away go/come following change FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
'He ate the peccary. He went there.'
256 Hinaka
               kobaya
                                   taboro
                                             yoto
                                                     kanematamonaha
    hinaka
               kobaya
                                   taboro
                                             yoto
                                                     ka- na -himata -mona -ha
                                   place+M
    3SG.POSS
               collared peccary
                                             cover
                                                     COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
                                   pn
                                             vt
                                                     aux
'He covered the place where the peccary meat had been.'
257 Kobaya
                        tati
                                                                    hinaka
                               ohaohari
                                             kane
                                                          ahi
    kobaya
                        tati
                               oha- ohari
                                             na -kane
                                                          ahi
                                                                    hinaka
    collared peccary
                               DUP be one AUX ?+M
                                                                    3SG.POSS
                        head
                                                          then
                        pn
                               vi
                                             aux
                                                          dem
                                                                    pron
kobaya
kobaya
```

collared peccary

'All that was left of his peccary was the head.'

258 Hinaka kobaya wivene boko hinaka kobava wiyene boko 3SG.POSS collared peccary container+M close pron tonihematamonahane kobaya kabahari to- niha- na -himata -mona -ha -ne CH CAUS AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M kaba -haari kobava collared peccary eat IP.E+M 'He turned over the pot that the peccary meat had been in.' 259 *Me* mari hine sisiwa kana yamata hi- na+M yamata si- siwa kame mari na 3PL.S AUX COMIT AUX offer a feast to OC food DUP play pron allx n f 77 i aux tohematamona ino amane tamatama rahi to- ha -himata -mona ino ama -ne tama- tama na -ra+M CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M name+M be BKG+M DUP be many AUX NEG aux pn VC vi aux 'They had a feast for him. He ate everything without getting full, all by himself.' 260 Hinaka sari kafama sari fawa kafama aba me kafama+F kahinaka sahari sahari fawa+F fama+F aba 3SG.POSS COMIT be two broth drink COMIT be two fish 3PL.O broth nf result pron vi pron kaba nari kaba.LIST na -haari AUX IP.E+M eat 77 T allx 'He drank two pots of broth, and ate fish, too.' 261 **E** toro totoka tera to- to- ka -tee -ra+F ee toro na DUP away go/come AUX HAB NEG 1IN.POSS inside pron pn vi aux 'Our stomachs can't stretch.' 262 *Toke* abami yome abami vome abami ne ne ka+M toabami yome na+M abami yome na+M away qo/come tree sp swallow AUX tree sp swallow AUX tree sp nm vt. aux nm vt aux abami weve kanama fati kabonaha owa abami owa weye kana -ma.LIST fati ka -bona -ha POSS INT+M DUP tree sp other+M carry COMIT AUX back 3SG.POSS.wife adj vt. aux nf prt 'He went out into the forest. He ate abami fruits. He carried some abami fruits back for his wife.' 263 Abami weve kanamematamonahane abami na -ma -himata -mona -ha -ne weye katree sp COMIT AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DUP BKG+M carry vt. aux 'He carried some abami fruits back.' 264 *Abami* Maiko kakasi weve kaname abami ka- na -ma+M Maiko ka- kasi weye

(man's name)

npropm

DUP be naughty

COMIT AUX back

aux

tree sp

nm

carry

'He carried some abami fruits back. "Maiko is really something."

265	Okobise		kakasi	raba		nofare			ama	
	0-	ka	abise	ka- kasi	na	-raba	na	nofa	-ra+M	ama
	1SG.POSS	POSS	uncle	DUP be naughty	AUX	a bit	AUX	recently	NEG	SEC
	nm			vi	aux		aux			sec

"My uncle is really something."

266Okobiseemarinibeo-kaabiseeemarina-be1SG.POSSPOSSuncle1IN.Soffer a feast toAUXIMMED+Fnmpronvtaux

"Let's have a feast for my uncle."

267 E awaba
ee awa -ba
1IN.S see IMMED+M
pron vt

"We will see him."

268 *Me* wati hikane tefebona mρ me wati hi- kana+M tefe -bona me 3PL.S plan against OC COMIT AUX food+M INT+M 3PL.S pron vt aux pron pn hikawarikime hinaka saribone ori me hi- ka- waa -rI -kima+M hinaka sahari -bone me ori OC COMIT cook raised surface two 3SG.POSS broth INT+F 3PL.S mix pron vt pron nf vt. hikanikima sari fawaha tori hasi hasi.LIST hi- ka- na -kima+F fawa+F sahari tori broth OC COMIT AUX two drink portion left over+F be left result vi aux nf pn faya ha hinematamonaka fahi me haa hi- na -himata -mona -ka fahi OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M 3PL.S call then vt

'They were planning against him. They cooked two kinds of food for him. They cooked two pots of broth for him. He drank the broth, and there was some left over. Then they called him.'

269 Abise abise abise uncle uncle nm nm

"Uncle, uncle."

270 *Haa*haa
huh?
interj
"'Huh?"'

271 *Abise* aba home tikabamata nome homa+M abise aba ti- kaba -mata lie on ground 2SG.S eat short time uncle fish nm vi "Uncle, there is fish on the leaf, eat it." hiwa 272 *Ee* homa.NOM+M ee hiwa yes 3SG.REFL.M lie on ground interj pron vi "Okay, let it be there." 273 *Owa* aawa naba a- awa na -ba OWA. DUP see AUX IMMED+M result aux "I will take a look at it." 274 *Aba* aba ya me aba me me mari aba aba me aba ya me mari hi- na+M me fish fish 3PL fish 3PL ADJU 3PL.S offer a feast to OC AUX nm pron nm pron prt pron vt aba siwa kanematamona ino amane me siwa ka- na -himata -mona aba me ino ama -ne fish 3PL.O play COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M name+M be BKG+M pron vi aux VC pn 'They offered fish to him as they had the feast for him. He ate it all.' 275 *Aba* itihemetemone amake nafi yama ini me iti -hemete -mone aha nafi yama ini ama -ke me thing take out FP.N+F REP+F fish 3PL.POSS all name+F be DECL+F nf pron pn vt. pn VC. 'He ate all the fish.' 276 *Sari* yoro kana nine fa sahari yoro ka- na.LIST na -ne faa stand COMIT AUX AUX CONT+F that broth nf vi aux aux dem "There are two pots of broth there." 277 Hinaka towitakosikimakani sari wive ahi sahari wiye to- ita -kosa -kima -kani hinaka ahi 3SG.POSS broth container+F CH sit middle two then dem nf pn vi 'The two pots of broth were sitting there empty.' 278 Hinaka aba me kahoma tone ka- homa+F hinaka aba me t.one COMIT lie on ground 3SG.POSS fish 3PL.POSS bone pron nm pron pn vi tokomakane nabati ahi -ma -kane to- ka ahi nabati away go/come back ?+M then stomach

dem

νi

#### tokowinamebanoho

to- ka- wina -ma -hiba -no -ho away COMIT lie in hammock back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP vt.

'The bones of his fish were on the ground. He went and lay in his hammock with his stomach full.'

279 *Yoari* birikiki toematamona Maiko na biriki -ki to- ha -himata -mona voha -ri na Maiko breast PN be small DUP AUX CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M (man's name) pn vi aux aux npropm

toahari

to- ha -haari CH be IP.E+M vc

'He had a big chest.'

280 *Me* tafa Te towakama me me owa me tafa+F me me tee to- kaka -ma owa 3PL.S eat 3PL.S 3PL 2PL.S away COMIT go/come back 1SG.0 vi pron pron pron vi pron

temarinateteemarina+Ftee2PL.Soffer a feast toAUX2PL.Spronvtauxpron

'They ate. "You two go home, after giving me a feast."'

281 Te aawa obisibe

tee a- awa o- na -bisa -be 2PL.O DUP see 1SG.S AUX also IMMED+F pron vt aux

"I'm going to have a feast for you, too."

282 *Mera* mari mera wati kane mera mari na -hibona mera wati kana+M AUX INT+M offer a feast to COMIT AUX 3PL.O 3PL.O plan against aux pron aux

Abise aba fa ota koro namatibeya abise aba faha otaa koro na -mata -be throw something on uncle fish water 1EX.S AUX short time IMMED+F now nm nf pron aux

me ati nemetemoneheni

me ati na -hemete -mone -he -ni 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F pron vt aux

'He was planning to have a feast for them. "Uncle, we are going to go fishing," they said.'

283	Fa	me	koro	nabone	me	towaka
	faha	me	koro	na -habone	me	to- ka- ka+F
	water	3PL.S	throw something on	AUX INT+F	3PL.S	away COMIT go/come
	nf	pron	vt	aux	pron	vi
	fa	me	koro	nabone	me	
	faha	me	koro	na -habone	me	
	faha	_	koro throw something on		me 3PL.S	

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towakemetemoneheni
```

to- ka- ka -hemete -mone -he -ni away COMIT go/come FP.N+F REP+F DUP BKG+F vi

'They went fishing.'

284 Fa me faha me water 3PL	koro koro S throw s	omething on	<i>nabone</i> na -hab AUX INT+		
nf pro	vt		aux	pron	
towakani		me fa	wa I	kana .	me
to- ka- ka	-hani	me fa	awa 1	ka- na+F '	me
away COMIT go/	come IP.N+F	3PL.S d	isappear (	COMIT AUX	3PL.S
vi		pron v	i a	aux	pron
kafotomemetemone		aba	me	me weye	nikima
ka- foto -	ma -hemete	-mone aba	a me	me weye	na -kima+F
COMIT appear b	ack FP.N+F	REP+F fis	sh 3PL.O	3PL.S carry	y AUX two
vi		nm	pron	pron vt	aux
mati , me	ka yibote	e watarawa	ha	me	kasiro
mati , me	ka yibo	te wata	- n	rawa+F me	kasiro
3PL.S 3PL	POSS wife	lie in	hammock F.	PL 3PL.S	hurry up
pron pron	prt nf	vi		pron	vt
karawa	me	kasiro	karawabani		mati
ka- na -raw	a+F me	kasiro	ka- na	-rawa -haba	-ni mati
COMIT AUX F.PL	3PL.S	hurry up	COMIT AUX	F.PL FUT+F	IP.N+F 3PL.S
aux	pron	vt	aux		pron

'They went out to fish, and disappeared in the forest. They appeared again, carrying fish. Their wives were lying in their hammocks, and they told them to get to work.'

285 <i>Nakarifa</i> nakarifa taro sp nf	ware waa -rI cook raised	l surface	<i>nati</i> naha dayt prt		hinaka hinaka 3SG.POSS pron	<i>nakarifa</i> nakarifa taro sp nf	<pre>haro haro.NFIN be boiled vi</pre>
kawitaremetemone				isiri	ya .		
ka- ita -rI		-hemete	-mone	isiri	ya		
COMIT sit rai	sed surface	FP.N+F	REP+F	basket	ADJU		
vi		1 17 17		nf	prt		

'He cooked some taro all day long. His boiled taro was in a basket.'

286	Yiwa	ka	kawitare	fara	me	nima
	yiwa	ka	ka- ita -rI.LIST	fara	me	nima
	pot	pertaining to	COMIT sit raised surface	same+F	3PL	like
	nf	prt	vi	dem	pron	prt

'There was taro in a pot, too. He did the same as them.'

287	Yama		oko		yamataba	ı	me	wawasi	nofa	ama
	yama	,	0-	ka	yamata	-ba	me	wa- wasi	na nofa+F	ama
	thing		1SG.POSS	POSS	food	FUT	3PL.S	DUP cook	AUX recently	SEC
	nf		prt		nf		pron	vt	aux	sec

*o* o-

1SG.POSS

prt

"They don't cook food for me."

```
288 Himata
            me
                   ahi
                            timati
                            na -tee.NOM -mati
   himata
            me
                   ahi
            3PL.S work on AUX HAB
                                          ?+F
   what?
                                                  3PL.O
   interrog pron
                   vt
                             aux
                                                 pron
                                      nafimimineni
                               me
                        owa
                                                   -ma -ne -ni
ati o- na nofa+F
                                       na- fimi
                        owa
                               me
say 1SG.S AUX recently
                        1SG.O
                               3PL.S CAUS be hungry back CONT+F BKG+F
vt
                        pron
                               pron
                                       vt
"Why are they leaving me hungry when I am coming back?"
289 Me
          hora
                     nikima
                                     nemetemone
                                                              ka
                                                                    vibote
                                                         me
                                                                    yibote
                    na -kima.LIST na -hemete -mone
   me
          hora
                                                        me
                                                              ka
          complain AUX two
                                                         3PL POSS
                                     AUX FP.N+F REP+F
   3PL.S
                                                                    wife
                                                         pron prt
   pron
          vi
                     aux
                                     aux
       kakorawa
                              mati
                              mati
me
       kaako
                     -rawa+F
3PL.S be angry with F.PL
                              3PL.S
pron vt
                              pron
'The two of them were complaining, angry at their wives.'
          tikamitamatahi
290 Yama
          ti- ka-
                      mita -mata
   yama
          2SG.S COMIT hear short time IMP+F
"Listen."
291 Abise
                           wati
                                         kane
                                                      teni
                   tera
                                                                   te
                           wati
                                               na+M tee
   ahise
                                         ka-
                                                            -ni
                    tera
                                                                   tee
   2SG.POSS.uncle 2PL.O plan against COMIT AUX
                                                      2PL.O BKG+F 2PL.O
                   pron
                                                     pron
                          vt
                                         aux
                                                                   pron
mari
                  nemonaha
                                   ati
                                         nemetemone
                                                            fati
                  na -himona -ha ati
                                         na -hemete -mone
                                                            fati
mari
                                         AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                  AUX REP+M DUP say
                                                           3SG.POSS.wife
offer a feast to
                  aux
                                   vt
                                         aux
                                                            nf
"Your uncle is planning against you, having a feast for you," she said, his wife."
292 Te
             tefebone
                          abise
                                          ware
                                                                tera
                                                                       ha
                                          waa -rI
   tee
             tefe -bone
                          abise
                                                                tera
   2PL.POSS food INT+F
                         2SG.POSS.uncle cook raised surface
                                                                2PL.O
                                                                       call
             pn
                          nm
                                                                pron
neha
           awane
                         ati
                              nemetemone
na -hiba awa -ne
                         ati
                              na -hemete -mone
AUX FUT+M seem+M BKG+M say
                              AUX FP.N+F REP+F
           sec
                         vt
                               aux
"Your uncle cooked food for you, and he is going to call you," she said.'
293 Faya
                                                  fahi
                       nematamonaka
         mera
                 ha
                haa
                       na -himata -mona -ka
                                                  fahi
   faya mera
         3PL.O call AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
                                                  then
   conj pron
                vt
                       aux
'Then he called them.'
294 Nakarifa
                     kakaba
                               kawaharaba
             me
                                                                 mera
                                                            me
   nakarifa me
                     ka- kaba
                               ka- na -waha -ra -haba
                                                            me
   taro sp 3PL.S DUP eat
                               COMIT AUX change NEG FUT+F 3PL 3PL.O
             pron
                     vt.
                                                            pron pron
```

mari nematamona ino amaka mari na -himata -mona ino ama -ka AUX FP.N+M REP+M offer a feast to name+M be DECL+M pn VC. 'They didn't want to eat any more taro. He had a feast for them.'

295 *Mera* nakarifa kaba mari ne me me mera mari na+M nakarifa me kaba+F me taro sp 3PL.O offer a feast to AUX 3PL.S eat 3PL.S nf pron pron 77 aux vt. pron Oko

kabakaba yama te kawaha 0yama ka tee kaba- kaba ka--waha na DUP COMIT AUX change 1SG.POSS POSS thing 2PL.S eat pron nf vt aux

'He had a feast for them. They ate taro. "Eat all my food."

296 **E** mari ora ama owa te ee 0na -ra+F ama 0owa tee mari be similar 1SG.S AUX NEG SEC 1SG.S 1SG.0 2PL.S offer a feast to aux pron pron vt prt fami ha na otamara owa te te te na+F tee 0tama -ra+F owa tee fama.NFIN haa tee 1SG.S be many NEG 1SG.S 2PL.S DEM 2PL 2PL.S be two pron vi pron pron vi dem

"That's what I did, when you had a feast for me, even though I am just one person, and you are two."

297 Hinaka hikababone hiba nakarifa nakarifa me me hinaka nakarifa hi- kaba -habone nakarifa hiba me me INT+F 3SG.POSS taro sp OC taro sp 3PL.S 3PL.S eat soon after pron pron nf nf vt. conj pron

akara kakaba na me me siwa akara+F ka- kaba na+F me me siwa DUP eat AUX 3PL.S be satiated 3PL.S play aux pron vi pron νi

hikanemetemoneke

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

'They couldn't eat all his taro. Soon after they started to eat the taro, they became full. They couldn't finish eating it.'

298 *Me* siwa hikana Abise ota akarini me siwa hi- kana+F abise otaa akara me -ni 3PL.S play OC COMIT AUX uncle 1EX.S be satiated BKG+F 3PL.S pron vi aux nm pron vi pron

nemetemonehe ati

ati na -hemete -mone -he say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP

aux

'They couldn't eat it all. "Uncle, we are full," they said.'

299 *Ee* kawatare te te te ee tee tee kawata -rI tee akara.NFIN 2PL 2PL.S COMIT put raised surface 2PL.S be satiated yes vi interj pron pron pron

teawiyateeawa.NOM+Fya2PL.SfeelADJUpronvtprt

"All right, put it away when you feel full."

300 *Te* kabamaketasibe ati nematamonaka kaba -makI -tasa -be tee ati na -himata -mona -ka 2PL.S eat following again IMMED+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M pron vt vt aux

"You will eat more later," he said.'

301 Hinaka nakarifa me yoro hinaka nakarifa me yoro 3SG.POSS taro sp 3PL.S stand pron nf pron vi

hikaniriemetemoneni

hi- ka- niha- na -rI -hemete -mone -ni OC COMIT CAUS AUX raised surface FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F

'They put the two pots of his taro up.'

302 Manako toharebona ati ka e nare e to- ha -ra -hibona na -hare manako ee ati ka ee CH pay back NEG INT+M AUX IP.E+M 1IN revenge 1IN.S say vd vt pron prt pron aux

abise

abise uncle

"And we thought he wouldn't pay us back, our uncle."

owa 303 Yamata owasiamone owa te te hora o- wasi -hamone yamata owa tee owa tee hora na -ma+F 1SG.S cook REP+F AUX back food 1SG.0 2PL 1SG.O 2PL.S scold nf vt pron pron pron pron vt aux owinini ati nemetemone fati o- wina -ni ati na -hemete -mone fati 1SG.S lie in hammock BKG+F say AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3SG.POSS.wife vt aux

"'You criticized me when you came back, saying I hadn't prepared food. I am in my hammock now," she said, his wife.'

#### 304 Tokawematamonane

to- ka -waha -himata -mona -ne away go/come change FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M vi

'He went out into the forest again.'

305 Me banehemetemone fahi
me bana -hemete -mone fahi
3PL.S move away FP.N+F REP+F then
pron vi dem

'Then they moved to another place.'

```
306 Me
          bana
                      me
                               me
                                       kabasawahakeha
          bana+F
                                               -basa -waha -kI+F
   me
                      me
                                me
                                       ka
   3PL.S move away
                      3PL.S
                                       go/come edge change coming
                                3PL.S
   pron
          vi
                      pron
                                pron
                                       vi
                      ya
waha
                witi
                             me
waha
                witi
                      ya
                            me
flooded forest
                edge
                      ADJU
                             3PL.S
                pn
                      prt
                             pron
kabasawahakemetemoneni
                                                  waha
                                                                   witi
                                                                         ya
                                                                         ya
       -basa -waha -kI
                            -hemete -mone -ni
                                                  waha
                                                                   witi
go/come edge change coming FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F
                                                  flooded forest
                                                                   edge
                                                                         ADJU
vi
                                                  nf
                                                                   pn
                                                                         prt
```

'They moved to another place. They came to the edge of the flooded forest.'

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307 E tokisawiti ee to- ka -risa -witI ahi lIN.S away go/come down out there pron vi dem
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308	$\boldsymbol{E}$	winibe		ahi
	ee	wina	-be	ahi
	1IN.S	live	IMMED+F	there
	pron	vi		dem

"Let's live there."

309	Ati	ati	yana	neba	yotohimatamona
	ati	ati	yana	na -hiba	yoto -himata -mona
	voice	voice	start	AUX FUT+M	follow FP.N+M REP+M
	pn	pn	vi	aux	vi

'He was going to speak. He was behind the others.'

310	Hoo	te	tai	toha					
	hoo	tee	tai	to- ha					
	whew	2PL.S	be ahead	CH AUX	Z				
	interj	pron	vi	aux					
"Whew, you go on ahead."									

311	Siraba	owatam	watamatibe							
	siraba	0-	wata	-mata		-be	siraba			
	fish sp	1SG.S	catch	short	time	IMMED+F	fish sp			
	n f	T7+					n f			

obanam	akiaba				,	maka	foyano		ya
0-	to-	ibana	-makI	-haba	,	maka	foya.NOM+M	-no	ya
1SG.S	away	roast	following	FUT+F		monster	be inside	IP.N+M	ADJU
vt						nm	vi		prt
		_			-				

"I'm going to catch some *siraba* fish with my hands, so I can go and roast the *siraba* fish." The monster was in a hole.'

```
312 Yana tonematamona ahi
yana to- na -himata -mona ahi
start CH AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
vi aux dem
'He left.'
```

313 *Oko* vifo homa ka yifo homa.CONT+M 0-1SG.POSS POSS hammock lie on ground for now nm vi "My hammock will be there on the ground." 314 *Bere* towiti yora towitimatamona ahi to- na -witI+M to- na -witI -himata -mona bere yora ahi away AUX out FP.N+M REP+M be across away AUX out jump then vi aux vi aux dem 'He went on top of a log. He jumped.' 315 *Yora* towititasakane ahi maka kafoyano yora to- na -witI -tasa -kane ka- foya.NOM+M -no ahi maka jump away AUX out again ?+M then monster COMIT be inside IP.N+M vi aux dem nm vi yokana ya yokana ya true ADJU prt 'He jumped again, right where the monster was in the hole.' 316 *Maka* ati vana kane ahi rama na -kane maka ati vana rama AUX ?+M monster voice start unusual then vi aux prt dem pn 'The voice of the monster started up.' 317 **E** e maka ati nematamona e e amane na -himata -mona maka ati ama -ne е е AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC BKG+M interj interj interj monstersay vt nm aux sec "E e e e," said the monster.' 318 *Hiwa* nowati va bere namematamona inawa hiwa nowati ya bere na -ma -himata -mona inawa AUX back FP.N+M REP+M 3SG.REFL.M behind ADJU be across shaman pn prt νi aux 'He disappeared, he was a shaman.' 319 Tabibibi ati nematamonaka ahi tabibibi ati na -himata -mona -ka ahi say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then vt aux "Tabibibi," he said.' 320 Tokomakane ahi maka kakosahari to- ka -ma -kane ahi maka ka- kana -kosa -haari away go/come back ?+M then monster COMIT leave middle IP.E+M dem nm 'He went away, leaving the monster behind.' 321 *Maka* kakose tabibi tonakose vobe kana -kosa+M maka katabibi to- na -kosa+M yobe yobe COMIT leave middle CH AUX middle monster house house vi

aux

me ahi na me naoha me ni va bao na+F naho+F ahi me me ni ya bao 3PL.S work on AUX come down 3PL.S ADJU stand 3PL to pron vt aux pron vi pron prt prt vi nisakane ahi na -risa -kane ahi AUX down ?+M then dem aux

'He left the monster behind. He was imitating a swallow. He came down to the ground where they were standing, making a house.'

322 Te tokomariya

tee to- ka -ma -ra -yahi 2PL.S away go/come back NEG DIST.IMP+F pron vi

"Don't go back there."

323 Yama foyi yama ahi
yama foya.NOM+F yama ahi
thing be inside thing there
nf vi nf dem

"There is a monster in a hole."

324 *Yama* niha owa e okomakine 0 niha- na+F o- ka -makI yama owa ee -ne 0yell CAUS AUX 1SG.S go/come following CONT+F 1SG.S thing 1SG.O vi pron aux vi prt

"I have come here after the monster scared me."