Free Translation

Note: Okomobi, Yowao's son, asked him questions at several points, and these are in italics.

I will tell about Siraba, who a spirit took away.

They went after *siro* fruits. The two of them went. A spirit went to them. The spirit went there. He appeared where they were as they were picking up *siro* fruits, as they were piling the *siro* fruits up.

"My older brother has come," Siraba's cousin said. Siraba looked quickly.

"Are there ripe siro fruits?" he said.

"The *siro* fruits are ripe. The *siro* fruits are there in a pile," she said. "Look at the *siro* fruits," she said.

He picked up two of the siro fruits. He stood there gnawing on the siro fruits.

"Brother, where are you going?" she said.

"I'm going to Boto Komaha." He threw a *siro* seed and hit a tree. "I'm going to Boto Komaha," he said.

"It's a spirit," the other one [Siraba] said. "You are calling him your brother, but he is not your brother," she said. They recognized him.

"Brother, you stay here. We are going to go get baskets for the siro fruits."

The women went. He watched them, and he went after them to see them. They cut off two palm leaves, and the leaves fell on the ground. They didn't stay there. They didn't keep on cutting off leaves. They went running away.

They came out on the other side. They came out, and went running to where Siraba's father was sitting, weaving a basket. As he sat there weaving the basket, his daughter appeared, running.

"Father, is it you?" she said.

"It is me," he said.

"Father, there is a spirit following us, and he is coming this way," she said.

"I guess it is a spirit," he said.

The spirit didn't take long to appear. He came running, and Siraba's father surprised him. "What are you doing coming here?" he said, Siraba's father.

"I'm not chasing them," he said.

"You have come chasing my daughter. I see you. Go away. Go back to your own place," he said.

So he went back. He didn't go back. He went back, but he came around. He came out again and went there. He came out again.

In the late afternoon they chased the children. When Siraba's father saw him, didn't he send [his familiar spirit] against him? Apparently he didn't send [his familiar spirit] against him, even though he was a powerful shaman.

The spirit went there and waited for them. Their laughing could be heard as they chased each other. They were chasing them. She was always with her cousin. She was chasing them. She ran after them. She chased them behind the longhouse.

The others were in their hammocks inside the longhouse. She chased them around. He was standing there, and grabbed her. She thought he was one of their men, her companion's older brother. She ran to him. So he grabbed her, since she thought he was one of their men.

"Who are you?" she said. She heard his name. I don't know his name.

Then her cousin came running. "Who are you with?" she said. "Is that my brother?" she said. "I think it is your brother," she said.

"Brother, is that you?" she said.

"It is me," he said. I guess he had a different voice. "It is me."

"You aren't my brother, you are just making yourself out to be my brother. My brother is in his hammock. Wait, I will go take a look at my brother. You two stay here."

She went running home and went inside. Then he disappeared with Siraba. As he was disappearing with Siraba, she came home and asked her mother.

"Mother," she said. "Mother, is my older brother in his hammock?"

"My son is in his hammock," she said.

"There is a spirit holding onto Siraba there on the patio. I'm going back to see her," she said. So she came back running. She came out of the longhouse and went to where the two of

them had been standing. She went there, but there was no one there. She whistled for them all over. She could be heard whistling all over, as she looked for them. She finally came back.

Father, if there were two of them, would he have taken both of them?

He could have taken both of them if he had waited.

Then she went inside, because she was afraid. She was afraid. Siraba did not come back. When morning came, Siraba had spent the night with the spirit. They missed her. Her mother thought that she was gone because she was in someone's hammock, and that she would come back early in the morning, my aunt used to say. She was gone for one night.

Siraba came back, and came inside. As people were going back and forth and urinating, she came past them. She came back and came inside. She went to her mother, and lay in her hammock. She lay in her hammock, and turned and fell asleep.

Her mother shook her so she would eat the food that her mother had prepared. She experienced a bad thing. "Siraba," she said. "Siraba, wake up," she said. Her mother shook her hard. "Wake up. Eat what your boyfriend who was with you all night killed."

Then she vomited. Then she spoke, sick. She spoke. "Mother, Mother," she said.

They sucked on her to cure her. The one who was supposed to marry her but didn't like her, felt pity for her. Didn't he suck on her? I guess he did suck on her. They sucked on her, to cure her. She died.

She said her legs hurt, my aunt used to say – *Father, because of the spirit?* – because the spirit had sex with her all night.

Father, did she die?

She died, my aunt used to say. They grieved, and they came here. I guess they went downstream. It's their old garden. My aunt showed it, Fare Wari, and there is an old village at Sibiri Wa Wari. The *kona* that grew there still is growing there, Noko Maiyi used to say.

Father, was Siraba a Jarawara?

I guess she was a Jarawara. They split up a long time ago, and we became the Jarawaras. They divided up long ago, and the ones who are not Jarawaras live [upstream]. They don't speak our language.

They moved away. It was the high water season. They moved to another place in the high water season. They came downstream. It was a *kanawa* bark canoe. He carried them in a *kanawa* bark canoe, our people. We are the descendants of those people. They [the others] live [upstream].

The people who went back were Jarawaras. It was them. They wouldn't have turned back, but they turned back.

She called to them because her son, who was carrying them in the canoe, his arms were tired. They came up the bank. He was carrying them. They came onto the shore and stood on the edge, waiting for the others, because only one man was carrying them. Many people were left standing there. Then they changed their minds, our people, Jarawaras.

"Hey," they said.

"Mother, my arms are tired. That's enough carrying people," he said.

"My son's arms are tired. We are going back," she said, calling.

"Okay, we are going back."

"My son said we should go back," she said. "My son said his arms are tired," she said.

"All right, you go," they said. They were upset as they were speaking. "We will eat you in the future," they said.

"We will eat you, too," they said.

Yes, they came downstream from up there upstream. It was on the other side of the Purus River. He brought them across to here. Right, they left them behind. Then they stopped coming downstream at Wara Lake, my aunt used to say. Then they lived there. We were numerous, but the old people aren't with us anymore. You didn't see them. There was a lot of noise in the longhouse because of them, because they were asking for a festa.

Interlinear Presentation

1	Siraba	okominamat	tibeya			inamati
	Siraba	o- kar	mina -mata	-be	-ya	inamati
	(woman's name)	1SG.S te	ll short t	time IMMED+F	now	spirit
	npropf	vt				nm
hel	kamemetemonehe					
hi	-to-ka-ka	-ma	-hemete -m	one -he		
OC	away COMIT go	/come back	FP.N+F RE	P+F DUP		
vt						
'T 1	rill tall about Siraba	who a crimit to	ool away '			

'I will tell about Siraba, who a spirit took away.'

2	Siro		me	te	onaka	l			me		towaka	ı		me
	sirc)	me	t	0-	na-	ka+I	<u>.</u>	me		to-	ka-	ka+F	me
	tree	sp	3PL.S	a	way	CAUS	s go/a	come	3PI	J.S	away	COMIT	go/come	3PL.S
	nf		pron	v	rt				pro	on	vi			pron
yan	na	mati	fo	rinel	ke					faro				
yaı	ma	mati	f	orI		- 1	ne	-ke		faa	ro			
th	ing	line	+F 1.	ie d	on to	op Co	ONT+F	DECL	+F	that	t+F			
nf		pn	v	Ĺ						dem				
								_	-					

'They went after siro fruits. The two of them went. There is a wire there on top.'

3 Siro	me	tonaka		me	, siro		me	
siro	me	to- na-	ka+F	me	siro	:	me	
tree	sp 3PL.S	away CAUS	go/come	3PL.S	tree	sp	3PL.S	
nf	pron	vt		pron	nf		pron	
tonaka		me to	waka		me .	ni	ya	inamati
to- na	- ka+F	me to	o- ka-	ka+F	me	ni	ya	inamati
away CA	.US go/come	3PL.S aw	ay COMIT	go/come	3pl	to	ADJU	spirit
vt		pron vi	-		pron	prt	prt	nm

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tokomakematamonaka

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to- ka -makI -himata -mona -ka
away go/come following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
vi
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'They went after siro fruits. They went. A spirit went to them.'

4 Inamati	tokon	nake		,	inamati	i t	okoma	ıke				,	
inamat	i to-	ka	-makI)	inama	ti t	-02	ka		-ma	kI	,	
spirit	away	go/come	followi	ng	spiri	t a	away	go/	come	fol	lowin	ng	
nm	vi				nm	V	7i						
siro	me	yaba	me	yoro	na	me		, '	siro		me		
siro	me	yaba+F	me	yoro	na+F	me		·	siro		me		
tree sp	3PL.S	pick up	3PL.S	stand	AUX	3PI	J.S		tree	sp	3PL.	.s	
nf	pron	vt	pron	vi	aux	pro	on		nf		pror	l	
yaba	me	yoro n	a me	ni	ya								
yaba+F	me	yoro n	a+F me	ni	ya								
pick up	3PL.S	stand A	.UX 3P	L to	ADJU								
vt	pron	vi a	ux pr	on prt	prt								
tofotomakim	atamonan	e			S	siro	1	me	te	a			
to- foto	o -mal	kI –h	imata -r	nona -n	e s	siro	r	me	t	aa			
away appe	ear fol	lowing FP	.N+M RE	EP+M BK	G+M t	tree :	sp (3PL.	.S b	be pi	led	up	
vi					r	nf	I	pror	n v	'i			
toniharewam	ıa				h	me	yor	0	na	1	ne	ni	ya
to- niha-	- na -	rI	-wa	aha -m	la+F n	ne	yoı	ro	na+	-F r	ne	ni	ya
CH CAUS	AUX r	aised sur	face cha	ange ba	.ck 3	3PL.S	sta	and	AUX		3PL	to	ADJU
aux					F	pron	vi		aux	K B	pron	prt	prt

'The spirit went there. He appeared where they were as they were picking up *siro* fruits, as they were piling the *siro* fruits up.'

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5 Okoyo kamaki ati ka ayo -makI.NOM ati 0ka 1SG.POSS POSS older brother go/come following say vi nm vt nemetemoneni na -hemete -mone -ni AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F aux "My older brother has come," she said.'

6 Ki kabote nemetemoneke kii na -kabote na -hemete -mone -ke look at AUX quickly AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vt aux aux 'Sha lookad quickly'

'She looked quickly.'

7	Fara	siro	hatira	?	ati	ne
	fara	siro	hati -ra		ati	na+M
	same+F	tree sp	ripe NPQ		say	AUX
	dem	nf	pn		vt	aux
'''A	re there rip	e siro fruits?	" he said.'			

8 Siro hataharani

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siro hata -hara -ni
tree sp be ripe IP.E+F BKG+F
nf vi
"The siro fruits are ripe.""
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9	Siro	<i>S0</i>	tosin	е			faro	ati	neme	etemonehe		
	siro	S00	to-	na	-kosa	-ne	faaro	ati	na	-hemete	-mone	-he
	tree sp	stand	CH	AUX	middle	CONT+F	that+F	say	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DUP
	nf	vi	aux				dem	vt	aux			

"The siro fruits are there in a pile," she said.'

ati 10 **Faya** Siro siro siro hati tiwahi , faya siro siro siro hati tiawa -hi ati tree sp tree sp tree sp ripe 2SG.S see IMP+F so say conj nf nf nf pn vt vt nemetemoneke na -hemete -mone -ke AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F aux "Look at the *siro* fruits," she said.' 11 Siro hati itikime siro hawi ne , hati iti -kima+M siro siro hawi na+M tree sp ripe pick up two tree sp AUX gnaw nf nf pn vt vt aux

wematamonaha
waa -himata -mona -ha
stand FP.N+M REP+M DUP
vi

'He picked up two of the siro fruits. He stood there gnawing on the siro fruits.'

12 We		Ayo		i	baka		ya					
waa	+M	ayo		i	baka		ya					
sta	nd	older	broth	er w	here		ADJ	U				
vi		nm		i	nteri	rog	prt					
tikaribey	ya 🛛						?	ati	neme	etemoneke		
ti-	to-	ka	-ri	-be	-	ya		ati	na	-hemete	-mone	-ke
2SG.S	away	go/come	CQ+F	IMME	D+F n	OW		say	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F
vi								vt.	aux			

'He stood there. "Brother, where are you going?" she said.'

13	Okiba				ahi	Boto Komaha	ya
	0-	to-	ka	-baha+F	ahi	Boto Komaha	ya
	1SG.S	away	go/come	before	there	(place name)	ADJU
	vi				dem	npropf	prt

"I'm going to Boto Komaha.""

14 <i>Si</i>	ro	noki	koro	towiti			awa
S	iro	noki	koro	to-	na	-witI+M	awa
tı	ree sp	seed+F	throw	away	AUX	out	tree
nt	E	pn	vt	aux			nf
kinari	matamona	ne					
kina	-rI		-himata	a -mor	na -r	ne	
hit	raised	surface	FP.N+M	REP-	-M Br	KG+M	
vt							
'Ua th	rour a cine	and and k	it a troa!				

'He threw a *siro* seed and hit a tree.'

15 Boto Komaha va okabone oni ati o- to- ka Boto Komaha ya -habone 0ni ati 1SG.S BKG+F ADJU 1SG.S away go/come INT+F (place name) say npropf prt vi prt vt nematamona na -himata -mona AUX FP.N+M REP+M aux "I'm going to Boto Komaha," he said.' 16 Inamati amane ati nemetemoneke one inamati na -hemete -mone -ke ama -ne ati one SEC BKG+M AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F spirit say other+F vt aux nm sec adj "'It's a spirit," the other one said.' 17 Ayo amare ayo ayo ama -ra+M ayo 2SG.POSS.older brother be NEG 2SG.POSS.older brother VC nm nm tinihine tini ati nemetemonehe ti- to- niha- na -ne ti- ni ati na -hemete -mone -he 2SG.S CH CAUS AUX CONT+F 2SG.S BKG+F AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP say vt aux aux prt "You are calling him your brother, but he is not your brother," she said.' 18 Me hiwemata awaka hi- awa -himata -ka me awa 3PL.S OC see FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M pron vt sec 'They recognized him.' 19 Me hiwemata awane

me hi- awa -himata awa -ne 3PL.S OC see FP.N+M seem+M BKG+M pron vt sec

'They recognized him.'

20	Ayo	wawa	timatahi
	ayo	wa- waa	ti- na -mata -hi
	older brother	DUP stand	2SG.S AUX short time IMP+F
	nm	vi	aux
n			

"Brother, you stay here."

21	Siro	wiyeba		ota	tonaka	ımatibey	va				
	siro	wiye	-ba	otaa	to-	na-	ka	-mata		-be	-ya
	tree sp	container+F	FUT	1EX.S	away	CAUS	go/come	short	time	IMMED+F	now
	nf	pn		pron	vt						
ati											
at	i na -1	nemete -mone	-he								
sa	Y AUX FI	P.N+F REP+F	DUP								
vt	aux										

"We are going to go get baskets for the siro fruits."

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22	Faya	me fanawi	towaka		mera	kakaton	ne	mera
	faya	me fanawi	to- ka-	- ka+F	mera	ka-	katoma+M	mera
	SO	women	away CON	MIT go/come	3PL.O	COMIT	look at	3PL.O
	conj	nf	vi		pron	vt		pron
tow	amakem	ata		awaka				
to	- awa	-makI	-himata	awa -ka				
awa	ay see	following	FP.N+M	seem+M DECI	J+M			
vt				sec				

'The women went. He watched them, and he went after them to see them.'

23	Me	ebe	mera	kakatomemoneke					
	me	ebe	mera	ka-	katoma	-hamone	-ke		
	3PL.POSS	RECIP	3PL.O	COMIT	look at	REP+F	DECL+F		
	pron	pn	pron	vt					
'TT	watched they								

'He watched them.'

24 Yam	a me	waso	me	ti		kasikima			waso
yam	a me	waso	me	tii		ka- na	a -kosa	-kima+F	waso
thi	ng 3PI	L leaf	3PL.S	cut	through	COMIT AU	JX middle	two	leaf
nf	pro	on nf	pron	vt		aux			nf
me	kanasoi	na	m	ıe	, me	yoro	ra	yama	me
me	ka-	na- so	ona+F m	e	me	yoro	na -ra-	⊦F yama	me
3PL.S	COMIT	CAUS fa	all 3	PL.S	3PL.S	stand	AUX NEG	thing	3PL.S
pron	vt		р	ron	pron	vi	aux	nf	pron
ti		kasareme	temoneke						
tii		ka- r	na -kosa	a -ra	a -hemete	-mone -	-ke		
cut th	rough	COMIT A	AUX midd	le NEC	G FP.N+F	REP+F I	DECL+F		
vt		aux							

'They cut off two palm leaves, and they fell on the ground. They didn't stay there. They didn't keep on cutting off leaves.'

25	Me		kand	r n	i	towaka	ımemeter	noneke					ha
	me		kan	a n	a.NFIN	to-	ka-	ka	-ma	-hemete	-mone	-ke	haa
	3pi	.s	run	A	UX	away	COMIT	go/come	back	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	DEM
	pro	n	vi	a	ux	vi							dem
ya		me		tokafe	otowamab	ani					mati		
ya		me		to-	ka-	foto	-waha	a -ma	-haba	-ni	mati		
AD	JU	3pl	.s	away	COMIT	appear	r chan	ge back	FUT+F	IP.N+F	3PL.S		
pr	t	pro	n	vi							pron		
'Th		ont m	innii		Thore	arma aut	on the c	than aida !					

'They went running away. They came out on the other side.'

26 Me	tokafo	towama				me	kana	ni
me	to-	ka-	foto	-waha	-ma+F	me	kana	na.NFIN
3PL.S	away	COMIT	appear	change	back	3PL.S	run	AUX
pron	vi					pron	vi	aux
towakamemet	temoner	ni					fare	bati
to- ka-	ka	-:	ma -hei	mete -mo	one -ni	,	fare	bati
away COMI	T go/	come b	ack FP.	N+F REE	P+F BKG	+F	same+M	3SG.POSS.father
vi							dem	nm
itamakino			ya	isiri	kowaha	ıri		
ita -makI	.NOM	-no	ya	isiri	kowa	-haar	i	
sit follo	wing	IP.N+M	ADJU	basket	weave	IP.E+	М	
vi			prt	nf	vt			
len 1		1.	• •	1 1	C 11	••	•	1 1

'They came out, and went running to where her father was sitting, weaving a basket.'

27	Isiri	kowe	ite	ni	ya	bite	kana	ni
	isiri	kowa+M	ita+M	ni	ya	bite	kana	na.NFIN
	basket	weave	sit	to	ADJU	3SG.POSS.daughter	run	AUX
	nf	vt	vi	prt	prt	nf	vi	aux
tofe	otomemeten	ioneni						
to	- foto	-ma	-hemete	-mone	e -ni			
aw	ay appea	r back	FP.N+F	REP+E	BKG+E	۲		
vi								

'As he sat there weaving the basket, his daughter appeared, running.'

28 Abi	afa	ama	tini	:	ati	neme	etemonehe		
abi	afa	ama	ti- ni		ati	na	-hemete	-mone	-he
father	this+F	be	2SG.S BKG+F		say	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DUP
nm	dem	VC	prt		vt	aux			
'"Father, is i	t you?" she s	aid.'							

29 Afa	ama	okene		ati	ne	Abi	inamati	otara
afa	ama	o- ke	-ne	ati	. na+M	abi	inamati	otara
this+	F be	1SG.S DECL	+F IRR+F	say	Y AUX	father	spirit	1EX.O
dem	VC	prt		vt	aux	nm	nm	pron
kiyo	kamaki		ahi	ati	nemetemo	oneni		
kiyo+M	ka	-makI.NOM	ahi	ati	na -he	emete -mo	ne -ni	
chase	go/come	following	there	say	AUX FP.	N+F REP	+F BKG+F	
vt	vi		dem	vt	aux			
				-				

"It is me," he said. "Father, there is a spirit following us, and he is coming this way," she said.'

30	Inamati	toe		awane		ati	nema	tamona		
	inamati	to-	ha+M	awa	-ne	ati	na	-himata	-mona	
	spirit	СН	be	seem+M	BKG+M	say	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	
	nm	VC		sec		vt	aux			
111 T	•. •		• • • • • •	,						

"I guess it is a spirit," he said.'

31	Inamati	fotomaki		kerewe	nema	tamonaha				
	inamati	foto	-makI.NFIN	kerewe	na	-himata	-mona	-ha		
	spirit	appear	following	be slow	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DUP		
	nm	vi		vi	aux					
! T].	The minit didult take lower to end on the									

'The spirit didn't take long to appear.'

32	Inamati	fotomaki		kerewe	rematamonaka				
	inamati	foto	-makI.NFIN	kerewe	na	-ra	-himata	-mona	-ka
	spirit	appear	following	be slow	AUX	NEG	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M
	nm	vi		vi	aux				

'The spirit didn't take long to appear.'

33	Kana	ni	kamakima	tamona			ahi	•	fe	bata
	kana	na.NFI1	N ka	-makI	-himata	-mona	ahi	,	fee	bata
	run	AUX	go/come	following	FP.N+M	REP+M	then		3SG.O	surprise
	vi	aux	vi				dem		pron	vt
tor	ebanoho									
to	- na	-rI	-h:	iba -no	-ho					
CH	AUX	raised	surface FU	T+M IP.N+M	DUP					
au	Х									

'He came running, and he surprised him.'

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Himataebetinatikamakinehimataebeti-na+Fti-ka-makIwhat?purpose2SG.SAUX2SG.Sgo/comefollowingCONT+F 34 Himata interrog vt aux vi ? ati nematamona Siraba bati ati na -himata -mona Siraba bati say AUX FP.N+M REP+M (woman's name) 3SG.POSS.father tiriva ti- ri -ya 2SG.S CO+F now aux npropf prt vt nm "What are you doing coming here?" he said, Siraba's father.' okiyorini 35 *Me* ati nematamonane o- kiyo -ra -ni ati na -himata -mona -ne me 3PL.O 1SG.S chase NEG BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M pron vt vt aux "'I'm not chasing them," he said.' 36 Okoto tikiyoani tikamakine ti- kiyo -hani ti- ka -makI -ne okoto my daughter 2SG.S chase IP.N+F 2SG.S go/come following CONT+F nf vt vi tini ti- ni 2SG.S BKG+F prt "You have come chasing my daughter." 37 **Tiwa** ati owini nematamonaha tiwa o- awa -ni ati na -himata -mona -ha 2SG.O 1SG.S see BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP pron vt vt. aux "'I see you." 38 Tikamiyahi ti- to- ka -ma -yahi 2SG.S away go/come back DIST.IMP+F vi "Go away." 39 Tikamiya fara titaboro ya ati ti- taboro ti- to- ka -ma -yahi fara ya ati 2SG.S away go/come back DIST.IMP+F same+F 2SG.POSS place ADJU say vi dem pn prt vt nematamona na -himata -mona AUX FP.N+M REP+M aux "Go back to your own place," he said.' 40 Fava wete tonamematamonaka , to- na -ma -himata -mona -ka wete faya return away AUX back FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M so conj vi aux

'So he went back.'

41 Tokomake tokomare -makI to- ka to- ka -ma -ra+M away go/come following away go/come back NEG vi vi tokomarematamonaka to- ka -ma -ra -himata -mona -ka away go/come back NEG FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vi 'He didn't go back.' Wetetonametokomeweteto-na-ma+Mto-kareturnaway AUX backaway go/ 42 *Wete* -ma+M away go/come back vi aux vi totikosawamakematamonaka to- iti -kosa -waha -makI -himata -mona -ka away go around middle change following FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M vi 'He went back, but he came around.' 43 Tofotowamaki

to- foto -waha -makI+M away appear change following vi

tokomakewematamonane

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

'He came out again and went there.'

44 Tofotowamaki	ka bai	toke	ya yama me
to- foto -waha -makI+M	ka bahi	to- ka.NOM+M	ya yama me
away appear change following	of sun	away go/come	ADJU thing 3PL
vi	prt nm	vi	prt nf pron
matehe me me kiyoha	, matehe	me me	
matehe me me kiyo+F	matehe	me me	
children 3PL.O 3PL.S chase	children	3PL.O 3PL.S	
nf pron pron vt	nf	pron pron	
kiyohemetemoneke			
kiyo -hemete -mone -ke			
chase FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F			
vt			

'He came out again. In the late afternoon they chased the children.'

45 \$	Siraba		bati			hiwa	hi				
0	Siraba		bati			hi-	awa+1	М			
	(woman'	s name) 3SG.E	POSS.fath	ner	OC	see				
r	npropf		nm			vt					
hika	habanarei	himata						awane			?
hi-	ka-	habana	L		-ra	-hi	mata	awa	-ne	:	
OC	COMIT	order	someone	against	NEG	FP.	N+M	seem+	M BKG	HH+M	
vt								sec			
17 4 71	a' 1	1 C .1	1.	1 . 1 . 1	1 1 1	· c	•1•	• •. 7		01	

'When Siraba's father saw him, didn't he send [his familiar spirit] against him?'

46	Hika	banare	mata			awaka					
	hi-	ka-	habar	ia		-ra	-himata	awa	-ka	fare	,
	OC	COMI	T order	someon	e against	NEG	FP.N+M	seem+M	DECL+M	same+M	
	vt							sec		dem	
hiw	<i>a</i>		kaiyaral	bise		hiwa		awe	ya		
hi	wa		ka-	hiyara	-bisa+M	hiwa	L	awa.NOM+	M ya		
3S(G.REI	FL.M	COMIT	speak	also	3SG.	REFL.M	see	ADJU		
pro	on		vt			pron	L	vt	prt		
• •				1 51 6 6							

'Apparently he didn't send [his familiar spirit] against him, even though he was a powerful shaman.'

47 <i>Faya</i> faya so conj	tokomake to- ka away ga vi		nakI ollowing	, <i>mera</i> mera 3PL.0 pron	noki noki wait fo vt	ne , na+M r AUX aux	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>haha</i> haahaa laugh vi
<i>ni</i> na.NFIN AUX aux	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>haha</i> haahaa laugh vi	<i>ni</i> na.NFIN AUX aux	<i>saiha</i> sai+F be heard vi	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S pron	<i>me</i> me 3PL.POSS pron	<i>abe</i> abe RECIP pn	<i>kiyoa</i> kiyo+F chase vt
<i>mati</i> mati 3SG.POSS pron	.mother							

'He went there and waited for them. Their laughing could be heard as they chased each other.'

48 <i>Me</i> me 3PL		<i>kiyoa</i> kiyo+F chase vt	me, me 3PL.S	<i>nakiri</i> nakiri 3SG.POSS.brother's wife nf	ya ya ADJU prt	<i>fara</i> fara same+F dem
pror	n pron	VL	pron	111	pru	aem
me	fami	me	famemetem	ioneni .		
me	fama.NFIN	me	fama -	-hemete -mone -ni		
3PL.S pron	be two vi	3PL.S pron	be two E vi	FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F		

'They were chasing them. She was always with her cousin.'

4	9 Mei	·a	kiyoa	kana	ni		tokom	ake			mera	ı	moi	to
	mer	a	kiyo+F	kana	na.NFI	ΕN	to-	ka	-makI		mer	a	mot	20
	3PI	.0	chase	run	AUX		away	go/come	followi	ng	3pl	.0	100	qq
	pro	n	vt	vi	aux		vi				pro	n	vi	
kawamemetemoneke								yobe	wal	hi	bari		ya	
k	a-	na	-waha	-ma	-hemete	-me	one -l	ke ý	yobe	waa	a+M	bar	i	ya
С	OMIT	AUX	change	back	FP.N+F	RE	P+F DI	ECL+F	house	sta	and	bac	k	ADJU
а	ux								nm	vi		pn		prt

'She was chasing them. She ran after them. She chased them behind the longhouse.'

50	Yobe	toro	ya	me	winemetemoneni			
	yobe	toro	ya	me	wina	-hemete	-mone	-ni
	house	inside+M	ADJU	3PL.S	lie in hammock	FP.N+F	REP+F	BKG+F
	nm	pn	prt	pron	vi			
'Th	ou woro ir	+hoir homme	olza ingić	la tha land	house '			

'They were in their hammocks inside the longhouse.'

51	Mera	moto	kawama	kawama				wara	nawebano					
	mera	moto	ka-	na	-waha	-ma+F	,	wara	na	-waha	-hiba	-no		
	3PL.O	loop	COMIT	AUX	change	back		grab	AUX	change	FUT+M	IP.N+M		
	pron	vi	aux					vt	aux					

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wematamonane		me	ka	owamonaha		fara	fe
waa -hima	ta -mona -ne 🤶	me	ka	owa -mona -ha	,	fara	fee
stand FP.N+	M REP+M BKG+M	3pl	of	man REP+M DUP		same+F	3SG
vi		pron	prt	nm		dem	pron
fami	ka anotimonaha	!					
fama.NOM+F	ka anoti			-mona -ha			
be with	which 3SG.POSS	older	broth	ner REP+M DUP			
vi	prt nm						

'She chased them around. He was standing there, and grabbed her. She thought he was one of their men, her companion's older brother.'

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52	Fito	hikan	nemata		awaka					
	fito	hi-	ka-	na	-himata	awa	-ka			
	rush	OC	COMIT	AUX	FP.N+M	seem+M	DECL+M			
	vi	aux				sec				
'Sh	e ran to	him.'								

53 Makoni fe wara tomisa namata me makoni fee wara to- na -misa.LIST na.NOM+M -mata me for this reason 3SG.O grab away AUX up AUX FP.N+M 3pl conj pron vt aux aux pron owamonaha ka owa -mona -ha ka of man REP+M DUP prt nm 'So he grabbed her, since she thought he was one of their men.'

Hibake 54 Faya tiriya ati ama ? nemetemoneke , hibake tiri -ya na -hemete -mone -ke faya ama ati so who+M 2SG.S CQ+F now AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F be say interrog vc prt conj vt aux "Who are you?" she said.'

55 Ino himitematamona ino hi- mita -himata -mona name+M OC hear FP.N+M REP+M

pn vt 'She heard his name.'

56	Ino	owato		okara					
	ino	0-	wato	0-	ka	-ra+M			
	name+M	1SG.S	know	1SG.S	DECL+M	NEG			
	pn	vt		prt					
'I d	on't know l	nis name	e.'						

57 Faya nakiri kana ni faya nakiri kana na.NFIN so 3SG.POSS.brother's wife run AUX nf vi conj aux kamakiemetemoneni -makI -hemete -mone -ni ka go/come following FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F vi

'Then her cousin came running.'

nen na AU au	X FP.N [.] x	ete -mone	DUP		owing	•	who	bake	te tee 2PL.S pron	<i>fama</i> fama+F be two vi	?	<i>ati</i> ati say vt
59	fee d	1SG.POSS	ka ayo POSS olde	er bro	ther	ama ama be vc	a — r	ne KG+M	? <i>ati</i> ati say vt			
na AU au	UX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F Ux 'Is that my brother?" she said.' 0 Ayo awane awane											
	ayo 2SG.PC nm	DSS.older s your broth		awa seem sec	e −ne +M BKG		<i>ati</i> at sa vt	i na Ny AU	-heme X FP.N+	ete -mone		
61	<i>Ayo</i> ayo older nm	brother	<i>afa</i> afa this+F dem	<i>ama</i> ama be vc	<i>tini</i> ti- 2SG.S prt	ni BK(G+F	a s	ti na	-hemete FP.N+F		one -ke P+F DECL+F
'"В	rother, is	s that you?" s	she said.'									
	fee a	vc prt	ni S BKG+F	<i>ati</i> ati say vt	ne na+M AUX aux	Fe fe 3S pr	е	ama be	<i>oni</i> o- n 1SG.S B prt	i KG+F		
	Ati ati voice pn uess he l	yana start	<i>ni</i> na.NFIN AUX aux nt voice.'	<i>hihiya</i> hi- h DUP k vi	niya De dif:	fere	ent		<i>ta</i> -himata FP.N+M		-k. DE	
	fee a		ni S BKG+F									
65	<i>Okoyo</i> o- 1SG.PC nm	ka a DSS POSS (ayo older brc	ther	<i>ama</i> ama be vc	<i>tira</i> ti- 2sc prt	- G.S	ra+F NEG	,			

okovo tiwa tinihine tini ti- to- niha- na 0ka ayo tiwa -ne tini 2SG.S CH CAUS AUX CONT+F 2SG.S BKG+F 1SG.POSS POSS older brother 2SG.O pron aux prt nm ati nemetemonehe na -hemete -mone -he ati AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP sav aux vt. "You aren't my brother, you are just making yourself out to be my brother." 66 *Okoyo* wine wine wina+M wina+M \circ ka ayo 1SG.POSS POSS older brother lie in hammock lie in hammock nm vi vi wine awane wina+M awa -ne lie in hammock seem+M BKG+M vi sec "My brother is in his hammock." 67 **Ba** okoyo totowama hiba to- to-0ka ayo awa -ma wait 1SG.POSS POSS older brother DUP away see back interj nm vt omatibeya -mata -be -ya o- na 1SG.S AUX short time IMMED+F now ลแห "Wait, I will go take a look at my brother." 68 Te namatahi yoyoro ati nemetemoneke -hi yo- yoro na -mata ati na -hemete -mone -ke tee 2PL.S DUP stand AUX short time IMP+F AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F say vi pron aux vt aux "You two stay here." 69 *Fava* kana ni tokoma faya kana na.NFIN to- ka -ma+F so run AUX away go/come back conj vi aux vi tokiyomamemetemonehe -ma -hemete -mone -he to- ka -yoma away go/come through back FP.N+F REP+F DUP vi 'She went running home and went inside.' 70 Faya Siraba fawa kanematamonaka fahi Siraba fawa ka- na -himata -mona -ka fahi faya disappear COMIT AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M then so (woman's name) dem npropf conj vi aux 'Then he disappeared with Siraba.' 71 Siraba kane fawa ni ya

Siraba fawa ka- na+M ni ya (woman's name) disappear COMIT AUX to ADJU npropf vi aux prt prt

kamemetemonehe mati aate naro -ma -hemete -mone -he mati a- ate na -haaro ka go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DUP AUX IP.E+F 3SG.POSS.mother DUP ask vi nf vt. ลแห 'As he was disappearing with Siraba, she came home and asked her mother.' 72 Ami ati nemetemone ami ati na -hemete -mone mother say AUX FP.N+F REP+F nf vt aux "Mother," she said." 73 Ami okoyo wine ? awane ami 0ka ayo wina+M awa -ne mother 1SG.POSS POSS older brother lie in hammock seem+M BKG+M nf nm vi sec "Mother, is my older brother in his hammock?" 74 Okatao wine ati nemetemonehe okatao wina+M ati na -hemete -mone -he my son lie in hammock say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DUP vi vt aux nm "My son is in his hammock," she said.' 75 Inamati Siraba ahi tama ne ware inamati Siraba tama -hare ahi na+M waa spirit (woman's name) hold onto AUX stand IP.E+M there npropf vt vi dem aux nm "There is a spirit holding onto Siraba there on the patio." 76 Owamamatabaya ati nemetemone awa -ma -mata -ba -ya na -hemete -mone \circ toati 1SG.S away see back short time IMMED+M now AUX FP.N+F REP+F say vt. vt. aux "'I'm going back to see her," she said.' 77 Faya kana ni kama kiyomama fara na.NFIN faya kana ka -ma+F ka -yoma -ma+F fara so run AUX go/come back go/come through back same+F conj vi aux vi vi dem yoro ni tokomemetemone me ya ya me yoro na.NOM+F to- ka -ma -hemete -mone away go/come back FP.N+F 3PL.S stand AUX ADJU REP+F pron vi aux prt vi 'So she came back running. She came out of the longhouse and went to where the two of them had been standing.' 78 Tokoma vama honaremetemone ama mera

-ma+F yama to- ka hona -ra -hemete -mone mera ama thing have something NEG FP.N+F REP+F SEC away go/come back 3PL.O nf vi vi sec pron nawarebanihi kowa na -waharI -haba -ni -hi kowa AUX all over FUT+F IP.N+F DUP whistle vi aux

'She went there, but there was no one there. She whistled for them all over.'

79 **Boni** ati sai nawaremetemone siba mera boni ati sai na -waharI -hemete -mone mera siba be heard AUX all over FP.N+F REP+F upper lip+F voice 3PL.O look for vi aux vt pn pn pron naro na -haaro AUX IP.E+F aux 'She could be heard whistling all over, as she looked for them.' 80 Mera siba boni ati nawahare na sai mera siba na+F boni ati sai na -waharI voice 3PL.O look for AUX upper lip+F be heard AUX all over pn pron vt. aux vi aux pn kamawemetemone ka -ma -waha -hemete -mone go/come back change FP.N+F REP+F vi 'She could be heard whistling all over as she looked for them. She finally came back.' fami fami 81 Abi ya me me me fama.NOM+F fama.NFIN abi me ya me me father 3PL.S 3PL.S 3PL.O be two ADJU be two nm pron vi prt pron vi pron hinihenemete ? me ama hi- to- niha- ha -hene -mete ama me OC CH CAUS be IRR+F FP.N+F 3PL.O SEC νt pron sec 'Father, if there were two of them, would he have taken both of them?' 82 Me fami mera totowakama fama.NFIN mera to-to-ka-ka me -ma DUP away COMIT go/come back 3PL.S be two 3PL.O pron vi pron vt kabaramata me noki hinemenehe na -kaba -ra.NOM+M -mata me noki hi- na -hemenehe OC AUX HYPOTH+F AUX without stopping NEG FP.N+M 3PL.O wait for aux pron vt. aux 'He could have taken both of them if he had waited.' 83 *Faya* tokiyomama kakomeharo -yoma faya to- ka -ma+F ka- komeha -haaro so away go/come through back COMIT be fearsome IP.E+F conj vi vi 'Then she went inside, because she was afraid.' 84 Kakomemetemoneke ka- komeha -hemete -mone -ke COMIT be fearsome FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi 'She was afraid.' 85 Siraha Siraha kamakiramatamona

05	5 Shubu		Sirubu	<i>Kumukii emelemone</i>						
	Siraba	,	Siraba	ka	-makI	-ra	-hemete	-mone		
	(woman's name)		(woman's name)	go/come	following	NEG	FP.N+F	REP+F		
	npropf		npropf	vi						

amani ama -ni SEC BKG+F sec 'Siraba did not come back.'

amani 86 Siraba kawahemetemone inamati Siraba ka- waha -hemete -mone ama -ni inamati spirit (woman's name) COMIT dawn FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F npropf vi sec nm hinahabaharo hikawa • hi- ka- waa hi- nahaba -haaro OC COMIT stay OC at night IP.E+F vt prt

'When morning came, Siraba had spent the night with the spirit.'

87	Tabiyo	me	hiwe	mete		awineke				
	tabiyo	me	hi- awa		-hemete	awine	-ke			
	absence	3PL.S	OC	feel	FP.N+F	seem+F	DECL+F			
	pn	pron	vt			sec				
'Th	ey missed he	er.'								

88 Me	hitakora	fawa	nine	nikani	mati
me	hi- takora+F	fawa	na -ne	na+F -kani	mati
3PL.S	OC be in hammock with	disappear	AUX CONT+F	AUX CNTRFACT	3PL.S
pron	vt	vi	aux	aux	pron
hinemetemon	e okomi	se	aati		
ati hi- n	a -hemete -mone o-	ka ami	lse a- ati		
say OC A	UX FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.H	POSS POSS aur	nt DUP say		
vt	nf		vt		
toamaroni	kamakin	inaba		bosa	
to- ha -	hamaro -ni 'ka	-makI	-mina -hab	a bosa	
CH AUX F	P.E+F BKG+F go/com	e following	morning FUT+	F get up early	
aux	vi			vi	
namabanihi					
na -ma	-haba -ni -hi				
AUX back	FUT+F IP.N+F DUP				
aux					

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'Her mother thought that she was gone because she was in someone's hammock, and that she would come back early in the morning, my aunt used to say.'

89	Hinaka	yama	soki	oariemete	emoneke						
	hinaka	yama	soki.NFIN	ohari	-hemete	-mone	-ke				
	3SG.POSS	G.POSS thing b		be one	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F				
pron nf			vi	vi							
'Sh	'She was gone for one night.'										

90	Faya	kama		kiyomamemetemonehe							
	faya	ra ka -ma+F		ka	-yoma	-ma	-hemete	-mone	-he		
	SO	go/come	back	go/come	through	back	FP.N+F	REP+F	DUP		
	conj	vi		vi							
'ch	'She came back and come inside '										

'She came back, and came inside.'

91	Me	<i>so</i>	na	me	yobiri		na	mera	fiya
	me	S00	na+F	me	yobi	-ri	na+F	mera	fiya
	3PL.S	urinate	AUX	3PL.S	go back and forth	DISTR	AUX	3PL.O	pass
	pron	vi	aux	pron	vi		aux	pron	vt

nama		kama		, <i>I</i>	kiyomama	a			, ma	ıti		ni
na -	-ma+F	ka	-ma+F	í]	ca	-	-yoma	-ma+F	í ma	ti		ni
AUX b	back	go/come	back	Ç	go/come	e t	hrough	back	35	G.POSS.	mother	to
aux		vi		7	/i				nf			prt
ya	tokom	a		towin	namemet	em	onehe					
ya	to-	ka	-ma+F	to-	wina			-ma	-hemet	e -mone	e -he	
ADJU	away	go/come	back	awa	y lie :	in	hammocl	k back	FP.N+H	F REP+F	DUP	
prt	vi			vi								

'As people were going back and forth and urinating, she came past them. She came back and came inside. She went to her mother, and lay in her hammock.'

92	92 Towinama				wete	towitia	!		amo
	to-	wina	-ma+F	1	wete	to-	na	-witI+F	amo
	away	live	back		return	away	AUX	out	sleep
	vi				vi	aux			vi
nise	metem	oneke				fahi			
na	-ri	sa -h	emete	-mone	e -ke	fah	i		
AUX	dow	n FP	.N+F	REP+E	F DECL+F	the	n		
aux						dem			

'She lay in her hammock, and turned and fell asleep.'

faya so	yamata yamata food	<i>me</i> me 3PL.S	OC d	<i>a</i> wasi+F cook		DSS.mother		<i>wasia</i> wasi+F cook	,
conj	nf	pron	vt		nf		nf	vt	
mati		yamata	hiwa.	sia	kababa	one	mati		mowa
mati		yamata	hi-	wasi+F	kaba	-habone	mati		mowa
3SG.POSS.	mother	food	OC	cook	eat	INT+F	3SG.POSS.	mother	shake
nf		nf	vt		vt		nf		vt
hina	i	hiyarab	anihi						
hi- na+F	ihi	hiya	-ra	-haba	-ni	-hi			
OC AUX	deed+F	be ba	d NEG	FUT+F	IP.N+F	DUP			
aux	pn	vi							

'Her mother shook her so she would eat the food that her mother had prepared. She experienced a bad thing.'

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94 Siraba	ati	neme	etemone	
Siraba	ati	na	-hemete	-mone
(woman's name)	say	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F
npropf	vt	aux		
"'Siraba," she said.'				

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95 Siraba	titafihi	ati	nemetemone						
Siraba	ti- tafi	-hi ati	na -hemete -mone						
(woman's name)	2SG.S wake up	IMP+F say	AUX FP.N+F REP+F						
npropf	vi	vt	aux						
'"Siraba, wake up," she said.'									

96	Mati	hose	hikanemetemone					kita	ya
	mati	hose	hi-	ka-	na	-hemete	-mone	kita	ya
	3SG.POSS.mother	pull out	OC	COMIT	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	strength	ADJU
	nf	vt	aux					nf	prt
1	.1 1 1 1 1	11							

'Her mother shook her hard.'

97 Titafihi

ti- tafi -hi 2SG.S wake up IMP+F vi •

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"Wake up."

	<i>Tika</i> ti- 2SG.POSS prt	ka POSS	<i>yibote</i> yibote husband nm	<i>tiwa</i> tiwa 2SG.C pron	<i>me</i> me 3P1 pro		kawa ka- COMIT vt	waa stay	naba nahaba+ at nigh prt	-Fm nt 3	e PL.POSS ron
ihi tikabibeya							neme	emoneni	-	-	
ih	i	ti-	kaba -	be	-ya	ati	na	-hemete	e -mone	-ni	
vi	ctim of+F	2SG.S	Seat I	MMED+F	now	say	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	BKG+	F
pn		vt				vt	aux				
"'E	"Fat what your boyfriend who was with you all night killed "										

'Eat what your boyfriend who was with you all night killed.'

99	Faya	sa	neme	nemetemoneke							
	faya	saa	na	-hemete	-mone	-ke	fahi				
	SO	vomit	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F	then				
	conj	vi	aux				dem				
'Th	en she v	omited.'									

100	Faya	ati	yana	kanemetemoneni						
	faya	ati	yana	ka-	na	-hemete	-mone	-ni		
	SO	voice	start	COMIT	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	BKG+F		
	conj	pn	vi	aux						
'The	n che cn	oke sick '								

Then she spoke, sick.'

101	Ati	yana	kana		•	Ami		ami	a	ti			
	ati	yana	ka-	na+F	,	ami		ami	а	ıti			
	voice	start	COMIT	AUX		mot	her	mothe	r s	ay			
	pn	vi	antip			nf		nf	V	rt			
nen	nemetemoneke				me		toma	hinal	banihi				
na	-hemet	e -mone	-ke	,	me		toma	hi-	na	-haba	-ni	-hi	
ΑUΣ	K FP.N+F	' REP+F	DECL+	F	3PL.	S	suck	OC	AUX	FUT+F	IP.N+F	DUP	
auz		r .1 r			pron		vt	aux					

'She spoke. "Mother, Mother," she said. They sucked on her to cure her.'

102 **Me** toma hinemetemoneke

me	toma	hi-	na	-hemete	-mone	-ke
3PL.S	suck	OC	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	DECL+F
pron	vt	aux				

'They sucked on her.'

103 Makibona		fe	nonofa	toare		aawawa		
maki	-bona	fee	no- nofa	to- ha -ra+M	,	a- awa	-wa	
3SG.POSS.husband	INT+M	3SG.O	DUP like	CH AUX NEG		DUP see	DUP	
nm		pron	vt	VC		vt		
hinemetemone	ahi							
hi- na -hemete -mone	e ahi							
OC AUX FP.N+F REP+1	F ther	1						
aux	dem							
'The one who was supposed	to marry	her but d	idn't like her, f	felt pity for her.'				

? 104 Toma hiremete awine toma hi- na -ra -hemete awine suck OC AUX NEG FP.N+F seem+F vt aux sec

'Didn't he suck on her?'

105 **Toma** hinemete awineke hi- na toma -hemete awine -ke suck OC AUX FP.N+F seem+F DECL+F vt aux sec 'I guess he did suck on her.' 106 Me toma hina me hikasomemetemonehe hi- na+F hi- ka- soma -hemete -mone -he me toma me COMIT help FP.N+F REP+F DUP 3PL.S suck OC AUX 3PL.S OC vt aux pron vt pron 'They sucked on her, to cure her.' 107 Fawa nisemetemoneke na -risa -hemete -mone -ke fawa disappear AUX down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi aux 'She died.' 108 Fanaki fawa tokanemetemone ati nemetemone fanaki fawa to- ka- na -hemete -mone ati na -hemete -mone thigh+F disappear CH COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F AUX FP.N+F REP+F say pn vi aux vt aux okomise hivari toimaro aati amani amise hiyara.NFIN aati to- ha.NOM+F -maro 0ka ama -ni 1SG.POSS POSS aunt DUP say CH AUX speak FP.E+F be nf vi aux VC vt -- Abi ehene ? __ inamati inamati ai

ahi inamati ehene inamati abi father spirit because of+M spirit have sex with nm vt nm post nm hinabaro

na hi- nahaba -haaro AUX OC at night IP.E+F aux

'She said her legs hurt, my aunt used to say -- Father, because of the spirit? -- because the spirit had sex with her all night.'

109 Abi ahabimetemonehe ? abi ahaba.NOM+F -mete -mone -he father die FP.N+F REP+F DUP nm vi 'Father, did she die?'

110 Abemetemoneke

ahaba -hemete -mone -ke die FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F vi

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'She died.'
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111 Abemetemone hivari okomise aati ahaba -hemete -mone 0ka amise hiyara.NFIN aati FP.N+F REP+F die 1SG.POSS POSS aunt speak DUP say vi nf vi vt toamaroni -hamaro -ni to- ha CH AUX FP.E+F BKG+F aux

BKG+F

'She died, my aunt used to say.'

112 Fava yawa me me kakimetemone amake -kI.NOM -mete -mone ama -ke faya me yawa+F me ka 3PL.S be upset 3PL.S go/come coming FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F so be pron vi pron vi conj VC ahi ahi then dem 'They grieved, and they came here.' 113 Me tokisemete awineke ahi me awine -ke ahi me to- ka -risa -hemete me seem+F DECL+F 3PL.S away go/come down FP.N+F 3PL.S then pron vi pron sec dem 'I guess they went downstream.' 114 Me ka botemetemone awa okomise na awa bote -mete -mone 0ka amise ati na me ka 3pl POSS garden old FP.N+F REP+F 1SG.POSS POSS aunt say AUX pron prt nf adj nf vt hiamaro hi- to- ha -hamaro OC CH AUX FP.E+F aux 'It's their old garden.' 115 Okomise hiamaroke yoyofi ahi yama yo- yofi hi- to- ha -hamaro -ke ka ahi amise yama $\circ -$ DUP show OC CH AUX FP.E+F DECL+F 1SG.POSS POSS aunt thing there nf nf vt aux dem Sibiri Wa Wari Fare Wari ee ka tabora bote na , , Fare Wari Sibiri Wa Wari ee ka tabora bote na+F (name of place) (name of place) (pause) of village old exist npropf interj npropm prt nf adj vi awineke ahi awine -ke ahi seem+F DECL+F there sec dem 'My aunt showed it, Fare Wari, and there is an old village at Sibiri Wa Wari.' 116 Faya fahi kona watematamona wate awaka faya kona wata -himata -mona wata+M awa -ka fahi grow so plant sp grow FP.N+M REP+M seem+M DECL+M there conj nm vi vi sec dem Noko Maivi aati toimaro amake Noko Maiyi to- ha.NOM+F -maro ama -ke a- ati FP.E+F be DECL+F (woman's name) DUP say CH AUX npropf vt aux VC "The kona that grew there still is growing there," Noko Maiyi used to say."

117	Abi	Siraba	е	ka	fanawirimet	е	ama	?
	abi	Siraba	ee	ka	fanawiri	-mete	ama	
	father	(woman's name)	1IN	POSS	woman	FP.N+F	SEC	
	nm	npropf	pron	prt	nf		sec	
'Eat	hon woo Gir	aba a Ianawana?						

'Father, was Siraba a Jarawara?'

.

118	E	ka	fanawirimet	е	awineni	
	ee	ka	fanawiri	-mete	awine	-ni
	1IN	POSS	woman	FP.N+F	seem+F	BKG+F
	pron	prt	nf		sec	
1-		-				

'I guess she was a Jarawara.'

119	Ha	me	siba		remetemone	ne	one	е				
	haa	me	siba		na -ra -he	emete -n	none n	ne	one	ee		
	DEM	3PL.S	be all	right	AUX NEG FP	.N+F RE	EP+F 3	BPL	other+F	1IN.S		
	dem	pron	vi		aux		F	oron	adj	pron		
ama	ke	•	hine	me	ebe	kanemete	emone			mati		
ama	-ke	,	hine	me	ebe	ka- 1	na -he	emete	-mone	mati		
be	DECL	+F	3.REFL	3PL.S	divide up	COMIT A	AUX FP	.N+F	REP+F	3PL.S		
VC			pron	pron	vt	aux				pron		
'The	'They split up a long time ago, and we became the Jarawaras.'											

meebekanemetemonemeebeka-na 120 Hine me yokana me hine me yokana me 3.REFL 3PL.S divide up COMIT AUX FP.N+F REP+F 3PL true 3PL.S pron pron vt aux ra me wina me d pron adj pron amara me ama -ra+F me winameawinekewina+Fmeawine ahi amara awine -ke ahi 3PL.S live 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F there pron vi pron sec dem be NEG VC

'They divided up long ago, and the ones who are not Jarawaras live [upstream].'

121 E	ati	nima	me	ati	ra	me				
ee	ati	nima	me	ati	na -ra+F	me				
1IN.POSS	voice	like	3PL.POSS	voice	AUX NEG	3PL.POSS				
pron	pn	prt	pron	pn	aux	pron				
awineke	haha	mat	i .							
awine -ke	haaha	n mat	i							
seem+F DECL+F	' this+	F 3PI	_							
sec	dem	pro	n							
'They don't speak our language.'										

me 122 *Me* fa fowemetemoneke bana+F bana faha fowe me me -mete -mone -ke 3PL.S move away 3PL.S high water season FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F pron vi pron nf

'They moved away. It was the high water season.'

123 Faf	fowe	ya	n me	, fa	ı fowe		ya	me	
fah	a fowe	ya	a me	ŕf	aha fowe		ya	me	
hig	h water	season Al	OJU 3PI	_ h	igh water	season	ADJU	3PL.S	
nf		p	rt pro	on n	f		prt	pron	
bana	me	kisakia			me	me	kisak	tia	
bana+F	me	ka	-risa	-kI+F	me	me	ka	-r	isa -kI+F
move av	way 3PL.	S go/com	ie down	coming	g 3PL.S	3PL.	S go/o	come do	wn coming
vi	pror	n vi			pron	pron	vi		
me	kanawa	kanawa	ataroma	tamonane	,				
me	kanawa	kanawa	ataro	-mata	-mona -	ne			
3PL.S	tree sp	tree sp	bark+M	FP.N+N	M REP+M BI	KG+M			
pron	nm	nm	pn						
There are a	red to anot	han nlaas in t	he high	aton acca	m There are	a dournate		rag a lean	anna hanlt

They moved to another place in the high water season. They came downstream. It was a kanawa bark canoe.'

124	Kanawa	at	aro	ya	m	era	iso		nema	tamonaka		
	kanawa	at	taro	ya	me	era	iso		na	-himata	-mona	-ka
	tree sp	ba	ark+M	ADJU	31	PL.O	carry	off	AUX	FP.N+M	REP+M	DECL+M
	nm	pr	n	prt	pı	ron	vt		aux			
fari	ri	,	е	one		mati						
faa	ri		ee	one		mati						
tha	t one+M		1IN	other+	F	3pl						
dem			pron	adj		pron						
'Uo	corriad than	n in	o kana	wa harlz	n	00 011	noonlo '					

'He carried them in a *kanawa* bark canoe, our people.'

125	Afa	meme	etemone		me	е	amal	ke		
	afa	me	-mete	-mone	me	ee	ama	-ke		
	this+F	3PL	FP.N+F	REP+F	3PL.COMPL	1IN.S	be	DECL+F		
	dem	pror	1		pron	pron	VC			
'We	'We are the descendants of those people.'									

126 Me wina me awineke me wina+F me awine -ke 3PL.S live 3PL.S seem+F DECL+F pron vi pron sec

'They [the others] live [upstream].'

127	Afa	me	metemone		me		е	amak	e
	afa	me	-mete	-mone	me		ee	ama	-ke
	this+	F 3P	L FP.N+F	REP+F	3PL.CO	OMPL	1IN.S	be	DECL+F
	dem	pr	on		pron		pron	VC	
one				oke			me	wete	
ati	0-	na	-ne	0-	ke	,	me	wete	
say	1SG.S	AUX	CONT+F	1SG.S	DECL+F		3PL.S	returr	1
vt				prt			pron	vi	
tona	memeten	none			mati				
to-	na	-ma	-hemete	-mone	mati				
awa	y AUX	back	FP.N+F	REP+F	3PL.S				
aux					pron				
'Tho	neonle	who we	nt back we	ro Iaran	varac '				

'The people who went back were Jarawaras.'

128 Afa	memete	me	amani	
afa	me -mete	me	ama -ni	
this+F	3PL FP.N+F	3PL.S	be BKG+F	
dem	pron	pron	VC	
'It was them '				

'It was them.'

129 <i>Me</i>	wete	tonamene		n	ne	wete	
me	wete	to- na	n -ma	-hene m	ne	wete	
3PL.S	return	away AU	JX back	IRR+F 3	BPL.S	retur	n
pron	vi	aux		р	oron	vi	
tonamemetemo	ne		•	biti		mano	ma
to- na -	ma -hem	ete -mor	ne	biti		mano	maa
away AUX b	ack FP.N	+F REP-	+F	3SG.POSS.	son	arm+M	be tired
aux				nm		pn	vi
tokahemona			ati	ehene		mera	ha
to- ka- 1	ha -him	iona	ati	ehene		mera	haa
CH COMIT .	AUX REP+	М	voice	because	of+M	3PL.O	call
aux			pn	post		pron	vt

,

•

neme	temoneni			•	mera	iso	nari	
na	-hemete	-mone	-ni	,	mera	iso	na -haari	
AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	BKG+F		3PL.O	carry off	AUX IP.E+M	
aux					pron	vt	aux	

'They wouldn't have turned back, but they turned back. She called to them because her son, who was carrying them, his arms were tired.'

130 Me		kikisa	ıma			i	me	mera	iiso			,	me
me		ki-	ka	-risa	-ma	. 1	ne	mera	i-	iso		,	me
3P1	L.S	DUP	go/come	down	bac	k	3PL.S	3PL.0) DUP	carry	/ off		3PL.S
pro	on	vi					oron	pron	vt				pron
kimisake	ha			, me		naho	basemete	mone			ahi	me	
ka	-m	isa	-kI+F	me		nah	o -basa	-her	nete -	mone	ahi	me	
go/com	e up		coming	3pl	.s	sit	edge	FP.I	N+F R	EP+F	then	ЗP	L.POSS
vi				pro	n	vi					dem	pr	on
ebe	noki		na	mati		•	fare	ohe	ıri	mera	iso		
ebe	nok	i	na+F	mati		,	fare	oh	ari+M	mera	iso		
RECIP	wai	t fo	r AUX	3PL.E	POSS		same+M	1 be	one	3PL.C) car	ry	off
pn	vt		aux	pron			dem	vi		pron	vt		
namako													
na -m	ako												
AUX fo	r th	is re	eason+M										

aux

'They came up the bank. He was carrying them. They came onto the shore and stood on the edge, waiting for the others, because only one man was carrying them.'

131	Me	tama	me	tono	okosa		neme	etemone		ahi	
	me	tama+F	' me	to-	naho	-kosa	na	-hemete	e -mor	ne ahi	
	3PL.S	be man	y 3PL.S	CH	stand	middle	AUX	FP.N+F	REP-	+F then	
	pron	vi	pron	vi			aux			dem	
me		ati	hiyawabani				mati		e	one	mati
me		ati	hiyawa		-haba	-ni	mati	,	ee	one	mati
3PL.	.POSS	voice	have an a	idea	FUT+F	BKG+F	3PL.PG	OSS	1IN	other+F	3pl
pror	n	pn	vi				pron		pron	adj	pron
е	yokan	a mati									
ee	yokar	na mat	i								
1IN	true	3PL									
pror	n adj	pro	n								

'Many people were left standing there. Then they changed their minds, our people, Jarawaras.'

132	Hee	me	ati	neme	rtemoneni		
	hee	me	ati	na	-hemete	-mone	-ni
	hey	3PL.S	say	AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	BKG+F
	interj	pron	vt	aux			
'''He	ey," they s	aid.'					

133	Ami	omano		ma	tokahara			oke		
	ami	0-	mano	maa	to-	ka-	ha	-hara	0-	ke
	mother	1SG.POSS	arm	be tired	CH	COMIT	AUX	IP.E+F	1SG.POSS	DECL+F
	nf	pn		vi	aux				prt	
"Mother, my arms are tired."										

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134	Faya	te,	faya	me	iso	ni	amani	ati
	faya	tee	faya	me	iso	na.NFIN	ama -ni	ati
	enough	2PL	enough	3PL.S	carry off	AUX	be BKG+F	say
	adj	pron	adj	pron	result	aux	VC	vt

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nematamonaha na -himata -mona -ha AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP aux "That's enough carrying people," he said.' 135 Okatao mano ma tokahamonaha to- ka- ha.NOM+M -mona -ha okatao mano maa be tired CH COMIT AUX my son arm+M REP+M DUP pn nm vi aux "'My son's arms are tired."' 136 **Ota** wete tonamibana ati nemetemoneni to- na -ma+F -bana otaa wete ati na -hemete -mone -ni AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F 1EX.S return away AUX back FUT say pron vi aux vt aux ha ni na.NFIN haa call AUX vi aux "We are going back," she said, calling.' 137 *Ee* tokomibonehe ota ota to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone -he ee otaa otaa 1EX away go/come back INT+F DUP ves 1EX.S interj pron pron vi "Okay, we are going back." 138 Ota tokomibone ota to- ka -ma.NOM+F -bone otaa otaa 1EX.S away go/come back 1EX INT+F pron pron vi "We are going back." 139 **Ota** wete tonamibone okatao ati ne ati to- na -ma.NOM+F -bone otaa wete okatao ati na+M ati away AUX back 1EX.S return INT+F my son say AUX say pron vi aux nm vt aux vt nemetemoneni na -hemete -mone -ni AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F aux "My son said we should go back," she said.' 140 *Okatao* tokahamona okatao ati mano ma ne okatao mano maa to- kaha.NOM+M -mona okatao ati na+M my son arm+M be tired CH COMIT AUX REP+M my son say AUX pn vi aux nm vt aux nm nemetemone na -hemete -mone AUX FP.N+F REP+F aux "My son said his arms are tired," she said.'

ati

ati

say

vt

141 *Ee* te tokomahi ati me na тe , -ma -hi to- ka tee me ati na+F me ee 2PL.S away go/come back IMP+F ves 3PL.S say AUX 3PL.POSS interj pron vi vt aux pron pron fahi vana tonemetemoneke ati ati yana to- na -hemete -mone -ke voice start CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F fahi then aux pn vi dem "'All right, you go," they said. They were upset as they were speaking.' 142 **Te** ota kakabateba otani me ati ka- kaba -tee -haba tee otaa otaa -ni me ati DUP eat HAB FUT+F 1EX.S BKG+F 2PL.O 1EX.S 3PL.S sav pron pron vt pron pron vt. nemetemoneni na -hemete -mone -ni AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F aux "We will eat you in the future," they said.' 143 **Te** ota kakabatebisaba otani ati me ka- kaba -tee -bisa -haba otaa -ni tee otaa me ati 2PL.O 1EX.S COMIT eat HAB also FUT+F 1EX.S BKG+F 3PL.S say pron pron vt. pron pron vt nemetemoneni na -hemete -mone -ni AUX FP.N+F REP+F BKG+F aux "We will eat you, too," they said.' 144 *Ee* tokatimi ka va me to- ka -tima.NOM+F 20 ka ya me yes away go/come upstream LOC ADJU 3PL.S pron vi prt prt pron kisemetemoneke ha *va* ka -risa -hemete -mone -ke haa ya go/come down FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F DEM ADJU vi dem prt 'Yes, they came downstream from up there upstream.' 145 Kowani ka ama nimete ahi ha ya me mera kowani ka ama na.NOM+F -mete ahi haa ya me mera other side LOC be AUX FP.N+F there DEM ADJU 3pl 3PL.O nf prt vc aux dem dem prt pron pron iseriwakemata ahi awaka isI -riwaha -kI -himata awa -ka ahi drop off across coming FP.N+M seem+M DECL+M then dem vt sec 'It was on the other side. He brought them across to here.' 146 *Ee* hekanakosemetemoneke me me ee me me hi- ka- kana -kosa -hemete -mone -ke 3PL.O 3PL.S OC COMIT leave middle FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F ves interj pron pron vt

'Right, they left them behind.'

147	Faya	me,	me	ma	nisime	temoneke					
	faya	me	me	maa	na -	-risa.NG	OM+F −r	nete	e –mc	one -ke	
	SO	3PL	3PL.S	stop	AUX c	down	FI	P.N+	F REF	P+F DEC	L+F
	conj	pron	pron	vi	aux						
War	a		amake	ha	ro	,	okomise	2			hiyari
War	а		ama -ke	ha	aro	,	0-		ka	amise	hiyara.NFIN
(na	me of	lake) I	be DECL	₁+F th	at one	e+F	1SG.PC	OSS	POSS	aunt	speak
npr	opf		VC	de	m		nf				vi
aati		towamaro	ke								
a-	ati	to- ha	-hamarc	o −ke							
DUP	say	CH AUX	FP.E+F	DECL+	·F						
vt		aux									
! T]					+ 147			1			

'Then they stopped coming downstream at Wara, my aunt used to say.'

148 Me	wiwina	toemete		me	awineke	fahi .
me	wi- wina	to- ha	-hemete	me	awine -ke	fahi
3PL.S	DUP live	CH AUX	FP.N+F	3PL.S	seem+F DECL+F	' then
pron	vi	aux		pron	sec	dem
'Then they l	ived there.'					

149 E tamemetemone					е	•	bote	me	ya	е
	ee	tama	-hemete	-mone	ee	,	bote	me	ya	ee
	1IN.S	be many	FP.N+F	REP+F	1IN		old	3pl	ADJU	1IN.S
	pron	vi			pron		adj	pron	prt	pron
taba	kere									
tab	a	-ke	-re							
be	togethe	r DECL+F	NEG+F							
vi										

'We were numerous, but the old people aren't with us anymore.'

150	Me	te	aawa		toaramaro				te	amani	
	me	tee	a-	awa	to-	ha	-ra	-hamaro	tee	ama -ni	
	3PL.O	2PL.S	DUP	see	СН	AUX	NEG	FP.E+F	2PL.S	SEC BKG+F	
	pron	pron	vt		aux				pron	sec	
'You didn't see them.'											

151	Yobe	wahi	toro	ate	ate	na	toemari			ama	
	yobe	waa+M	toro	at	e- ate.L	IST	na	to-	ha	-himari	ama
	house	stand	inside	e+M DU	P make :	noise	AUX	СН	AUX	FP.E+M	SEC
	nm	vi	pn	vi			aux	aux			sec
me		ihi		ayaka	ini	me	hiri	h	ıa	mati	
me		ihi		ayaka	ini	me	hir	ri r	na+F	mati	
3pl	.POSS	because	of+F	festa	name+F	3PL.S	say	r I	AUX	3PL.S	
pro	n	post		nf	pn	pron	vt	ć	aux	pron	
There are a lat of a size in the lange barrene between of them. It courses the second sching for a faster is											

'There was a lot of noise in the longhouse because of them, because they were asking for a festa.'

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