

TOMITOMI

Free Translation

They also fought against the Apurinãs. It was them. It was the Kerebe lake. The fighting began. They fought against the Brazilians. The Brazilians came here to fight against them. The Banawás also killed a man. I forgot his name. They deceived him with a young squirrel monkey. They cut off his head.

They wanted Towisawa. The Brazilians wanted to kill Towisawa. The Jarawaras deceived them. They came back.

"Towisawa, you don't know what the Brazilians said. You didn't hear what the Brazilians said. But I heard what the Brazilians said. Towisawa, go away. Deceive Eremodina. Let the Brazil nuts that you stored be for now. Say, 'I will come back shortly,' and then don't come back," the Paumari said, Tomitomi said.

"All right."

"Leave quickly when you hear me speaking. When you hear me, leave in the morning. I am going downstream, too, that's why I am telling you," he said.

Then Towisawa and the others slept.

"I will do this," he said. "I will speak to the boss," he said.

"The Brazilians said you are going to die. The Brazilians said you are going to die when you are finished cutting open the Brazil nut pods."

"Right, I will leave tomorrow."

"Leave quickly tomorrow. You heard what I said," he said. "I'm going downstream, too. You take my canoe for now. My canoe is there is the water. Leave the canoe at the mouth of the Korobo stream. I will go pick up the canoe."

So Towisawa bought things. They came back to the village, after working for the Brazilian, cutting Brazil nuts out of the pods.

"We will come back for payment for the Brazil nuts," they said.

"Right, come back soon," they said.

"Right, it won't be many days. I will come back quickly," Towisawa said.

"Right, I will wait for you," their boss said.

So they came here. They came, and arrived. They arrived at Fare Wari. There is an old village site there. They slept, and came on home. They came, and arrived. Then they stayed there a long time. They didn't go back for a long time, deceiving the Brazilians.

"We won't go there to get the Brazil nuts. The Paumari said that the Brazilians said we should die. Let the Brazilians cut open the Brazil nut pods," they said.

So they didn't go back there. Then they cut down trees. They lived there for a long time. They planted the gardens. They burned the trees. In the dry season they burned the trees. Then they planted the gardens. They left the gardens behind. They left the crops behind. They came back. They arrived back. There were many people. Many people died long ago. We live in their old villages.

"Let's go, our crops must have grown. Let's go look at the crops."

They went back. They came upon the crops.

"We won't live here anymore when we have used up our crops. When we have used up our

TOMITOMI

crops, we won't live here anymore. We will then live over there. The Paumari said the Brazilians are saying bad things. The Paumari said the Brazilians are threatening us," they said. "Let's live over there," they said.

They came and lived over this way. They lived over this way for a time. There is a sandy clearing there. There is a sandy clearing from long ago. Their old village is still there, it doesn't go away.

They went to get the food. They carried back the food. They carried back more food another time. It was their village where they didn't wait for the crops. They didn't wait, and the other crops spoiled when they left them behind.

They came back, and they left again. Wara Lake is there. They went and lived there. They killed fish, *bahama* fish, and they ate *bahama* fish. Then they cut down trees. They planted the gardens. They used up the crops. There were many bananas, and peach palms. They didn't stay living in each place very long, and their crops became ruined in many places, they used to say. My aunt told the story. They didn't stay living in places long because they were afraid. They ate the fish of the Faha Biri stream, they used to say. Then they started to put *kona* poison in the water. They put *kona* poison in the water for the fish, which died. Those are the fish which we shoot with arrows. They went after white-lipped peccaries. Then they had feasts. The village site is there. They shot the peccaries with arrows, because there were no shotguns. They shot the peccaries with arrows, and they feasted on the peccaries. They had feasts by themselves. They danced and sang. Then they whipped girls. They whipped two girls, I don't know their names. They came this way, then they went and lived out there. They were eating. They went after white-lipped peccaries again, and feasted on the peccaries. My grandfather killed two tapirs. They had lots of feasts in that place. We don't feast much here. We don't eat meat. We are always here not eating meat, because of you [young people who don't hunt]. People ate their game, because they shot animals with blowguns and with arrows.

Interlinear Presentation

1	Yati	me	me	mowa	nabisa		yati	me	me	mowa
	yati	me	me	mowa	na -bisa+F		yati	me	me	mowa
	Apurinã	3PL.O	3PL.S	fight	AUX also		Apurinã	3PL.O	3PL.S	fight
	npropm	pron	pron	vt	aux		npropm	pron	pron	vt

nimetemone			amake		bisa	ahi	
na.NOM+F	-mete	-mone	ama -ke		bisa	ahi	.
AUX	FP.N+F	REP+F	be DECL+F		also	then	
aux			vc		prt	dem	

'They also fought against the Apurinãs.'

2	Afa	memetemone		me	amake	ahi
	afa	me -mete	-mone	me	ama -ke	ahi
	this+F	3PL FP.N+F	REP+F	3PL.S	be DECL+F	then
	dem	pron		pron	vc	dem

'It was them.'

3	Kerebe	amaka		hari
	Kerebe	ama -ka		haari
	(lake name)	be DECL+M		that one+M
	npropm	vc		dem

'It was the Kerebe lake.'

TOMITOMI

4 *Yama mowa ni yana nimetemone*
 yama mowa na.NFIN yana na.NOM+F -mete -mone
 thing fight AUX start AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nf result aux vi aux

'The fighting began.'

5 *Yara me me mowa na me , yara me me*
 yara me me mowa na+F me , yara me me
 Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX 3PL.S Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S
 npropm pron pron vt aux pron npropm pron pron
mowa hinaba me kamakia me , yara me
 mowa hi- na -haba me ka -makI+F me , yara me
 fight OC AUX FUT+F 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S Brazilian 3PL.O
 vt aux pron vi pron npropm pron
me mowa hinemetemone
 me mowa hi- na -hemete -mone
 3PL.S fight OC AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 pron vt aux

'They fought against the Brazilians. The Brazilians came here to fight against them. The Brazilians fought against them.'

6 *Bato yafi me hinahabiha hinematamona amaka*
 bato yafi me hi- na- ahaba.LIST hi- na -himata -mona ama -ka
 Banawá 3PL.S OC CAUS die OC AUX FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M
 npropm pron vt aux sec

hari

haari

that one+M

dem

'The Banawás also killed a man.'

7 *Itehani , me , ino fawa*
 itehani me ino fawa
 whatchamacallit 3PL name+M disappear
 nm pron pn vi

onihamako amane
 o- niha- na -mako ama -ne
 1SG.S CAUS AUX for this reason+M SEC BKG+M
 aux sec

'I forgot his name.'

8 *Me hikeyematamonaka sariwa*
 me hi- keyeha -himata -mona -ka sariwa
 3PL.S OC deceive FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M squirrel monkey
 pron vt nm

sariwa biti ya , sariwa biti tati me
 sariwa biti ya , sariwa biti tati me
 squirrel monkey young+M ADJU squirrel monkey young+M head 3PL.S
 nm adj prt nm adj pn pron

ti hisebanoho , Towisawa ino me
 tii hi- na -kosa -hiba -no -ho , Towisawa ino me
 cut through OC AUX middle FUT+M IP.N+M DUP (man's name) name+M 3PL.S
 vt aux npropm pn pron

hiri tebani mati , Towisawa me yara me
 hiri na -tee -haba -ni mati , Towisawa me yara me
 say AUX HAB FUT+F IP.N+F 3PL.S (man's name) 3PL Brazilian 3PL.S
 vt aux pron npropm pron npropm pron

TOMITOMI

hinahabibonaha

hi- na- ahaba -hibona -ha
 OC CAUS die INT+M DUP
 vt

'They deceived him with a young squirrel monkey. They cut off his head. They wanted Towisawa. The Brazilians wanted to kill Towisawa.'

9 *Me me keyehemetemonehe*
 me me keyeha -hemete -mone -he
 3PL.O 3PL.S deceive FP.N+F REP+F DUP
 pron pron vt

'They deceived them.'

10 *Faya me kama me me kama me*
 faya me ka -ma+F me me ka -ma+F me
 so 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron pron vi pron

Towisawa Towisawa Towisawa yara me ati
 Towisawa Towisawa Towisawa yara me ati
 (man's name) (man's name) (man's name) Brazilian 3PL.POSS voice
 npropm npropm npropm npropm pron pn

tivatorara

ti- wato -ra -hara
 2SG.S know NEG IP.E+F
 vt

'They came back. "Towisawa, you don't know what the Brazilians said."

11 *Yara me ati timita tikere*
 yara me ati ti- mita ti- na -ke -re
 Brazilian 3PL.POSS voice 2SG.S hear 2SG.S AUX DECL+F NEG+F
 npropm pron pn vt aux

'"You didn't hear what the Brazilians said."

12 *Yara me ati omitara oke owa ta*
 yara me ati o- mita -hara o- ke owa taa
 Brazilian 3PL.POSS voice 1SG.S hear IP.E+F 1SG.S DECL+F 1SG contrast
 npropm pron pn vt prt pron prt

'"But I heard what the Brazilians said."

13 *Towisawa tikama*
 Towisawa ti- to- ka -ma
 (man's name) 2SG.S away go/come back
 npropm vi

'"Towisawa, go away."

14 *Eremoyena Eremoyena tikeyehi*
 Eremoyena Eremoyena ti- keyeha -hi
 Eremodina Eremodina 2SG.S deceive IMP+F
 npropm npropm vt

'"Deceive Eremodina."

15 *Mowe noko fais hiwa namata mata*
 mowe noko hiwa na -mata mata
 Brazil nut seed+M only.M exist short time for now
 nm pn pron vi prt

TOMITOMI

"Let the Brazil nuts that you stored be for now."¹⁵

- 16 *Okomamatiba* *tiya*
 o- ka -ma -mata.NOM+F -ba ati ti- na -yahi
 1SG.S go/come back short time FUT say 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F
 vi vt
- tikamaraba* *tiwa wakari ati nematamonaka*
 ti- ka -ma -ra -haba tiwa wakari ati na -himata -mona -ka
 2SG.S go/come back NEG FUT+F 2SG.S Paumari say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vi pron npropm vt aux
- , *Tomitomi Tomitomi ati nematamonane*
 Tomitomi Tomitomi ati na -himata -mona -ne
 (man's name) (man's name) say AUX FP.N+M REP+M BKG+M
 npropm npropm vt aux

"Say, 'I will come back shortly,' and then don't come back," the Paumari said, Tomitomi said.'

- 17 *Ee*
 ee
 yes
 interj
 "All right."

- 18 *Tokomakabote* *tina owati timiti*
 to- ka -ma -kabote ti- na o- ati ti- mita.NOM+F
 away go/come back quickly 2SG.S AUX 1SG.POSS voice 2SG.S hear
 vi aux pn vt
- ya*
 ya
 ADJU
 prt

"Leave quickly when you hear me speaking."

- 19 *Owati ya yana tonaminakabote tiya*
 o- ati ya yana to- na -mina -kabote ti- na -yahi
 1SG.POSS voice ADJU start CH AUX morning quickly 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F
 pn prt vi vi aux

"When you hear me, leave in the morning."

- 20 *Okisabisabone hiyara okominine o*
 o- to- ka -risa -bisa -habone hiyara o- kamina -ne o-
 1SG.S away go/come down also INT+F story 1SG.S tell CONT+F 1SG.S
 vi nf vt prt
- ati nematamona*
 ati na -himata -mona
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 vt aux

"I am going downstream, too, that's why I am telling you," he said.'

- 21 *Faya faya Towisawa me amo na E*
 faya faya Towisawa me amo na+F ee
 so so (man's name) 3PL.S sleep AUX be similar
 conj conj npropm pron vi aux vi

¹⁵ Apparently the word *faisi* is a Paumari word meaning 'stored'.

TOMITOMI

onabana **oni** **ati** **nematamona**
 o- na -habana o- ni ati na -himata -mona
 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S BKG+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M
 aux prt vt aux

"Then Towisawa and the others slept. "I will do this," he said.'

22 **Batoro** , **batoro** **warabo** **onabana** **oni** **ati**
 batoro , batoro warabo o- na -habana o- ni ati
 boss boss ear+M 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S BKG+F say
 nm nm pn aux prt vt

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

"I will speak to the boss," he said.'

23 **Tiababone** , **yara** **me** **ati** **nahara**
 ti- ahaba -habone , yara me ati na -hara
 2SG.S die INT+F Brazilian 3PL.S say AUX IP.E+F
 vi npropm pron vt aux

"The Brazilians said you are going to die."

24 **Tika** **mowe** **noko** **ka** **ni** **tika**
 ti- ka mowe noko kaa na.NFIN ti- ka
 2SG.POSS POSS Brazil nut seed+M chop AUX 2SG.POSS POSS
 prt nm pn result aux prt

mowe **ka** **ni** **ahabe** **ya** **tihababone** **yara**
 mowe kaa na.NFIN ahaba.NOM+M ya ti- ahaba -habone yara
 Brazil nut chop AUX end ADJU 2SG.S die INT+F Brazilian
 nm result aux vi prt vi npropm

me **ati** **nahara** **ati** **nematamonaka**
 me ati na -hara ati na -himata -mona -ka
 3PL.S say AUX IP.E+F say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pron vt aux vt aux

"The Brazilians said you are going to die when you are finished cutting open the Brazil nut pods."

25 **Manakobote** **Ee** , **okomaminabana** **o**
 manakobote ee , o- to- ka -ma -mina -habana o-
 then yes 1SG.S away go/come back morning FUT+F 1SG.S
 conj interj vi prt

"Right, I will leave tomorrow."

26 **Okomina** **tokomaminakabote**
 o- to- ka -mina to- ka -ma -mina -kabote
 1SG.S away go/come morning away go/come back morning quickly
 vi vi

tiya
 ti- na -yahi
 2SG.S AUX DIST.IMP+F
 aux

"Leave quickly tomorrow."

27 **Owati** **timiti** **ati** **nematamonaka**
 o- ati ti- mita.NOM+F ati na -himata -mona -ka
 1SG.POSS voice 2SG.S hear say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 pn vt vt aux

"You heard what I said," he said.'

TOMITOMI

28 *Okisabisabone* *ama o*
 o- to- ka -risa -bisa -habone ama o-
 1SG.S away go/come down also INT+F SEC 1SG.S
 vi sec prt

"I'm going downstream, too."

29 *Oko* *kanawa tekama mata*
 o- ka kanawa ti- to- ka- ka -ma mata
 1SG.POSS POSS canoe 2SG.S away COMIT go/come back for now
 prt nf vt prt

"You take my canoe for now."

30 *Oko* *kanawa itine fa*
 o- ka kanawa ita -ne faa
 1SG.POSS POSS canoe sit CONT+F that
 prt nf vi dem

"My canoe is there is the water."

31 *Kanawa Korobo batori ya kanawa tiwatiya*
 kanawa Korobo batori ya kanawa ti- wata -yahi
 canoe (name of stream) junction ADJU canoe 2SG.S put DIST.IMP+F
 nf npropm pn prt nf vt

"Leave the canoe at the mouth of the Korobo stream."

32 *Kanawa otimakebana o*
 kanawa o- to- iti -makI -bana o-
 canoe 1SG.S away take out following FUT 1SG.S
 nf vt prt

"I will go pick up the canoe."

33 *Faya Towisawa yama kanikematamona amaka fahi*
 faya Towisawa yama ka- nika -himata -mona ama -ka fahi
 so (man's name) thing COMIT buy FP.N+M REP+M SEC DECL+M then
 conj npropm nf vt sec dem

'So Towisawa bought things.'

34 *Yara me me , tabora ya me*
 yara me me , tabora ya me
 Brazilian 3PL 3PL village ADJU 3PL.S
 npropm pron pron nf prt pron

kamemetemoneke yara me nanarifa toa
 ka -ma -hemete -mone -ke yara me na- narifa to- ha+F
 go/come back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F Brazilian 3PL.S DUP help CH AUX
 vi npropm pron pn aux

mati , mowe me kaka toa mati
 mati , mowe me ka- kaa to- ha+F mati
 3PL.S Brazil nut 3PL.S DUP chop CH AUX 3PL.S
 pron nm pron vt aux pron

'They came back to the village, after working for the Brazilian, cutting Brazil nuts out of the pods.'

35 *Mowe manakone ota nakamebana me ati*
 mowe manakone otaa na- ka -ma -hibana me ati
 Brazil nut price 1EX.S CAUS go/come back FUT+M 3PL.S say
 nm pn pron vt pron vt

TOMITOMI

nemetemonehe

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

"We will come back for payment for the Brazil nuts," they said.'

36 *Ee te kamakabote niya , me ati*
 ee tee ka -ma -kabote na -yahi me ati
 yes 2PL.S go/come back quickly AUX DIST.IMP+F 3PL.S say
 interj pron vi aux pron vt

nemetemoneke

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

"Right, come back soon," they said.'

37 *Ee oko amo ni tamarabana o*
 ee o- ka amo na.NFIN tama -ra -habana o-
 yes 1SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX be many NEG FUT+F 1SG.S
 interj prt vi aux vi prt

"Right, it won't be many days."

38 *Oko amo ni tamarabana o*
 o- ka amo na.NFIN tama -ra -habana o-
 1SG.POSS POSS sleep AUX be many NEG FUT+F 1SG.S
 prt vi aux vi prt

"It won't be many days."

39 *Kamakabote onabana oke , Towisawa*
 ka -ma -kabote o- na -habana o- ke Towisawa
 go/come back quickly 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 1SG.S DECL+F (man's name)
 vi aux prt npropm

ati nematamonaka

ati na -himata -mona -ka
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DECL+M
 vt aux

"I will come back quickly," Towisawa said.'

40 *Ee , te noki onaba te , me ka batoro*
 ee tee noki o- na -haba tee me ka batoro
 yes 2PL.O wait for 1SG.S AUX FUT+F 2PL.O 3PL POSS boss
 interj pron vt aux pron pron prt nm

ati nematamonaha

ati na -himata -mona -ha
 say AUX FP.N+M REP+M DUP
 vt aux

"Right, I will wait for you," their boss said.'

41 *Faya me kamakiemetemoneke fahi*
 faya me ka -makI -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 so 3PL.S go/come following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 conj pron vi dem

'So they came here.'

TOMITOMI

42 *Me kamakia me , me kamakia me*
 me ka -makI+F me me ka -makI+F me
 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S 3PL.S go/come following 3PL.S
 pron vi pron pron vi pron

kobo namakietememone
 kobo na -makI -hemete -mone
 arrive AUX following FP.N+F REP+F
 vi aux

'They came, and arrived.'

43 *Me kobo namakietememoneke Fare Wari ya*
 me kobo na -makI -hemete -mone -ke Fare Wari ya
 3PL.S arrive AUX following FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F (name of place) ADJU
 pron vi aux npropf prt

'They arrived at Fare Wari.'

44 *Tabora bote itineke*
 tabora bote ita -ne -ke
 village old be located CONT+F DECL+F
 nf adj vi

'There is an old village site there.'

45 *Faya me amo na me*
 faya me amo na+F me
 so 3PL.S sleep AUX 3PL.S
 conj pron vi aux pron

kamakiwahimetemone amake ahi
 ka -makI -waha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi
 go/come following change FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then
 vi vc dem

'They slept, and came on home.'

46 *Me kamakiwaha me kobo namakia , faya*
 me ka -makI -waha+F me kobo na -makI+F faya
 3PL.S go/come following change 3PL.S arrive AUX following so
 pron vi pron vi aux conj

me sasawimakewa toemetemoneke
 me sa- sawi -makI -waha to- ha -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S DUP be present following change CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux

'They came, and arrived. Then they stayed there a long time.'

47 *Me totokoma na toaremetemoneke ,*
 me to- to- ka -ma na to- ha -ra -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S DUP away go/come back AUX CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vi aux aux

yara me me keyeha mati
 yara me me keyeha+F mati
 Brazilian 3PL.O 3PL.S deceive 3PL.S
 npropm pron pron vt pron

'They didn't go back for a long time, deceiving the Brazilians.'

48 *Mowe e tonakamena ama*
 mowe ee to- na- ka -ma -hina ama
 Brazil nut 1IN.S away CAUS go/come back IRR+M SEC
 nm pron vt sec

TOMITOMI

"We won't go there to get the Brazil nuts."

49 *E ababone yara me ati nahamonehe wakari*
 ee ahaba -habone yara me ati na -hamone -he wakari
 1IN.S die INT+F Brazilian 3PL.S say AUX REP+F DUP Paumari
 pron vi npropm pron vt aux npropm
ati nare
 ati na -hare
 say AUX IP.E+M
 vt aux

"The Paumari said that the Brazilians said we should die."

50 *Mowe hiwa yara me ka hineba awa*
 mowe hiwa yara me kaa hi- na -hiba awa
 Brazil nut only.M Brazilian 3PL.S chop OC AUX FUT+M seem+M
 nm pron npropm pron vt aux sec
me ati nemetemoneke
 me ati na -hemete -mone -ke
 3PL.S say AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 pron vt aux

"Let the Brazilians cut open the Brazil nut pods," they said.'

51 *Faya me tokomaremetemoneke fahi*
 faya me to- ka -ma -ra -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 so 3PL.S away go/come back NEG FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 conj pron vi dem

'So they didn't go back there.'

52 *Faya awa me ka nawemetemoneke*
 faya awa me kaa na -waha -hemete -mone -ke
 so tree 3PL.S chop AUX change FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
 conj nf pron vt aux

'Then they cut down trees.'

53 *Awa me ka nawaha me me wiwinawa*
 awa me kaa na -waha+F me me wi- wina -waha
 tree 3PL.S chop AUX change 3PL.S 3PL.S DUP live change
 nf pron vt aux pron pron vi
toemetemoneke fahi
 to- ha -hemete -mone -ke fahi
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F then
 aux dem

'They cut down trees. They lived there for a long time.'

54 *Faya awa me natafa awa me sari kana*
 faya awa me na- tafa+F awa me sari ka- na+F
 so garden 3PL.S CAUS eat tree 3PL.S burn COMIT AUX
 conj nf pron vt nf pron vt aux
yama hiwe ya awa me sari kana , awa me
 yama hiwe ya awa me sari ka- na+F , awa me
 dry season ADJU tree 3PL.S burn COMIT AUX garden 3PL.S
 nf prt nf pron vt aux nf pron
natafawa me , awa me kakosa me
 na- tafa -waha+F me , awa me ka- kana -kosa+F me
 CAUS eat change 3PL.S garden 3PL.S COMIT leave middle 3PL.S
 vt pron nf pron vt pron

TOMITOMI

awa	tafe	me	kakosa		me	kama	me
awa	tafe	me	ka- kana -kosa+F		me	ka -ma+F	me
garden	crops+F	3PL.S	COMIT leave middle		3PL.S	go/come back	3PL.S
nf	pn	pron	vt		pron	vi	pron
kobo	namatasa		me	tama	mati		
kobo	na -ma -tasa+F		me	tama+F	mati		
arrive	AUX back again		3PL.S	be many	3PL.S		
vi	aux		pron	vi	pron		

'They planted the gardens. They burned the trees. In the dry season they burned the trees. Then they planted the gardens. They left the gardens behind. They left the crops behind. They came back. They arrived back. There were many people.'

55	Me	tama	me		aaba	toemetemone	me
	me	tama+F	me		a- ahaba	to- ha -hemete -mone	me
	3PL.S	be many	3PL.S		DUP die	CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F	3PL.POSS
	pron	vi	pron		vi	aux	pron

tabori	bote	e	nanao	toineke		
tabori	bote	ee	na- naho	to- ha -ne -ke		
place+F	old	1IN.S	CAUS stay	CH AUX CONT+F DECL+F		
pn	adj	pron	vi	aux		

'Many people died long ago. We live in their old villages.'

56	Hima	e	ka	e	ka	yamata	yana	awineke
	hima	ee	ka	ee	ka	yamata	yana+F	awine -ke
	let's go	1IN	POSS	1IN	POSS	crops	grow	seem+F DECL+F
	interj	pron	prt	pron	prt	nf	vi	sec

'''Let's go, our crops must have grown.'''

57	Yamata	e	towamamata	
	yamata	ee	to- awa -ma -mata	
	crops	1IN.S	away see back short time	
	nf	pron	vt	

'''Let's go look at the crops.'''

58	Me	tokoma		me	tokoma		yamata	me
	me	to- ka -ma+F		me	to- ka -ma+F		yamata	me
	3PL.S	away go/come back		3PL.S	away go/come back		crops	3PL.S
	pron	vi		pron	vi		nf	pron

towasimemetemoneke
to- wasi -ma -hemete -mone -ke
away find back FP.N+F REP+F DECL+F
vt

'They went back. They came upon the crops.'

59	E	winamaraba		ereke		e	tefe	e
	ee	wina -ma -ra -haba		ere -ke		ee	tefe	ee
	1IN.S	live back NEG FUT+F		1IN.S DECL+F		1IN.POSS	crops	1IN.S
	pron	vi		pron		pron	pn	pron

nabi	ya
na- ahaba.NOM+F	ya
CAUS end	ADJU
vt	prt

'''We won't live here anymore when we have used up our crops.'''

TOMITOMI

67 *Boto* *bote* *itineke*
 boto bote ita -ne -ke
 sandy clearing old be located CONT+F DECL+F
 nf adj vi

'There is a sandy clearing there.'

68 *Boto* *hibati* *ka* *itineni*
 boto hibati ka ita -ne -ni
 sandy clearing long time ago pertaining to be located CONT+F BKG+F
 nf nf prt vi

'There is a sandy clearing from long ago.'

69 *Ahabateba* *itine* *me* *taborimete*
 ahaba -tee -haba ita -ne me tabori -mete
 end HAB FUT+F be located CONT+F 3PL.POSS place+F FP.N+F
 vi vi pron nf

'Their old village is still there, it doesn't go away.'

70 *Faya* *yamata* *me* *tonakamatasa* *me* *yamata*
 faya yamata me to- na- ka -ma -tasa+F me yamata
 so crops 3PL.S away CAUS go/come back again 3PL.S crops
 conj nf pron vt pron nf

me *weye* *nama* *yamata* *me* *weye*
 me weye na -ma+F yamata me weye
 3PL.S carry AUX back crops 3PL.S carry
 pron vt aux nf pron vt

namatasimetemone *amake*
 na -ma -tasa.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke
 AUX back again FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F
 aux vc

'They went to get the food. They carried back the food. They carried back more food another time.'

71 *Yamata* *me* *nonoki* *toi* *na* *toemetemone*
 yamata me no- noki to- ha.NOM+F na to- ha -hemete -mone
 crops 3PL.S DUP wait for CH AUX AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
 nf pron vt aux aux aux

me *tabori* *amani*
 me tabori ama -ni
 3PL.POSS place+F be BKG+F
 pron pn vc

'It was their village where they didn't wait for the crops.'

72 *Yama* *me* *noki* *ra* *me* *yama* *one* *me* ,
 yama me noki na -ra+F me yama one me
 thing 3PL.S wait for AUX NEG 3PL.S thing other+F 3PL
 nf pron vt aux pron nf adj pron

aaba *toemetemone* *amake* *me* *tafe* , *me*
 a- ahaba to- ha -hemete -mone ama -ke me tafe me
 DUP end CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC DECL+F 3PL.POSS food+F 3PL.S
 vi aux sec pron pn pron

hekanakosarawaharo
 hi- ka- kana -kosa -rawa -haaro
 OC COMIT leave middle F.PL IP.E+F
 vt

'They didn't wait, and the other crops spoiled when they left them behind.'

TOMITOMI

73 *Faya me kamawa me*
 faya me ka -ma -waha+F me
 so 3PL.S go/come back change 3PL.S
 conj pron vi pron

tokomimetemone

to- ka -ma.NOM+F -mete -mone
 away go/come back FP.N+F REP+F
 vi

'They came back, and they left again.'

74 *Wara itineke haro*
 Wara ita -ne -ke haaro
 (name of lake) be located CONT+F DECL+F that one+F
 npropf vi dem

'Wara Lake is there.'

75 *Me towinama me , aba me me nanabi*
 me to- wina -ma+F me , aba me me na- na- ahaba
 3PL.S away live back 3PL.S fish 3PL.O 3PL.S DUP CAUS die
 pron vi pron nm pron pron vt

toimetemone amake bahama mati bama me me
 to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke bahama mati bahama me me
 CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F fish sp 3PL fish sp 3PL.O 3PL.S
 aux vc nm pron nm pron pron

kaba mati
 kaba+F mati
 eat 3PL.S
 vt pron

'They went and lived there. They killed fish, *bahama* fish, and they ate *bahama* fish.'

76 *Faya awa me kaka toimetemone amake ahi*
 faya awa me ka- kaa to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke ahi
 so tree 3PL.S DUP chop CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F then
 conj nf pron vt aux vc dem

'Then they cut down trees.'

77 *Awa me ka na , awa me natafa me , awa*
 awa me kaa na+F , awa me na- tafa+F me , awa
 tree 3PL.S chop AUX garden 3PL.S CAUS eat 3PL.S garden
 nf pron vt aux nf pron vt pron nf

tafe me nanabi toimetemone amake
 tafe me na- na- ahaba to- ha.NOM+F -mete -mone ama -ke
 crops+F 3PL.S DUP CAUS end CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F be DECL+F
 pn pron vt aux vc

'They cut down trees. They planted the gardens. They used up the crops.'

78 *Yifari tama na toemetemone amani yawita*
 yifari tama.LIST na to- ha -hemete -mone ama -ni yawita
 banana be many AUX CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F SEC BKG+F peach palm
 nf vi aux aux sec nm

'There were many bananas, and peach palms.'

79 *Me wiwini toira me , tafe aaba*
 me wi- wina.NOM to- ha.NOM -ra+F me , tafe a- ahaba
 3PL.S DUP live CH AUX NEG 3PL.POSS crops+F DUP end
 pron vi aux pron pn vi

TOMITOMI

nawahari		toimetemone			amake	me	hiyari
na -wahaI.NOM		to- ha.NOM+F	-mete -mone		ama -ke	me	hiyara.NFIN
AUX all over		CH AUX	FP.N+F REP+F		be DECL+F	3PL.S	speak
aux		aux			vc	pron	vi
aati	toimaro		amani	,	okomise		hiyara
a- ati to- ha.NOM+F	-maro		ama -ni		o- ka amise		hiyara
DUP say CH AUX	FP.E+F		be BKG+F		1SG.POSS POSS aunt		story
vt	aux		vc		nf		nf
hihiyaraharo		yawa	ihi		me	wiwini	
hi- hiyara -haaro		yawa	ihi		me	wi- wina.NOM	
OC tell IP.E+F		anger	because of+F		3PL.S	DUP live	
vt		nf	post		pron	vi	
toira		mati					
to- ha.NOM -ra+F		mati					
CH AUX NEG		3PL.S					
aux		pron					

'They didn't stay living in each place very long, and their crops became ruined in many places, they used to say. My aunt told the story. They didn't stay living in places long because they were afraid.'

80 Fa Biri	abe	me	kakaba	hiemetemone
Faha Biri	abe	me	ka- kaba	hi- to- ha -hemete -mone
(name of stream)	creature+F	3PL.S	DUP eat	OC CH AUX FP.N+F REP+F
npropf	pn	pron	vt	aux
me	na	hiamaro	amake	haro
me	ati na	hi- to- ha -hamaro	ama -ke	haaro
3PL.S	say AUX	OC CH AUX FP.E+F	SEC DECL+F	that one+F
pron	vt	aux	sec	dem

'They ate the fish of the Faha Biri stream, they used to say.'

81 Kona	me	sa	nawaha	kona	,	kona	me
kona	me	saa	na -waha+F	kona		kona	me
plant sp	3PL.S	release	AUX change	plant sp		plant sp	3PL.S
nm	pron	vt	aux	nm		nm	pron
sa	na	aba	me	me	sa	hikana	me
saa	na+F	aba	me	me	saa	hi- ka- na+F	me
release	AUX	fish	3PL.O	3PL.S	release	OC COMIT AUX	3PL.S
vt	aux	nm	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron
abemetemone		me	amani	me	me	ota	sa
ahaba -hemete -mone		me	ama -ni	me	me	otaa saa	
die FP.N+F REP+F		3PL.S	SEC BKG+F	3PL	3PL.O	1EX.S	shoot with arrow
vi		pron	sec	pron	pron	pron	vt

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

'Then they started to put *kona* poison in the water. They put *kona* poison in the water for the fish, which died. Those are the fish which we shoot with arrows.'

82 Hiyama	me	me	mowa	na	me	mari
hiyama	me	me	mowa	na+F	me	mari
white-lipped peccary	3PL.O	3PL.S	fight	AUX	3PL.S	feast
nm	pron	pron	vt	aux	pron	vi
nawemetemone		tabora	itineni			
na -waha -hemete -mone		tabora	ita	-ne -ni		
AUX change FP.N+F REP+F		village	be located	CONT+F BKG+F		
aux		nf	vi			

TOMITOMI

owato okere
 o- wato o- ke -re
 1SG.S know 1SG.S DECL+F NEG+F
 vt prt
 'They whipped two girls, I don't know their names.'

88 **Me kama me towinama me , me tafa**
 me ka -ma+F me to- wina -ma+F me , me tafa+F
 3PL.S go/come back 3PL.S away live back 3PL.S 3PL.S eat
 pron vi pron vi pron pron vi

mati
 mati
 3PL.S
 pron
 'They came this way, then they went and lived out there. They were eating.'

89 **Hiyama me me mari tasemetemone**
 hiyama me me mari na -tasa -hemete -mone
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S feast on AUX again FP.N+F REP+F
 nm pron pron vt aux

hiyama me me mowa tasa mati
 hiyama me me mowa na -tasa+F mati
 white-lipped peccary 3PL.O 3PL.S fight AUX again 3PL.S
 nm pron pron vt aux pron

'They went after white-lipped peccaries again, and feasted on the peccaries.'

90 **Awi me okiti nabikima , me**
 awi me o- ka iti na- ahaba -kima+F , me
 tapir 3PL.O 1SG.POSS POSS grandfather CAUS die two 3PL.S
 nm pron nm vt pron

marimari nofaraba na toaremetemone me
 mari- mari na nofa -raba na to- ha -ra -hemete -mone me
 DUP feast AUX recently a bit AUX CH AUX NEG FP.N+F REP+F 3PL.POSS
 vi aux aux aux

tabori amani
 tabori ama -ni
 place+F be BKG+F
 pn vc

'My grandfather killed two tapirs. They had lots of feasts in that place.'

91 **E mari nofara ereke ahi**
 ee mari na nofa -ra+F ere -ke ahi
 1IN.S feast AUX recently NEG 1IN.S DECL+F here
 pron vi aux pron dem

'We don't feast much here.'

92 **Bani me e kabakere**
 bani me ee kaba -ke -re
 animal 3PL.O 1IN.S eat DECL+F NEG+F
 nm pron pron vt

'We don't eat meat.'

93 **Bani me e kabara e nanao tohineke**
 bani me ee kaba -ra+F ee na- naho to- ha -ne -ke
 animal 3PL.O 1IN.S eat NEG 1IN.S CAUS stay CH AUX CONT+F DECL+F
 nm pron pron vt pron vi aux

TOMITOMI

te *ene*
 tee ehene
 2PL.POSS because of
 pron post

'We are always here not eating meat, because of you.'

94 *Me* *ihi* *kabimakoni* *yama* *me*
 me ihi kaba -makoni yama me
 3PL.POSS victim of+F eat for this reason+F thing 3PL.S
 pron pn result nf pron

fora *wati* *me* *tisa* *na* *mati*
 fora.LIST wati me tisa na+F mati
 shoot with blowgun arrow 3PL.S shoot with bow AUX 3PL.S
 vt nm pron vt aux pron

'People ate their game, because they shot animals with blowguns and with arrows.'