# Free Translation

The voices of the peccaries could be heard, but it was the voices of monsters. The *maka* monsters that I told about many times, which came long ago to the edge of the flooded forest, live in the flooded forest at the Kerebe lake.

I wanted to fish. I had just started to fish. "I will fish at the place where there is a crabwood tree." There were many fish at the place where there was a crabwood tree.

If I had gone into the flooded forest, I would have been in danger. The monsters would have eaten me. I was going to go into the flooded forest, but I stopped. I stayed standing there because of a stream.

The monsters were coming. I looked as I stood on the bank. I stood there looking. I heard the voices of the monsters. "Owee, owee," the monsters said. I thought it was just one monster. I could hear the voices of the monsters as they were coming. "Hoo, hoo, hoo," the monsters were saying. My children said there weren't any monsters, but they were wrong. The monsters were eating. They were coming. They live in the area of the Kerebe lake. They sound like white-lipped peccaries. Teoo, teoo, teoo, went the sound of them eating hard fruits. "Owee, owee, owee," a young white-lipped peccary said. It was like the sound of fire. I thought it was the voices of white-lipped peccaries. I got sweaty. I heard the voices of the monsters, and I got sweaty. I heard their voices. I looked far away. "I will see what is making the sound." I was afraid, and I was sweating because of the voices of the monsters. They were standing together. They were big.

They go away, and then they come back. They go downstream in the high water season. Hamoto Biri goes against my will. He always goes.

Their voices stopped, and they went away. They made waves. The waves hit the branches of the trees. I got up and came running back. I didn't spear any fish because of the monsters. They yelled. I was afraid. I was sweaty. I was all wet with sweat.

I recovered. I sat on a log. I looked back to see if the monsters were coming. The monsters were really ugly.

They have been paddling in their lake. They live there. We are always complaining about the high water season, because the water level is not high like it used to be. Long ago people could not go to the Kerebe lake, but nowadays we have gotten used to it.

At the Kerebe lake Bakoki and his companion lay on the ground facing each other, my aunt used to say. His head was between his son's legs, and the son's head was between his father's legs. They lay on the ground together, my aunt used to say.

Another time Bonikana went into the forest, and he saw an alligator holding a deer in its jaws. When he came back he started hiccupping, my aunt used to say.

Some old men were fishing. He went into the forest, and as he was standing on the shore fishing, some Paumaris came to him, my aunt used to say. The monster was about to give him food, as he stood there. The Paumaris came in the canoe, and they arrived.

"They seem to be Paumaris. I will see the Paumaris. I'm hungry."

He went to the Paumaris to see them, and the Paumaris gave him food.

"Give me some food. I'm hungry."

The Paumaris gave him food. They were not Paumaris, they were monsters. The Paumaris gave him food. The Paumari woman was smiling. She had decorations across her chest. She was pretty.

"Eat this river turtle head," the Paumari woman said.

But he grabbed her river turtle head and threw the river turtle head in the water. "I don't eat river turtle heads. Its head will be destroyed." He threw the turtle head away in the water.

The turtle head could not be seen in the deep water, but the Paumari woman went after it. She got up quickly and went into the water. She came back to the surface holding the river turtle head. Her hair was not wet. She was not wet, after getting the river turtle head. She came back to the surface.

He speared some fish, and then came home. He spoke back in the village. "I have come back after meeting up with some Paumaris."

"Aboro, where?"

"I met up with some Paumaris at the Kerebe lake. A Paumari woman gave me food."

"He says a Paumari gave him food at the place where the monster lives."

"It wasn't a monster. It was a Paumari. I threw the river turtle head in the water. She went and got the river turtle head. It wasn't a monster. It was a Paumari," he said. "The Paumari was smiling. The Paumari woman was smiling at me during the day," he said.

She was wearing decorations across her chest. She smelled good.

He was ready, and he came back.

"Aboro, there is a monster that lives there."

"It was not a monster, I am telling you. It was a Paumari."

He slept. At night they ate, and he slept. He started to be sick. He vomited. He vomited sweet potato. His sickness started.

"I told him. Aboro, Aboro, you have been hurt by a monster," he said, his brother-in-law.

The supposed Paumaris who gave him food were actually a monster.

"Look at the food he ate there," he said.

They sucked on him to cure him. The monster came and got him. It took him away.

# Interlinear Presentation

1 Hiya	ита	me	ati	saia	me	,	yama
hiy	ama	me	ati	sai+F	me	,	yama
whi	te-lipped peccary	3PL.POSS	voice	be heard	3PL.POSS		monster
nm		pron	pn	vi	pron		nf
ati	ya .						
ati	ya						
voice	ADJU						
pn	prt						

'The white-lipped peccaries were fierce, and we killed them with shotguns.' 'The voices of the peccaries could be heard, but it was the voices of monsters.'

2	Yama	ate	ya	m	aka	me	kakemaro			me	
	yama	ate	ya	ma	aka	me	ka	-kI	-hamar	o me	
	thing	bank+F	ADJU	J mc	onster	3PL.S	go/come	coming	FP.E+F	3PL.C	)
	nf	pn	prt	nn	n	pron	vi			pron	
ka	kamina	oharo				me	winineke	?		waha	
ka	- kamin	a o-	to-	ha	-haro	me	wina -	ne -	-ke	waha	
DU	P tell	1SG.S	CH	AUX	RP.E+F	3PL.S	live C	ONT+F I	DECL+F	flooded	forest
vt		aux				pron	vi			nf	

karoKerebeyakaroKerebeyaLOC(lake name)ADJUprtnpropmprt

'The *maka* monsters that I told about many times, which came long ago to the edge of the flooded forest, live in the flooded forest at the Kerebe lake.'

3 *Fa* ki onahabone hiba fa faha kii 0na -habone hiba faha look at 1SG.S AUX INT+F soon after water nf vt aux conj kokoro ona owa ni ya  $\circ$ na+F пi

ko- koro o- na+F owa ni ya
DUP throw something on 1SG.S AUX 1SG to ADJU
vt aux pron prt prt

'I wanted to fish. I had just started to fish.'

4 Wakana wari koro obe
wakana waa -rI.NFIN koro o- na -be
crabwood stand raised surface throw something on 1SG.S AUX IMMED+F

"I will fish at the place where there is a crabwood tree."

5 Wakana wari aba kikia toamaro me wakana waa -rI.NFIN aba me ki- kiha to- ha crabwood stand raised surface DUP have CH AUX FP.E+F fish 3PL.O nm pron vt aux

'There were many fish at the place where there was a crabwood tree.'

6 *Ifo* okemene onamaro ama to- ka -hemenehe ati o--hamaro na ama 1SG.S away go/come HYPOTH+F say 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F SEC there is danger adv v/t. sec

o fa sararine
o- faha sara -rine
1SG.S water seasonally flooded area PN
prt nf pn

'If I had gone into the flooded forest, I would have been in danger.'

Yama owa kabarawenemaro ama oke yama owa kaba -rawa -hene -maro ama 0ke thing 1SG.O eat F.PL IRR+F FP.E+F SEC 1SG.O DECL+F pron vt sec prt

'The monsters would have eaten me.'

Fa sararine okabone ma faha -habone sara -rine  $\circ$ toka maa water seasonally flooded area PN 1SG.S away go/come INT+F stop pn vi nf vi

fa so tonisa ihi -witI+F faha soo -risa+F ihi to- na to- na lie CH AUX down because of+F 1SG.S away AUX out water aux nf vi aux post

owamarookeo-waa-hamaroo-ke1SG.SstandFP.E+F1SG.SDECL+Fviprt

'I was going to go into the flooded forest, but I stopped. I stayed standing there because of a stream.'

Yama hine nafotorawemete awineni vama yama yama hine na- foto -rawa -hemete awine -ni thing thing 3.REFL CAUS appear F.PL FP.N+F seem+F BKG+F nf nf pron sec

'The monsters were coming.'

10 **Yama** owa atami ate ya yama atami ya 0awa+F ate bank+F 1SG.S see slope ADJU thing nf vt nf prt pn

owaribasa owakatoma yama waa -rI-basa+F yama 0kakatoma+F 1SG.S stand raised surface edge thing 1SG.S COMIT look at νi nf vt

ni yama ati owa ya waa -rI+Fowa ni ya yama ati yana 1SG.S stand raised surface 1SG to ADJU thing voice start pron prt prt vi pn

torawamaro

to- na -rawa -hamaro CH AUX F.PL FP.E+F

'I looked as I stood on the bank. I stood there looking. I heard the voices of the monsters.'

11 **O**wee ati owee owee yama OWEE owee owee ati yama (sound of crying) (sound of crying) say (sound of crying) thing sound sound nf vt sound

namaro

na -hamaro
AUX FP.E+F
aux

"Owee, owee," the monsters said."

12 **Yama** ati ohariaba ati nikani ama yama ati ohari -haba ati ama na+F -kani thing voice be one FUT+F voice be AUX CNTRFACT pn vi pn VC aux

onamarookeati o-na-hamaroo-kesay1SG.SAUXFP.E+F1SG.SDECL+Fvtprt

'I thought it was just one monster.'

ahi 13 *Yama* ati kakerawamaro amani yama -kI -rawa -hamaro ahi ati ka ama -ni SEC BKG+F then thing voice go/come coming F.PL FP.E+F dem vi sec

'I could hear the voices of the monsters as they were coming.'

14	Hoo	hoo	hoo	hoo	hoo	hoo	yama	ati	nara	wamaro	
	hoo	hoo	hoo	hoo	hoo	hoo	yama	ati	na	-rawa	-hamaro
	interj	interj	interj	interj	interj	interj	thing nf			F.PL	FP.E+F

amani

ama -ni SEC BKG+F

sec

"Hoo, hoo, hoo," the monsters were saying."

15 Yama honaramone matehe ati ati nonofa na no- nofa vama hona -ra -hamone matehe ati na+F ati thina have something NEG REP+F children AUX voice DUP like say nf vi nf vt vt aux pn

ohararo
o- to- ha -ra -haro ama o- ni
1SG.S CH AUX NEG RP.E+F SEC 1SG.S BKG+F
aux sec prt

'My children said there weren't any monsters, but they were wrong.'

16 **Yama** tafarawamaro amani ahi hine yama tafa -rawa -hamaro ama -ni ahi yama hine thing eat F.PL FP.E+F SEC BKG+F then thing 3.REFL nf vi sec dem nf pron

nafotorawimaroho

na- foto -rawa.NOM+F -maro -ho
CAUS appear F.PL FP.E+F DUP

vt

'The monsters were eating. They were coming.'

17 Hiyama Kerebe winineke memaro me -ke Kerebe hiyama wina -ne me -maro me 3PL FP.E+F live CONT+F DECL+F (lake name) white-lipped peccary 3PL.S 77 i npropm pron pron

karo

karo LOC

prt

'They live in the area of the Kerebe lake. They sound like white-lipped peccaries.'

18 *Teoo* teoo teoo teoo teoo yama kitabote yama teoo teoo teoo teoo yama kita -bote yama sound sound sound sound thing be hard very thing nf adj

kabarawamaroamanikaba -rawa -hamaroama -nieat F.PL FP.E+FSEC BKG+Fvt.sec

'Teoo, teoo, teoo, went the sound of them eating hard fruits.'

19 *Owee* owee owee owee owee owee owee owee (sound of crying) (sound of crying) (sound of crying) (sound of crying) sound sound sound sound

hiyama biti ati nemari ahi ama hiyama biti ati na -himari ama ahi AUX FP.E+M then white-lipped peccary offspring say SEC dem

"Owee, owee," a young white-lipped peccary said."

20 **Yama** hiri namaro amake vama hiri na -hamaro ama -ke AUX FP.E+F SEC DECL+F thing catch fire nf vi 'It was like the sound of fire.' 21 Hiyama ati ama nikani me hiyama me ati ama na+F -kani white-lipped peccary 3PL.POSS be AUX CNTRFACT voice pron VC pn aux onahamaro owa oke yama yafa ati ona -hamaro  $\circ$ ke yama owa yafa say 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F put something on top of thing 1SG.O prt vt nf pron vt. kasabani owa ka- na -kosa -haba -ni owa COMIT AUX middle FUT+F IP.N+F 1SG.0 'I thought it was the voices of white-lipped peccaries. I got sweaty.' 22 Tanako hiri onabani ati vama hiri o- na -haba -ni ati tanako yama experience 1SG.S AUX FUT+F IP.N+F thing sweat voice nf pn omitimete amani mita.NOM+F -mete ama -ni FP.N+F be BKG+F 1SG.S hear 77.0 'I heard the voices of the monsters, and I got sweaty.' 23 *Ati* sasai kawarawa ati oko yama ati sa- sai ka- na -waha -rawa+F ka ati  $\circ$ yama DUP be heard COMIT AUX change F.PL 1SG.POSS POSS voice voice thing vi vi pn prt kiki ba onamaro oke ki- kii na -baa na -hamaro ke AUX at a distance 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F aux aux prt 'I heard their voices. I looked far away.' 24 *Yama* awarawibana ati ama yama awa -rawa -bana ati ama thing see F.PL FUT voice be nf result pn VC "I will see what is making the sound." 25 Kori okasa tanako owa ni yana namaro na -kosa+F na -hamaro kori katanako owa ni yana 0be afraid 1SG.S COMIT AUX middle sweat 1SG to start AUX FP.E+F nf pron prt vi vi aux aux amani yama ati ihi ama -ni yama ati ihi SEC BKG+F thing voice because of+F

post

'I was afraid, and I was sweating because of the voices of the monsters.'

pn

26 Nahohoho kawarawamaro naho -ho -ho ka- na -waha -rawa -hamaro yama stand DUP DUP COMIT AUX change F.PL FP.E+F thing vi nf howerawamaroho howe -rawa -maro -ho large F.PL FP.E+F DUP adi 'They were standing together. They were big.' kamatasarawabana 27 Winarawineni -ni wina -rawa -ne ka -ma -tasa -rawa -habana go/come back again F.PL FUT+F live F.PL CONT+F BKG+F vi vi tokisarawabana fa fowe to- ka -risa -rawa -habana faha fowe away go/come down F.PL FUT+F flood vi nf 'They go away, and then they come back. They go downstream in the high water season.' 28 Hamoto Biri osomi onofe yobi Hamoto Biri 0-0nofa+M yobi soma (man's name) 1SG.S let go 1SG.S recently go back and forth vi npropm prt yoyobi nofe toaha na nofa+M yo- yobi to- ha.CONT+M AUX recently DUP go back and forth CH AUX vi aux 'Hamoto Biri goes against my will. He always goes.'

29 <i>Ati</i>	fawa	nisarawi			ya			tokomarawa			
ati	fawa		na	-risa	-rawa.NON	M+F	ya	to-	ka	-ma	-rawa+F
voice	disapp	ear	AUX	down	F.PL		ADJU	away	go/come	back	F.PL
pn	vi		aux				prt	vi			
fawa	tonam	arawa	maro			ama	ke	ahi	•		
fawa	to-	na	-ma	-rawa	-hamaro	ama	-ke	ah	i		
disappear	away	AUX	back	F.PL	FP.E+F	SEC	DECL+	F the	en		
vi	aux					sec		dei	m		
		-	•								

'Their voices stopped, and they went away.'

30	Fa	faha	towakamarawamaro							ahi
	faha	faha	to-	ka-	ka	-ma	-rawa	-hamaro	ama	ahi
	water	water	away	COMIT	go/come	back	F.PL	FP.E+F	SEC	then
	nf	nf	vt						sec	dem
'Th	ey made v	waves.'								

31	Awa	ini	fa	warehai	maro			amak	e	ahi
	awa	ini	faha	waa	-rI		-hamaro	ama	-ke	ahi
	tree	branch+F	water	stand	raised	surface	FP.E+F	SEC	DECL+F	then
	nf	pn	nf	vi				sec		dem

'The waves hit the branches of the trees.'

32	Yana	kabo	te	oko		kana	ni
	yana	na	-kabote	0-	ka	kana	na.NFIN
	start	AUX	quickly	1SG.POSS	POSS	run	AUX
	vi	aux		prt		vi	aux

kamabisimaro ama ka -ma -bisa.NOM+F -maro ama ahi then vi sec dem 'I got up and came running back.' 33 *Aba* sa okomaro amani o- ka- na.NOM -maro aba saa ama -ni fish shoot with arrow 1SG.S COMIT AUX FP.E+F be BKG+F nm aux VC ihirawaha -rawa -ha ihi because of+F F.PL DUP 'I didn't spear any fish because of the monsters.' 34 **E** kanamaroke fahi ka- na -hamaro -ke fahi yell COMIT AUX FP.E+F DECL+F then aux dem 'They yelled.' 35 *Kori* okasa oko tanakone yama ka 0-0ka- na -kosa+F tanakone vama be afraid 1SG.S COMIT AUX middle thing 1SG.POSS POSS sweat aux prt 'I was afraid. I was sweaty.' 36 *Afi* ahi nari amake omaro na -ri o- na.NOM -maro afi ama -ke ahi be DECL+F bathe AUX like+M 1SG.S AUX FP.E+F then aux aux VC. dem 'I was all wet with sweat.' 37 *Owa* onasaoha owitare yama awa o- na- sao+F o- ita -rI yama 1SG.O 1SG.S CAUS feel better 1SG.S sit raised surface thing tree vi ya yama onowati onokomamaro o- to- noko -ma -hamaro nowati ya yama 1SG.POSS behind ADJU 1SG.S away point back FP.E+F thing prt vi kamaki tabiyo ka -makI.NFIN tabiyo go/come following absence post 'I recovered. I sat on a log. I looked back to see if the monsters were coming.' 38 Maka habosi me kiamaro kiha -hamaro habosi maka me

monster ugliness 3PL.S have FP.E+F

nf

'The monsters were really ugly.'

pron

```
39 Me
               fe
                          ota
                                 me
                                          oori
                                                        toaro
                                                                            me
               fehe
                          otaa
                                 me
                                          0-
                                              ori
                                                        to- ha
                                                                  -haro
                                                                            me
   3PL.POSS
               water+F
                          1EX
                                 3PL.S
                                          DUP paddle
                                                        СН
                                                             AUX RP.E+F
                                                                            3PL.S
                          pron
                                 pron
                                          vt
                                                        aux
   pron
               pn
                                                                            pron
amake
ama -ke
SEC DECL+F
sec
'They have been paddling in their lake.'
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40 Me winineni
me wina -ne -ni
3PL.S live CONT+F BKG+F
pron vi

'They live there.'

41 Ai Hinama fa fa fa amarawara Ai Hinama faha faha ama -rawa -ra+F faha ama -ra+F (woman's name) water water be F.PL NEG water be NEG npropf nf nf nf VC VC hohora kana toineke fa fowe ota ho- hora -ke faha fowe otaa kana to- ha -ne DUP complain COMIT AUX CH AUX CONT+F DECL+F flood 1EX.S nf pron aux aux amararo fa fehe one ama -ra -haaro faha fehe one be NEG IP.E+F water+F water other+F nf adj pn

'We are always complaining about the high water season, because the water level is not high like it used to

42 Kerebe Kerebe totokihina -hina Kerebe Kerebe to- toka DUP away go/come can (lake name) (lake name) npropm npropm vi toarematamona ota tonihawahinetini -tee.NOM -ni to- ha -ra -himata -mona otaa to- niha- na -waha -ne AUX NEG FP.N+M REP+M 1EX.S СН CAUS AUX change CONT+F HAB IP.N+F aux pron

'Long ago people could not go to the Kerebe lake, but nowadays we have gotten used to it.'

43 Kerebe ya Bakoki ehe kanakokikima me -kI Kerebe ya Bakoki ebe kanoko me (lake name) ADJU (man's name) 3PL.S RECIP COMIT point coming two prt npropm npropm pron pn v/t nimetemone okomise me mata aati mata na.NOM+F -mete -mone 0ka amise aati me FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.S lie AUX 1SG.POSS POSS aunt DUP say vi nf pron aux vt toimaro amake to- ha.NOM+F -maro ama -ke СН AUX FP.E+F be DECL+F

'At the Kerebe lake Bakoki and his companion lay on the ground facing each other, my aunt used to say.'

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tonokiyoma ,
44 Biti
                  be
                           toro
                                      va
                                             tati
                                                                 fare
   biti
                  behe
                           toro
                                      ya
                                             tati
                                                                  fare
   3SG.POSS.son
                  crotch
                                      ADJU
                                                                 same+M
                           inside+M
                                             head
                  pn
                           pn
                                      prt
                                             pn
                                                                 dem
bati
                  he
                           toro
                                             tati
                                                    toha
                                                                   ne
                                       ya
                                                                          mρ
bati
                  behe
                           toro
                                             tati
                                                    to- ha.LIST
                                       ya
                                                                   na+M
                                                                          me
3SG.POSS.father
                  crotch
                           inside+M
                                      ADJU
                                             head
                                                    СН
                                                        be
                                                                   AUX
                                                                          3PL.S
                  pn
                           pn
                                       prt
                                             pn
                                                    VC
                                                                   aux
                                                                          pron
fito
             kanikima
                                  me
                                          mata
                                                 nimetemone
                                  me
fito
             ka-
                        -kima+F
                                          mata
                                                 na.NOM+F -mete
                                                                   -mone
                  na
get caught
             COMIT AUX two
                                  3PL.S
                                          lie
                                                 AUX
                                                           FP.N+F REP+F
                                  pron
                                          vi
vi
             aux
                                                 aux
                       hiyari
                                                tohimaro
okomise
                                      aati
          ka
               amise
                       hiyara.NFIN
                                          ati
                                                to- ha.NOM+F -maro
0-
                                      a-
                                                              FP.E+F
1SG.POSS POSS aunt
                       speak
                                      DUP say
                                                CH AUX
                                      vt
                       vi
                                                aux
```

'His head was between his son's legs, and his head was between his father's legs. They lay on the ground together, my aunt used to say.'

45 <i>Fay</i>	ra	Bonik	kana		tokata	se				,	aa			,	inoho	we	
fay	ya	Boni	kana		to-	ka		-ta	asa+M	,	aa				inoh	owe	
so		(man	ı's n	ame)	away	go/	come	aga	ain		(p	ause	)		alli	gator sp	
cor	nj	npro	pm		vi						in	terj			nm		
bato	yak	ri		kane			awe		kame	?			,	hei	ko	ni	
bato	ya	ki		ka-	na+M	,	awa	M+L	ka		-ma	$M+\mu$	,	he	ko	na.NFIN	1
deer	bi	te ir	nto	COMIT	AUX		see	<u>;</u>	go/c	come	bac	ck		hi	ccup	AUX	
nm	vt			aux			vt		vi					vi		aux	
yana	to	kana				nama	itamoi	na				okon	iise				
yana	t	0- ]	ka-	na.L	IST	na.N	10M+M	1 -m	ata	-mo	na	0-			ka	amise	
start	a	way (	COMIT	' AUX		AUX		FP	.N+M	REP-	+M	1SG	.POS	SS	POSS	aunt	
vi	a	ux				aux						nf					
aati		tohin	naro			a	ımake										
a- a	ti	to-	ha.N	IOM+F	-maro	ć	ama ·	-ke									
DUP s	ay	СН	AUX		FP.E+	F k	oe I	DECL	+F								
vt		aux				7	/C										

'Another time Bonikana went into the forest, and he saw an alligator holding a deer in its jaws. When he came back he started hiccupping, my aunt used to say.'

46 <i>Me</i> me 3PL	<pre>iti iti grandfather</pre>	<pre>boteri bote -ri old PN</pre>	, <b>fa</b> faha water	, <b>fa</b> faha water	ki kii look	na+F	<i>fa</i> faha water
pron	nm	pn	nf	nf	vt	aux	nf
<pre>ki kii look at vt</pre>	na , token na+F to-AUX awa aux vi			ka+M go/come	fa faha water nf	<pre>koro koro throw somethi vt</pre>	ng on
ne w	abase	ni ya	wakari	me			
na+M w	aa -basa+M	ni ya	wakari	me			
AUX s	tand edge	to ADJU	Paumari	3PL.S			
aux v	i	prt prt	npropm	pron			
kakimetem	one		oko	mise		hiyari	aati
ka- ka COMIT ga	a -kI.NON o/come coming		mone o- EP+F 1SG nf	ka G.POSS POS	amise S aunt	hiyara.NFIN speak vi	a- ati DUP say vt

#### tohimaroni

to- ha.NOM+F -maro -ni CH AUX FP.E+F BKG+F aux

'Some old men were fishing. He went into the forest, and as he was standing on the shore fishing, some Paumaris came to him, my aunt used to say.'

47 Maka hinatafeba wabasematamona
maka hi- na- tafa -hiba waa -basa -himata -mona
monster OC CAUS eat FUT+M stand edge FP.N+M REP+M
nm vt vi

'The monster was about to give him food, as he stood there.'

48 Wakari kobo me kakia me kanakia ka- na -kI+F wakari ka -kI+Fkobo me kame COMIT go/come coming Paumari 3PL.S 3PL.S arrive COMIT AUX coming npropm pron vi pron vi aux

Wakari awine me toa me wakari me to- ha+F me awine Paumari 3PL.S CH be 3PL.S seem+F VC pron sec

"The Paumaris came in the canoe, and they arrived. "They seem to be Paumaris."

49 Wakari me owamatibe

wakari me o- awa -mata -be Paumari 3PL.O 1SG.S see short time IMMED+F npropm pron aux

"I will see the Paumaris."

50 Ofimi

o- fimi.NOM 1SG.S be hungry

"I'm hungry."

51 Wakari wakari mera awebona wakari mera tonake wakari wakari mera awa -hibona wakari mera to- na- ka+M Paumari Paumari 3PL.O see INT+M Paumari 3PL.O away CAUS go/come npropm npropm pron vt npropm pron

wakari me hinatafematamona
wakari me hi- na- tafa -himata -mona
Paumari 3PL.S OC CAUS eat FP.N+M REP+M
npropm pron vt

'He went to the Paumaris to see them, and the Paumaris gave him food.'

52 Otefeba te ta na
o- tefe -ba tee taa na
1SG.POSS food FUT 2PL.S give AUX
pn pron vt aux

"Give me some food."

53 Ofimi

o- fimi.NOM 1SG.S be hungry vi

"I'm hungry."

54	Faya	tefebona		wakari	me	ta	hine	wakari	me
	faya	tefe	-bona	wakari	me	taa	hi- na	+M wakari	me
	so	food+M	INT+M	Paumari	3PL.S	give	OC AU	X Paumari	3PL.S
	conj	pn		npropm	pron	vt	aux	npropm	pron
ama	rani		mati	maka	meni		mati .		
		-hani	<i>mati</i> mati	<i>maka</i> maka	<i>meni</i> me -n	i	<i>mati</i> . mati		
	-ra	-hani IP.N+F	mati				•		

'The Paumaris gave him food. They were not Paumaris, they were monsters.'

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55 Wakari
           me
                  hinatafe
                                      wakara
                                                    fana
                  hi- na- tafa+M
  wakari
           me
                                     wakara
                                                    fana
  Paumari 3PL.S OC CAUS eat
                                     Paumari woman female
                                     npropf
  npropm pron
                  vt
hahahari
                                         ahi
                 nemetemone
                                    ama
ha- haahaa -ri na -hemete -mone ama
                                         ahi
                                              yama
DUP laugh DISTR AUX FP.N+F REP+F
                                    SEC
                                         then thing
vi
                 aux
                                    sec
                                         dem
                           kanikimaharo
sana
sana
                           ka- na -kima -haaro
carry strapped on shoulder COMIT AUX two IP.E+F
                           aux
```

'The Paumaris gave him food. The Paumari woman was smiling. She had decorations across her chest.'

56 Tatamina kani ahi
ta-tamina na -kani ahi
DUP be good AUX ?+F then
vi aux dem

'She was pretty.'

57 Sire	sire		tati	tikabamal	aihi			
sire	sire		tati	ti- k	aba -makI	-h	ni	
river turtl	Le river	turtle	head	2SG.S €	at follow	wing IM	IP+F	
nf	nf		pn	vt				
wakara	fana	ati n	ia ka	sire		tati	wara	tone
wakara	fana	ati r	na+F ka	a sir	е	tati	wara	to- na+M
Paumari woman	female	say A	AUX PC	OSS riv	er turtle	head	grab	CH AUX
npropf	nf	vt a	aux pr	rt nf		pn	vt	aux
sire	tati ko	ro nij	fematamon	ıa				
sire	tati ko	oro na	a -fI	-himata	a -mona			
river turtle	head th	row AU	JX water	FP.N+M	REP+M			
nf	pn vt	: au	lX					

"Eat this river turtle head," the Paumari woman said. But he grabbed her river turtle head and threw the river turtle head in the water.'

58	Sire	tati	okobate		ama		
	sire	tati	0-	kaba	-tee	-ra+F	ama
	river turtle	head	1SG.S	eat	HAB	NEG	SEC
	nf	pn	vt				sec

"I don't eat river turtle heads."

59 *Tati* ahaba tati ahaba.LIST head end pn vi

"Its head will be destroyed."

60 Sire tati koro tofewite sire tati sire tati koro to- na -fI -witI sire tati away AUX water out river turtle head throw river turtle head vt nf pn aux pn fana fa boti ka awihinara wakara awa -hina -ra+F faha boti ka wakara fana LOC NEG Paumari woman female water inside see can prt nf pn result npropf tonakamakiemetemone to- na- ka -makI -hemete -mone

away CAUS go/come following FP.N+F REP+F vt

'He threw the turtle head away in the water. The turtle head could not be seen in the deep water, but the Paumari woman went after it.'

61 *Yana* kabote bokehemetemoneni sire na yana na -kabote na+F boka -hemete -mone -ni sire AUX quickly AUX enter water FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F river turtle vi aux aux vi nf

kimisamabanihi tati tama ni na.NFIN -misa -ma -haba -ni tati t.ama ka hold onto AUX go/come up back FUT+F IP.N+F DUP vi aux

'She got up quickly and went into the water. She came back to the surface holding the river turtle head.'

62 Hohoko tati kone ho- hoko tati kone DUP be dry head hair pn pn

'Her hair was not wet.'

63 Afaafa nemetemonehe sire tati afa- afa na -hemete -mone -he sire tati DUP be wet AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP river turtle head 77 i aux nf pn

totimakeha

to- iti -makI+F away take out following

'She was not wet, after getting the river turtle head.'

64 *Faya* kimisamemetemone ahi faya ka -misa -ma -hemete -mone ahi so go/come up back FP.N+F REP+F then conj vi dem

'She came back to the surface.'

65 Fava aba me aba me tisa kane faya aba me aba me tisa kana+M 3PL.0 fish 3PL fish shoot with arrow COMIT AUX SO conj nm pron nm pron aux

kamawematamona hiyaramebanoho

-ma -waha -himata -mona hiyara -ma -hiba -no -ho go/come back change FP.N+M REP+M speak back FUT+M IP.N+M DUP vi vi

'He speared some fish, and then came home. He spoke back in the village.'

66	Wakari	me	kobo	ona		okomine			0	
	wakari	me	kobo	0-	na+F	0-	ka	-ma	-ne	0-
	Paumari	3PL.O	meet	1SG.S	AUX	1SG.S	go/come	back	CONT+F	1SG.S
	npropm	pron	vt	aux		vi				prt

"I have come back after meeting up with some Paumaris."

67 Aboro Aboro hibaka ya ?
Aboro Aboro hibaka ya (man's name) (man's name) where ADJU npropm npropm interrog prt

"Aboro, where?"

Kerebe 68 Wakari kobo ahi me onara ya wakari me kobo  $\circ$ na -hara ahi Kerebe ya Paumari 3PL.0 meet 1SG.S AUX IP.E+F there (lake name) ADJU npropm pron vt aux dem npropm prt

"I met up with some Paumaris at the Kerebe lake."

69 Wakara fana owa natafini
wakara fana owa na- tafa -ni
Paumari woman female 1SG.O CAUS eat BKG+F
npropf nf pron vt

"A Paumari woman gave me food."

70 Wakarimona Aboro hinatafeno ati maka ama wakari -mona hi- natafa -hino ama Aboro maka ati Paumari REP+M OC CAUS eat IP.N+M voice be (man's name) monster vt VC pn npropm nm

winematamonaha
wina -himata -mona -ha ya
live FP.N+M REP+M DUP ADJU
vi prt

"He says a Paumari gave him food at the place where the monster lives."

71 Maka amarahare

maka ama -ra -hare monster be NEG IP.E+M nm vc

"It wasn't a monster."

72 Wakari ama

wakari ama Paumari be npropm vc

"It was a Paumari."

73 Wakari ka sire tati ofe koro ama wakari sire koro na -fI ka tati 0ama Paumari POSS river turtle head throw 1SG.S AUX water SEC prt nf npropm aux sec pn

"I threw the river turtle head in the water."

74 Sire tati totimaki

sire tati to- iti -makI.NOM river turtle head away take out following nf pn vt

"She went and got the river turtle head."

75 Maka amarahare
maka ama -ra -hare
monster be NEG IP.E+M
nm vc

"It wasn't a monster."

76 Wakari amane ati kane ahi wakari ama -ne ati na -kane ahi Paumari SEC BKG+M say AUX ?+M then npropm sec vt aux dem

"It was a Paumari," he said.'

77 Wakari hahari wakara wakari ne fana wakari haahaa -ri wakara fana wakari na+M Paumari Paumari laugh DISTR AUX Paumari woman female npropm npropm vi aux npropf nf irairabo owa haha kanaba haha ra owa ira- irabo na -ra+F owa haahaa kana -haba owa haahaa DUP be bad AUX NEG 1SG.0 laugh COMIT AUX FUT+F 1SG.0 laugh vi pron vi aux pron aux kanahatini ati kane ahi ka- na nahatI -ni -kane ahi ati na COMIT AUX davtime BKG+F AUX ?+M sav then vt aux dem

"The Paumari was smiling. The Paumari woman was smiling at me during the day," he said."

78 *Yama* boni sana kanikimemetemone yama ka- na -kima -hemete -mone honi sana carry strapped on shoulder COMIT AUX two FP.N+F fruit+F thing nf pn v/t aux

'She was wearing decorations across her chest.'

79 Mahokanikimakani ahi
maho -kanikima -kani ahi
smell+M scattered ?+F then
vi dem

'She smelled good.'

80 *Faya* yana tone kamematamona -ma yana to- na+M -himata -mona faya start CH AUX go/come back FP.N+M REP+M so vi aux vi

'He was ready, and he came back.'

81 Aboro maka winematamona amake fahi wina.NOM+M -mata -mona ama -ke Ahoro maka fahi (man's name) live monster FP.N+M REP+M be DECL+F there npropm nm vi VC dem

"Aboro, there is a monster that lives there."

82 Maka amarare one omaka ama -ra -hare ati o- na -ne omonster be NEG IP.E+M say 1SG.S AUX CONT+F 1SG.S
nm vc vt prt

"It was not a monster, I am telling you."

83 Wakari ama wakari ama Paumari be npropm vc

"It was a Paumari."

84 <i>Fa</i> y	ya ,	faya	amo	ne	, y	ama	soki	ya	me	tafaha	amo
fa	ya	faya	amo	na+M	У	ama	soki.NOM	ya	me	tafa+F	amo
so		so	sleep	AUX	t	hing	be dark	ADJU	3PL.S	eat	sleep
CO	nj	conj	vi	aux	n	ıf	vi	prt	pron	vi	vi
ne	hiwa		yana	kanema	tamon	ıaka			fahi		
<i>ne</i> na+M	<i>hiwa</i> hiwa		<i>yana</i> yana	<i>kanema</i> ka-			ta -mona	-ka	<i>fahi</i> fahi		
	hiwa	REFL.M	<i>J</i>		na	-hima		-ka DECL+M	,	•	

'He slept. At night they ate, and he slept. He started to be sick.'

85 Sa nematamona ahi
saa na -himata -mona ahi
vomit AUX FP.N+M REP+M then
vi aux dem

'He vomited.'

86 Sa nematamonaka ahi
saa na -himata -mona -ka ahi
vomit AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then
vi aux dem

'He vomited.'

87 Hosi sa nematamona hosi
hosi saa na -himata -mona hosi
sweet potato vomit AUX FP.N+M REP+M sweet potato
nm vt aux nm

'He vomited sweet potato.'

88 *Hosi* sa ne hiwa yana saa na+M hiwa 3SG.REFL.M start sweet potato vomit AUX vt aux pron kawematamona ahi ya ka- na -waha -himata -mona ahi ya

ka- na -waha -himata -mona ahi ya
COMIT AUX change FP.N+M REP+M then ADJU
aux dem prt

'He vomited sweet potato. His sickness started.'

89 *Owati*o- ati ka- sawari -hare -ne
1SG.POSS voice COMIT frustrate IP.E+M BKG+M
pn vt
"'I told him."'

90 Aboro Aboro maka eheneno ama tini -no Aboro Aboro maka ehene ama ti-(man's name) (man's name) monster victim of+M IP.N+M be 2SG.S BKG+F npropm npropm nm pn VC prt

ati	nema	itamon	a	wabori		maka	
ati	na	-hima	ata -mon	a wabori		maka	
say	AUX	FP.N	+M REP+	M 3SG.PC	SS brother	monster	
vt	aux			nm			nm
hinat	tafeno			wakari	memone	mati	
hi-	na-	tafa	-hino	wakari	me -mone	mati	
OC	CAUS	eat	IP.N+M	Paumari	3PL REP+F	' 3PL	
vt				npropm	pron	pron	

"Aboro, Aboro, you have been hurt by a monster," he said, his brother-in-law. The supposed Paumaris who gave him food were actually a monster.'

91 Tefe te awa hari ati nematamonane tefe tee awa haari ati na -himata -mona -ne food+M 2PL.S see that one+M say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M pn pron vt dem vt aux

"Look at the food he ate there," he said.'

### 92 Me toma hinematamonaha

me toma hi- na -himata -mona -ha 3PL.S suck OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP pron vt aux

'They sucked on him to cure him.'

#### 93 Maka hitimakehimatamonaka

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

'The monster came and got him.'

# 94 Fe towakamehimatamonane

fee to- ka- ka -ma -himata -mona -ne 3SG.O away COMIT go/come back FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M pron vt

'It took him away.'